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THE
HISTORY
OF
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BY M. A. THIERS,
LATE PRIME MINISTER OF FRANCE.

TRANSLATED,
WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

FROM THE
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BY
FREDERICK SHOBERL.

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HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

CONCENTRATION OF ALL THE POWERS IN THE HANDS OF THE COMMITTEE—ABOLITION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY, OF THE MINISTERS, OF THE SECTIONARY SOCIETIES, ETC.—RELIGIOUS SYSTEM OF THE COMMITTEE—ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE SUPREME BEING.

THE government had just sacrificed two parties at once. The first, that of the ultra-revolutionists, was really formidable, or likely to become so; with the second, that of the new moderates, this was not the case. Its destruction, therefore, was not necessary, though it might prove serviceable, in order to remove all appearance of moderation. The committee struck it without conviction, from hypocrisy and envy. This latter was a difficult blow to strike. The whole committee hesitated, and Robespierre withdrew to his home as on a day of danger. But St. Just, supported by his courage and his jealous hatred, remained firm at his post, cheered Herman and Fouquier, affrighted the Convention, wrung from it the decree of death, and caused the sacrifice to be consummated. The last effort that any authority has to make in order to become absolute is always the most difficult; it is obliged to exert all its strength to overcome the last resistance; but, this resistance vanquished, everything gives way, everything falls prostrate before it; it has now but to reign without obstacle. Then it is that it runs riot, expends its strength, and ruins itself. While all mouths are closed, while submission is in every face, hatred conceals itself in the heart, and the act of accusation of the conquerors is prepared amidst their triumph.

The committee of public welfare, having successfully sacrificed the two descriptions of persons so different from each other who had presumed to oppose, or merely to find fault with, its power, had become irresistible. The winter was past. The campaign of 1794 (Germinal, year 2) was about to open with the spring. Formidable armies were to guard all the frontiers, and to cause that terrible power to be felt abroad which was so cruelly felt

at home. Whoever had made a show of resistance, or of feeling any sympathy with those who had been put to death, had no alternative but to hasten to offer their submission. Legendre, who had made an effort, on the day that Danton, Lacroix, and Camille-Desmoulins were arrested, and who had endeavoured to influence the Convention in their favour—Legendre deemed it right to lose no time in atoning for his imprudence, and in clearing himself from his friendship for the late victims. He had received several anonymous letters, the writers of which exhorted him to strike the tyrants, who, they said, had just thrown off the mask. Legendre repaired to the Jacobins on the 21st of Germinal (April 10), denounced the anonymous letters sent to him, and complained that the people took him for a Seid, into whose hands they could put a dagger. "Well, then," said he, "since I am forced to it, I declare to the people who have always heard me speak with sincerity, that I now consider it as proved, that the conspiracy, the leaders of which are no more, really existed, and that I was the puppet of the traitors. I have found proofs of this in various papers deposited with the committee of public welfare, especially in the criminal conduct of the accused before the national justice, and in the machinations of their accomplices, who wish to arm an honest man with the dagger of the murderer. Before the discovery of the plot, I was the intimate friend of Danton. I would have answered with my life for his principles and his conduct. But now I am convinced of his guilt. I am persuaded that he wished to plunge the people into a profound error. Perhaps I should have fallen into it myself, had I not been timely enlightened. I declare to the anonymous scribblers who want to persuade me to stab Robespierre, and to make me the instrument of their machinations, that I was born in the bosom of the people, that I glory in remaining there, and that I will die rather than abandon its rights. They shall not write me a single letter that I will not carry to the committee of public welfare."

The submission of Legendre was soon generally imitated. Addresses, pouring in from all parts of France, congratulated the Convention and the committee of public welfare on their energy. The number of these addresses, in every kind of style, and under the most burlesque forms, is incalculable. Each eagerly signified adherence to the acts of the government, and acknowledged their justice. Rhodéz sent the following address: "Worthy representatives of a free people, it is then in vain that the sons of the Titans have lifted their proud heads; the thunderbolt has overthrown them all! What, citizens! sell its liberty for base lucre! The constitution which you have given us has shaken all thrones, struck terror into all kings. Liberty advancing with giant step, despotism crushed, superstition annihilated, the republic recovering its unity, the conspirators unveiled and punished, unfaithful representatives, base and perfidious public functionaries, falling under the axe of the law, the fetters of the slaves in the New World broken—such are your trophies! If intriguers still exist, let them tremble! let the death of the conspirators attest your triumph! As for you, representatives, live happy in the wise laws which you have made for the welfare of all nations, and receive the tribute of our love."*

It was not from horror of sanguinary means that the committee had struck the ultra-revolutionists, but with a view to strengthen the hands of authority, and to remove the obstacles that impeded its action. Accordingly, it was afterwards seen constantly tending to a twofold aim: to render itself more

* Sitting of the 26th Germinal. *Moniteur*, No. 208, of the year 2, (April, 1794)

and more formidable, and to concentrate power always in its own hands. Collet, who had become the spokesman of the government at the Jacobins, explained in the most energetic manner the policy of the committee. In a violent speech, in which he indicated to all the authorities the new track which they ought to pursue, and the zeal which they ought to display in their functions, he said, "The tyrants have lost their strength; their armies tremble before ours; several of the despots are already seeking to withdraw from the coalition. In this state, they have but one hope left, that of internal conspiracies. We must not cease, therefore, to keep a vigilant eye on the traitors. Like our victorious brethren on the frontiers, let us all present arms and fire all at once. While our external enemies fall beneath the strokes of our soldiers, let the internal enemies fall beneath the strokes of the people. Our cause, defended by justice and energy, shall be triumphant. Nature is this year bountiful to the republicans. She promises them a double harvest. The bursting buds proclaim the fall of the tyrants. I repeat to you, citizens, let us watch at home, while our warriors are fighting without; let the functionaries charged with the public concerns redouble their attention and zeal; let them thoroughly impress themselves with this idea, that there is perhaps not a street, not a crossing, where there is not a traitor meditating a last plot. Let this traitor find death, ay, and the speediest of death. If the administrators, if the public functionaries wish to find a place in history, this is the favourable moment to think of doing so. The revolutionary tribunal has already secured for itself a distinguished place there. Let all the administrations imitate its zeal and inexorable energy; let the revolutionary committees, in particular, redouble their vigilance and their activity; and let them firmly withstand the importunities with which they are beset, and which would hurry them into an indulgence pernicious to liberty."

St. Just presented to the Convention a formidable report on the general police of the republic. He therein repeated the fabulous history of all the conspiracies; he exhibited them as the rising of all the vices against the austere system of the republic; he said that the government, instead of relaxing, ought to strike without ceasing, until it should have sacrificed all the wretches whose corruption was an obstacle to the establishment of virtue. He pronounced the customary eulogy on severity, and sought in the usual way, at that time, by figures, of all kinds, to prove that the origin of the great institutions must be terrible. "What," said he, "would have become of an indulgent republic? We have opposed sword with sword, and the republic is founded. It has issued from the bosom of storms. It has this origin in common with the world arising out of chaos, and man weeping at the moment of his birth." In consequence of these maxims, St. Just proposed a general measure against the ex-nobles. It was the first of the kind that was enacted. In the preceding year, Danton had, in a moment of irritation, caused all the aristocrats to be outlawed. This measure, impracticable on account of its extent, had been changed into another, which condemned all suspected persons to provisional detention. But no direct law against the ex-nobles had yet been passed. St. Just held them forth as irreconcilable enemies of the revolution. "Do what you will," said he, "you will never be able to satisfy the enemies of the people, unless you re-establish tyranny. Let them go elsewhere in search of slavery and kings. They cannot make peace with you; you do not speak the same language; you do not understand one another. Drive them out, then! The world is not inhospitable, and with us the public welfare is the supreme law." St

Just proposed a decree banishing all the ex-nobles, all foreigners, from Paris, from the fortresses, and from the seaports, and declaring all those outlawed who should not have obeyed the decree within the space of ten days. Other clauses of this *projet* made it the duty of all the authorities to redouble their zeal and activity. The Convention applauded this proposition, as it always did, and voted it by acclamation. Collot-d'Herbois, the reporter of the decree to the Jacobins, added his own tropes to those of St. Just. "We must," said he, "make the body politic throw out the foul sweat of aristocracy. The more copiously it perspires the more healthy it will be."

We have seen what the committee did to manifest the energy of its policy. We have now to show the course which it pursued for the still greater concentration of power. In the first place, it ordered the disbanding of the revolutionary army. That army, a contrivance of Danton, had at first been serviceable for carrying into execution the will of the Convention, when relics of federalism still existed; but, as it had become the rallying-point of all the agitators and all the adventurers, as it had served for a point of support to the late demagogues, it was necessary to disperse it. Besides, the government, being implicitly obeyed,* had no need of these satellites to enforce the execution of its orders. In consequence, a decree was passed for disbanding it. The committee then proposed the abolition of the different ministries. Ministers were powers still possessing too much importance beside members of the committee of public welfare. Either they left everything to be done by the committee, and in this case they were useless; or they insisted on acting themselves, and then they were important competitors. The example of Bouchotte, who, directed by Vincent, had caused the committee so much embarrassment, was pregnant with instruction. The ministries were in consequence abolished, and in their stead the twelve following commissions were instituted;

1. Commission of civil administration, police, and the tribunals.
2. Commission of public instruction.
3. Commission of agriculture and the arts.
4. Commission of commerce and articles of consumption.
5. Commission of public works.
6. Commission of public succours.
7. Commission of conveyance, posts, and public vehicles.
8. Commission of finances.
9. Commission of organization and superintendence of the land forces.
10. Commission of the navy and the colonies.
11. Commission of arms, gunpowder, and mines.
12. Commission of foreign relations.

These commissions, dependent on the committee of public welfare, were neither more nor less than twelve offices, among which the business of the administration was divided. Herman, who was president of the revolutionary tribunal at the time of Danton's trial, was rewarded for his zeal by the appointment of chief of one of these commissions. To him was given the most important of them, that of civil administration, police, and tribunals.

* "One only power now remained—alone, terrible, irresistible. This was the power of DEATH, wielded by a faction steeled against every feeling of humanity, dead to every principle of justice. In their iron hands order resumed its sway from the influence of terror; obedience became universal from the extinction of hope. Silent and unresisted, they led their victims to the scaffold, dreaded alike by the soldiers, who crouched, the people, who trembled, and the victims, who suffered. The history of the world has no parallel to the horrors of that long night of suffering!"—*Alison*. E.

Other measures were adopted to effect more completely the centralization of power. According to the institution of the revolutionary committees, there was to be one for each commune or section of a commune. The rural communes being very numerous and inconsiderable, the number of committees was too great, and their functions were almost null. There was, moreover, a great inconvenience in their composition. The peasants being very revolutionary but generally illiterate, the municipal functions had devolved upon proprietors who had retired to their estates, and were not at all disposed to exercise power in the spirit of the government. In consequence, a vigilant eye was not kept upon the country, and especially upon the mansions. To remedy this inconvenience, the revolutionary committees were abolished and reduced to district committees. By these means the police, in becoming more concentrated, became also more active, and passed into the hands of the tradesmen of districts, who were almost all stanch Jacobins, and very jealous of the old nobility.

The Jacobins were the principal society, and the only one avowed by the government. It had invariably adopted the principles and the interests of the latter, and, like it, spoken out against the Hebertists and Dantonists. The committee of public welfare was desirous that it should absorb in itself almost all the others, and concentrate all the power of opinion, as it had concentrated in itself all the power of the government. This wish was extremely flattering to the ambition of the Jacobins, and they made the greatest efforts for its accomplishment. Since the meetings of the sections had been reduced to two a week, in order that the people might be able to attend them, and to secure the triumph of revolutionary motions, the sections had formed themselves into popular societies, and a great number of such societies had been established in Paris. There were two or three of them in each section. We have already mentioned the complaints preferred against them. It was said that the aristocrats, that is, the commercial clerks and the lawyers' clerks, dissatisfied with the requisition, the old servants of the nobility, all those, in short, who had any motive for resisting the revolutionary system, met at these societies, and there showed the opposition which they durst not manifest at the Jacobins or in the sections. The number of these secondary societies prevented any superintendence of them, and opinions which would not have dared to show themselves anywhere else, were sometimes expressed there. It had already been proposed to abolish them. The Jacobins had not a right to do so, neither could the government have taken such a step, without appearing to infringe the freedom of meeting and deliberating together, a freedom so highly prized at that time, and which, it was held, ought to be unlimited. On the motion of Collot, the Jacobins decided that they would not receive any more deputations from societies formed in Paris since the 10th of August, and that the correspondence with them should be discontinued. As to those which had been formed in Paris before the 10th of August, and which enjoyed the privilege of correspondence, it was decided that a report should be made upon each, to inquire whether they ought to retain that privilege. This measure particularly concerned the Cordeliers, already struck in their leaders, Ronsin, Vincent, and Hebert, and considered as suspected. Thus all the sectionary societies were condemned by this declaration; and the Cordeliers were to undergo the ordeal of a report.

It was not long before this measure produced the intended effect. All the sectionary societies, forewarned or intimidated, came one after another to the Convention and to the Jacobins, to declare their voluntary dissolution. All

congratulated alike the Convention and Jacobins, and declared that, formed for the public benefit, they voluntarily dissolved themselves, since their meetings had been deemed prejudicial to the cause which they meant to serve. From that time there were left in Paris only the parent society of the Jacobins, and in the provinces the affiliated societies. That of the Cordeliers, indeed, still subsisted beside its rival. Instituted formerly by Danton, ungrateful towards its founder, and since wholly devoted to Hebert, Ronsin, and Vincent, it had given a momentary uneasiness to the government, and vied with the Jacobins. The wrecks of Vincent's office and of the revolutionary army still assembled there. It could not well be dissolved; but the report was presented. This report stated that for some time past it corresponded but very rarely and very negligently with the Jacobins, and that consequently it might be said to be useless to continue to it the privilege of correspondence. It was proposed, on this occasion, to inquire whether more than one popular society was needed in Paris. Some even ventured to assert that a single centre of opinion ought to be established and placed at the Jacobins. The society passed to the order of the day on all these propositions, and did not even decide whether the privilege of correspondence should still be granted to the Cordeliers. But this once celebrated club had terminated its existence. Entirely forsaken, it was no longer of any account, and the Jacobins, with their train of affiliated societies, remained sole masters and regulators of public opinion.

After centralizing opinion, if we may be allowed the term, the next thing thought of was to give regularity to the expression of it, to render it less tumultuous and less annoying to the government. The continual observation and the denunciation of the public functionaries, magistrates, deputies, generals, administrators, had hitherto constituted the principal occupation of the Jacobins. This mania for incessantly attacking and persecuting the agents of authority, although it had its inconveniences, possessed also its advantages, whilst any doubt could be entertained of their zeal and their opinions. But now that the committee had vigorously seized the supreme power, that it watched its agents with great vigilance and selected them in the most revolutionary spirit, it would have been prejudicial to the committee, nay even dangerous to the state, to permit the Jacobins to indulge their wonted suspicions, and to annoy functionaries for the most part closely watched and carefully chosen. It was on occasion of Generals Charbonnier and Dagobert being both calumniated, while one was gaining advantages over the Austrians, and the other expiring in the Cerdagne, oppressed with age and wounds, that Collot d'Herbois complained at the Jacobins of this indiscreet manner of condemning generals and functionaries of all kinds. Throwing, as usual, all blame upon the dead, he imputed this mania of denunciation to the relics of Hebert's faction, and besought the Jacobins no longer to permit these public denunciations, which, he said, wasted the valuable time of the society, and threw a stigma on the agents selected by the government. He therefore proposed that the society should appoint a committee to receive denunciations and to transmit them secretly to the committee of public welfare; and this motion was adopted. In this manner denunciations became less inconvenient and less tumultuous, and demagogue disorder began to give way to the regularity of administrative forms.

Thus then to declare in a more and more energetic manner against the enemies of the Revolution, and to centralize the administration, the police, and the public opinion, were the first concerns of the committee and the first fruits of the victory which it had gained over all the parties. Ambition

egan, no doubt, to interfere in its determinations much more than in the first moment of its existence, but not so much as the great mass of power which it had acquired might lead one to infer. Instituted at the commencement of 1793, and amidst urgent dangers, it owed its existence to emergency alone. Once instituted, it had gradually assumed a greater share of power, in proportion as it needed more of it for the service of the state, and it had thus attained the dictatorship itself. Such had been its position amidst that universal dissolution of all the authorities, that it could not reorganize without gaining power, and act well without indulging ambition. The last measures which it had adopted were no doubt profitable to it, but they were prudent and useful. Most of them had even been suggested to it, for in a society which is reorganizing itself, everything comes to submit to its creative authority. But the moment was at hand when ambition was to reign paramount, and when the interest of its own power was to supersede that of the state. Such is man. He cannot long remain disinterested, and he soon adds self to the object which he is pursuing.

The committee of public welfare had still one concern to attend to, a concern which always preoccupies the founders of a new society, namely, religion. It had already paid homage to moral ideas by *making integrity, justice, and all the virtues, the order of the day*; it had now to direct its attention to religious ideas.

Let us here remark the singular progress of their systems among these sectaries. When they aimed at destroying the Girondins, they represented them as moderates, as faint republicans, talked of patriotic energy and *public welfare*, and sacrificed them to these ideas. When two new parties were formed, the one brutal, extravagant, striving to overthrow, to profane, everything: the other indulgent, easy, friendly to gentle manners and pleasures, they passed from ideas of patriotic energy to those of order and virtue. They no longer beheld a fatal moderation undermining the strength of the Revolution, they saw all the vices arrayed at once against the severity of the republican system. They beheld, on the one hand, anarchy rejecting all belief in God, effeminacy and corruption rejecting all idea of order, mental delirium rejecting all idea of morals. They then conceived the republic as virtue assailed by all the bad passions at once. The word virtue was every where: they placed justice and integrity upon the order of the day. It yet remained for them to proclaim the belief in God, the immortality of the soul, all the moral creeds; it yet remained for them to make a solemn declaration, to declare, in short, the religion of the state. They resolved, therefore, to pass a decree on this subject.* In this manner they should oppose order to the anarchists, faith in God to the atheists, and morals to the dissolute. Their system of virtue would be complete. They made it above all a particular point to remove from the republic the stigma of impiety, with which it was branded throughout all Europe. They resolved to say what is always said to priests who accuse you of impiety because you do not believe in their dogmas—*WE BELIEVE IN GOD.*

They had other motives for adopting a grand measure in regard to religion. The ceremonies of reason had been abolished; festivals were re

* "The Dictators possessed in the highest degree that fanaticism which distinguished certain social theories; just as the Fifth-monarchy men of the English revolution, to whom they may be compared, possessed that of certain religious ideas. The first desired the most absolute political equality, as the others did evangelical equality; the former aspired to the reign of virtue, as the other to the reign of the saints. In all affairs, human nature is apt to run into extremes, and produces, in a religious age, evangelical democrats—in a philosophic age, political democrats."—*Mignet*. E.

quired for the tenth days ; and it was of importance, when attending to the moral and religious wants of the people, to think of their wants of the imagination, and to furnish them with subjects of public meetings. Besides, the moment was one of the most favourable. The republic, victorious at the conclusion of the last campaign, began to be so at the commencement of this. Instead of the great destitution of means from which it was suffering last year, it was, through the care of its government, provided with powerful military resources. From the fear of being conquered it passed to the hope of conquering. Instead of alarming insurrections, submission prevailed everywhere. Lastly, if, owing to the assignats and the *maximum*, there was still some restraint upon the internal distribution of productions, Nature seemed to have been pleased to load France with all her bounties, in bestowing upon her the most abundant crops. From all the provinces tidings arrived that the harvest would be double, and the corn ripe a month before the usual time. This was therefore the moment for prostrating that republic, saved, victorious, and loaded with favours, at the feet of the Almighty. The occasion was grand and touching for those who believed. It was seasonable for those who merely complied with political ideas.

Let us remark one singular circumstance. Sectaries, for whom there existed no human convention that was respectable, who, from the extraordinary contempt in which they held all other nations, and the esteem with which they were filled for themselves, dreaded no opinion, and were not afraid of wounding that of the world ; who in matters of government had reduced everything to just what was absolutely necessary ; who had admitted no other authority but that of a few citizens temporarily elected ; who had not hesitated to abolish the most ancient and the most stubborn of all religions—such sectaries paused before two ideas, morality and faith in God. After rejecting all those from which they deemed it possible to release man, they remained under the sway of the two latter, and sacrificed a party to each of them. If some of them did not believe, they nevertheless all felt a want of order among men, and, for the support of this human order, the necessity of acknowledging in the universe a general and intelligent order. This is the first time in the history of the world that the dissolution of all the authorities left society a prey to the government of purely systematic minds—for the English believed in the Christian religion—and those minds which had outstripped all the received ideas adopted, retained, the ideas of morality and faith in God. This example is unparalleled in the history of the world : it is singular, it is grand, it is beautiful : history cannot help pausing to remark it.

Robespierre was reporter on this solemn occasion ; and to him alone it belonged to be so, according to the distribution of the parts which had been made among the members of the committee. Prieur,* Robert Lindet, and Carnot, silently superintended the administrative and the war departments. Barrère made most of the reports, particularly those which related to the operations of the armies, and all those in general which it was necessary to make extempore. Collet-d'Herbois, the declaimer, was despatched to the clubs and the popular meetings, to convey to them the messages of the committee. Couthon, though paralytic, likewise went everywhere, harangued

* "Prieur was originally a barrister at Chalons. In 1792 he was deputed to the Convention, where he voted for the King's death, and was afterwards appointed a member of the committee of public safety. In 1794, after the fall of the Mountain, he was appointed president of the Convention. Having been engaged in the insurrection of 1795, he concealed himself for some time, and was pardoned in the following year. Prieur was a humane man, but not remarkable for ability."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

the Convention, the Jacobins, the people, and possessed the art of exciting interest by his infirmities, and by the paternal tone which he assumed in saying the most violent things. Billaud, less excitable, attended to the correspondence, and sometimes discussed questions of general policy. St. Just, young, daring, and active, went to and fro between the fields of battle and the committee; and, when he had impressed terror and energy on the armies, he returned to make murderous reports against the parties whom it was requisite to send to death.* Lastly, Robespierre, the head of them all, consulted on all matters, spoke only on important occasions. For him were reserved the high moral and political questions, as more worthy of his talents and his virtue. The duty of reporter on the question which was about to be discussed belonged to him by right. None had spoken out more decidedly against atheism, none was so venerated, none had so high a reputation for purity and virtue, none, in short, was so well qualified by his ascendancy and his dogmatism for this sort of pontificate.

Never had so fair an occasion offered for imitating Rousseau, whose opinions he professed and whose style he made his continual study. The talents of Robespierre had been singularly developed during the long struggles of the Revolution. That cold and heavy being began to speak extempore; and when he wrote, it was with purity, brilliancy, and energy. In his style was to be found somewhat of the poignant and gloomy humour of Rousseau, but he had not been able to borrow either the grand ideas or the generous and impassioned soul of the author of *Emile*.

On the 18th of Floreal (May 7, 1794) he appeared in the tribune, with a speech which he had composed with great care. Profound attention was paid to him. "Citizens," said he, in his exordium, "it is in prosperity that nations, like individuals, should pause to reflect and listen, in the silence of the passions, to the voice of wisdom." He then developed at length the system adopted. The republic, according to him, was virtue; and all the adversaries which it had encountered were but vices of all kinds, excited against it and paid by kings. The anarchists, the corrupt men, the atheists, had been but the agents of Pitt. "The tyrants," added he, "satisfied with the hardihood of their emissaries, had been anxious to exhibit to the view of their subjects the extravagances which they had purchased, and, affecting to believe that they characterized the whole French nation, they seemed to say to them, 'What will you gain by shaking off our yoke? The republicans, you see, are no better than ourselves!'" Brissot, Danton, Hebert, figured by turns in Robespierre's speech; and, while he was launching out into declamations of hatred against the pretended enemies of virtue—declamations already extremely trite—he excited but little enthusiasm. Presently, relinquishing this portion of the subject, he rose to ideas truly grand and moral, and expressed with talent. He then obtained universal acclamations. He justly observed that it was not as the authors of systems that the representatives of the nation ought to discourage atheism and to proclaim deism, but as legislators seeking what principles are most suitable to man in a state of society. "What signify to you, O legislators!" he exclaims—"what signify to you the various hypotheses by which certain philosophers explain the phenomena of Nature? You can leave all these subjects to their everlasting disputes. Neither is it as metaphysicians nor as theologians that you ought to view them. In the eyes of the legislator, all that is beneficial to the world

* In one of these "murderous reports" St. Just made use of the following atrocious remark:—"The vessel of the Revolution can only arrive safely in port by ploughing its way boldly through a red sea of blood." E.

and good in practice is truth. The idea of the Supreme Being and of the immortality of the soul is a continual recall to justice; it is therefore social and republican. Who then," exclaims Robespierre, "hath given thee the mission to proclaim to the people that the Deity hath no existence? O thou who art in love with this sterile doctrine, and wast never in love with thy country, what advantage dost thou find in persuading man that a blind power presides over his destinies and strikes at random guilt and virtue? That his spirit is but a breath which is extinguished at the threshold of the tomb? Will the idea of his annihilation inspire purer and more exalted sentiments than that of his immortality? Will it inspire him with more respect for his fellow-creatures and for himself, more devotedness to his country, more courage to defy tyranny, more contempt of death and of sensual pleasure? Ye, who mourn a virtuous friend, who love to think that the better part of him has escaped death—ye who weep over the coffin of a son, or of a wife—are ye consoled by him who tells you that nothing but vile dust is left of either? Unfortunate mortal, who expiest by the steel of the assassin, thy last sigh is an appeal to eternal justice! Innocence on the scaffold makes the tyrant turn pale in his car of triumph. Would it possess this ascendancy, if the grave equalled the oppressor and the oppressed?"*

Robespierre, still confining himself to the political side of the question, adds these remarkable observations. "Let us," said he, "here take a lesson from history. Take notice, I beseech you, how the men who have exercised an influence on the destinies of states have been led into one or the other of two opposite systems by their personal character and by the very nature of their political views. Observe with what profound art Cæsar, pleading in the Roman senate in behalf of the accomplices of Catiline, deviates into a digression against the dogma of the immortality of the soul, so well calculated do these ideas appear to him to extinguish in the hearts of the judges the energy of virtue, so intimately does the cause of crime seem to be connected with that of atheism. Cicero, on the contrary, invoked the sword of the law and the thunderbolts of the gods against the traitors. Leonidas, at Thermopylæ, supping with his companions in arms, the moment before executing the most heroic design that human virtue ever conceived, invited them for the next day to another banquet in a new life. Cato did not hesitate between Epicurus and Zeno. Brutus and the illustrious conspirators who shared his dangers and his glory, belonged also to that sublime sect of the stoics, which had such lofty ideas of the dignity of man, which carried the enthusiasm of virtue to such a height, and which was extravagant in heroism only. Stoicism brought forth rivals of Brutus and of Cato, even in those frightful ages which succeeded the loss of Roman liberty. Stoicism saved the honour of human nature, degraded by the vices of the successors of Cæsar, and still more by the patience of the people."

On the subject of atheism, Robespierre expresses himself in a singular manner concerning the Encyclopedists: "In political matters," said he, "that sect always remained below the rights of the people; in point of morality it went far beyond the destruction of religious prejudices: its leaders sometimes declaimed against despotism, and they were pensioned by despots: sometimes they wrote books against the court, at others dedications to kings,

* At the time when Robespierre was indulging in all this specious declamation, he was making every effort to bring to maturity a sanguinary despotism unparalleled in the annals of the world. Not less than thirty innocent individuals were daily led to the scaffold, at the very period when this canting demagogue was solemnly and sentimentally proclaiming the last sigh of the murdered victim to be "an appeal to eternal justice!" E.

speeches for courtiers, and madrigals for courtizans. They were proud in their works, and cringing in the antechambers. This sect propagated with great zeal the opinion of materialism, which prevailed among the great and among the *beaux esprits*; to it we owe in part that kind of practical philosophy which, reducing selfishness to a system, considers human society as a warfare of trickery, success as the rule of right and wrong, integrity as a matter of taste or decorum, the world as the patrimony of clever scoundrels.

"Among those who, at the time of which I am speaking, distinguished themselves in the career of letters and philosophy, one man, by the loftiness of his character, proved himself worthy of the office of preceptor of mankind. He attacked tyranny with frankness; he spoke with enthusiasm of the Deity; his manly and straightforward eloquence described, in words that burn, the charms of virtue; and defended those consolatory dogmas which reason furnishes for the support of the human heart. The purity of his doctrine derived from nature and from a profound hatred of vice, as well as his invincible contempt for the intriguing sophists who usurped the name of philosophers, drew upon him the enmity and the persecution of his rivals and of his false friends. Ah! if he had witnessed this Revolution of which he was the forerunner, who can doubt that his generous soul would have embraced with transport the cause of liberty and equality!"*

Robespierre then strove to counteract the idea that, in proclaiming the worship of the Supreme Being, the government was labouring for the benefit of the priests. "What is there in common between the priests and God? The priests are to morality what quacks are to medicine. How different is the God of Nature from the God of the priests. I know nothing that so nearly resembles atheism as the religions which they have framed. By grossly misrepresenting the Supreme Being, they have annihilated belief in him as far as lay in their power. They made him at one time a globe of fire, at another an ox, sometimes a tree, sometimes a man, sometimes a king. The priests have created a God after their own image; they have made him jealous, capricious, greedy, cruel, and implacable; they have treated him as the mayors of the palace formerly treated the descendants of Clovis, in order to reign in his name and to put themselves in his place; they have confined him in heaven as in a palace, and have called him to earth only to demand of him for their own interest tithes, wealth, honours, pleasures, and power. The real temple of the Supreme Being is the universe; his worship, virtue; his festivals, the joy of a great nation, assembled in his presence to knit closer the bonds of universal fraternity, and to pay him the homage of intelligent and pure hearts."

Robespierre then said that the people needed festivals. "Man," he observed, "is the grandest object that exists in nature, and the most magnificent of all sights is that of a great people assembled together." In consequence, he proposed plans for public meetings on all the Decadis. He finished his report amidst the warmest applause; and proposed the following decree, which was adopted by acclamation:

"Art. 1. The French people acknowledges the existence of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul.

"Art. 2. It acknowledges that the worship most worthy of the Supreme Being is the practice of the duties of man."

* Robespierre here alludes to Rousseau, of whose sickly philosophy he was throughout life an ardent admirer. E.

Other articles purported that festivals should be instituted, in order to remind man of the Deity and of the dignity of his own nature. They were to borrow their names from the events of the Revolution, or from the virtues most beneficial to man. Besides the festivals of the 14th of July, the 10th of August, the 21st of January, and the 31st of May, the Republic was to celebrate on all the Decadis the following festivals: to the Supreme Being—to the human race—to the French people—to the benefactors of mankind—to the martyrs of liberty—to liberty and equality—to the republic—to the liberty of the world—to the love of country—to hatred of tyrants and traitors—to truth—to justice—to modesty—to glory—to friendship—to frugality—to courage—to good faith—to heroism—to disinterestedness—to stoicism—to love—to conjugal fidelity—to paternal affection—to filial piety—to infancy—to youth—to manhood—to old age—to misfortune—to agriculture—to industry—to our ancestors—to posterity—to happiness.

A solemn festival was ordered for the 20th of Prairial, and the plan of it was committed to David. It is proper to add that, in this decree, freedom of religion was anew proclaimed.

No sooner was this report finished, than it was sent to be printed. On the same day, the commune and the Jacobins, demanding that it should be read, received it with applause, and deliberated upon going in a body to the Convention to present their thanks for the *sublime* decree which it had just passed. It had been remarked that the Jacobins had been silent after the immolation of the two parties, and had not gone to congratulate the committee and the Convention. A member had noticed this, and said that it was a fit occasion for proving the union of the Jacobins with a government which displayed such admirable conduct. An address was accordingly drawn up and presented to the Convention by a deputation of the Jacobins. That address concluded thus: "The Jacobins come this day to thank you for the solemn decree that you have just issued; they will come and join you in the celebration of that great day on which the festival of the Supreme Being shall assemble the virtuous citizens throughout all France to sing the hymn of virtue." The president made a pompous reply to the deputation. "It is worthy," said he, "of a society which fills the world with its renown, which enjoys so great an influence upon the public opinion, which has associated at all times with all the most courageous of the defenders of the rights of man, to come to the temple of the laws to pay homage to the Supreme Being."

The president proceeded, and, after a very long harangue on the same subject, called upon Couthon to speak. The latter made a violent speech against atheists and corrupt men, and pronounced a pompous eulogy on the society. He proposed on that solemn day of joy and gratitude to do the Jacobins a justice which had long been due to them, namely, to declare that, ever since the commencement of the Revolution, they had not ceased to deserve well of the country. This suggestion was adopted amidst thunders of applause. The assembly broke up in transports of joy, nay, indeed, in a sort of intoxication.

If the Convention had received numerous addresses after the death of the Hebertists and the Dantonists, it received many more after the decree proclaiming the belief in the Supreme Being. The contagion of ideas and words spreads with extraordinary rapidity among the French. Among a prompt and communicative people the idea that engages some few minds soon engages the attention of the public generally; the word that is in some mouths is soon in all. Addresses poured in from all parts, congratulating

the Convention on its sublime decrees, thanking it for having established virtue, proclaimed the worship of the Supreme Being, and restored hope to man. All the sections came, one after another, to express similar sentiments. The section of Marat, appearing at the bar, addressed the Mountain in these words: "O beneficent Mountain! protecting Sinai! accept also our expressions of gratitude and congratulation for all the sublime decrees which thou art daily issuing for the happiness of mankind. From thy boiling bosom darted the salutary thunderbolt, which, in crushing atheism, gives us genuine republicans the consolatory idea of living free, in the sight of the Supreme Being, and in expectation of the immortality of the soul. *The Convention forever! The Republic forever! The Mountain forever!*" All the addresses besought the Convention anew to retain the supreme power. There was one even which called upon it to sit till the reign of virtue should be established in the republic upon imperishable foundations.

From that day, the words *Virtue* and *Supreme Being* were in every mouth. Instead of the inscription, To REASON, placed upon the fronts of the churches, there was now inscribed, To THE SUPREME BEING. The remains of Rousseau were removed to the Pantheon. His widow was presented to the Convention, and a pension settled upon her.

Thus the committee of public welfare, triumphant over all the different parties, invested with all the powers, placed at the head of an enthusiastic and victorious nation, proclaiming the reign of virtue and the worship of the Supreme Being, was at the height of its authority, and at the last term of its systems.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

STATE OF EUROPE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF 1794 (YEAR 11)—
GENERAL PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—PLANS OF THE ALLIES AND
OF THE FRENCH—OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN—OCCUPATION OF
THE PYRENEES AND OF THE ALPS—OPERATIONS IN THE NETHER-
LANDS; ACTIONS ON THE SAMBRE AND THE LYS; BATTLE OF
TURCOING—OCCURRENCES IN THE COLONIES—SEA-FIGHT.

In Europe and in France the winter had been spent in making preparations for a new campaign. England was still the soul of the coalition, and urged the continental powers to advance and to destroy on the banks of the Seine a revolution that alarmed her, and a rival who was hateful to her. The implacable son of Chatham had this year made immense efforts to crush France. It was, however, not without opposition that he had obtained from the English parliament means proportionate to his vast projects.—Lord Stanhope in the Upper House, Fox and Sheridan* in the Lower, were still hos-

* Fox and Sheridan observed "that the conduct of government since the war commenced had been a total departure from the principles of moderation on which they had so much prided themselves before it broke out. They then used language which breathed only the strictest neutrality, and this continued even after the King had been dethroned, and many of

tile to the system of war. They refused all sacrifices demanded by the ministers. They were for granting only just what was necessary for the defence of the coast, and above all they would not suffer this war to be termed *just and necessary*: it was, in their opinion, unjust, ruinous, and punished with just reverses. The pretended motives deduced from the opening of the Scheldt, the dangers of Holland, and the necessity of defending the British constitution, were false. Holland had not been endangered by the opening of the Scheldt, and the British constitution was not threatened. The aim of ministers was to destroy a people who had determined to be free, and to keep continually increasing their personal influence and authority, upon pretext of resisting the machinations of the French Jacobins. This struggle had been maintained by unfair means. Civil war and massacre had been fomented, but a brave and generous nation had frustrated the attempts of its adversaries by unexampled courage and efforts. Stanhope, Fox, and Sheridan, concluded that such a war was disgraceful and ruinous to England. They were mistaken on one point. The English Opposition may frequently reproach ministers with waging unjust wars, but never disadvantageous ones.* If the war carried on against France had no motive of justice, it had excellent motives of policy, as we shall presently see, and the Opposition, misled by generous sentiments, overlooked the advantages that were about to result from it to England.

Pitt affected alarm at the threats of invasion uttered in the tribune of the Convention. He pretended that country-people in Kent had said, "The French are coming to bring us the rights of man." He made this language (paid for, it is said, by himself) a pretext for asserting that the constitution was threatened; he had denounced the constitutional societies in England, which had become rather more active, after the example set them by the clubs of France; and he insisted that, under pretence of a parliamentary reform, their design was to establish a Convention. In consequence, he demanded the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, the seizure of the papers of those societies, and the institution of proceedings against some of their members.† He demanded, moreover, the privilege of enrolling volunteers, and of maintaining them by means of donations or subscriptions, of increasing the force of the army and navy, and of raising a corps of forty thousand foreigners, French emigrants and others. The Opposition made a spirited resistance. It asserted that there was nothing to warrant the suspension of the most valuable of the liberties of Englishmen: that the accused societies deliberated in public; that their wishes, openly expressed, could not be conspiracies, and that they were the wishes of all England, since they were confined to parliamentary reform; that the immoderate increase of the land forces was pregnant with danger to the English people; that, if the volunteers could be armed by subscription, it would become allowable for the minister to raise armies without the sanction of parliament; that the maintenance of so great a number of foreigners would be ruinous, and that it had no other

the worst atrocities of the Revolution had been perpetrated; but now, even though they did not altogether reject negotiation, they issued declarations evidently calculated to render it impossible, and shake all faith in the national integrity."—*Parliamentary History*. E.

* M. Thiers seems to have forgotten Lord North's "disadvantageous" American war, which cost England so much blood and treasure, and was attended with such humiliating results. E.

† An allusion to the various prosecutions of the reformers which took place about this time in Scotland, and to the celebrated trial of Hardy, Thelwal, and Horne Tooke, in England, for treason. E.

object than to pay Frenchmen for being traitors to their country. In spite of the remonstrances of the Opposition, which had never been either more eloquent or less numerous, for it comprehended no more than thirty or forty members, Pitt obtained all that he desired, and carried all the bills which he had presented.*

As soon as these demands were granted, he caused the militia to be doubled; he increased the land forces to sixty thousand men, and the naval forces to eighty thousand; he organized fresh corps of emigrants, and brought to trial several members of the constitutional societies. An English jury, a more solid guarantee than the parliament, acquitted the accused; but this was of little consequence to Pitt, who had in his hands all the means of repressing the slightest political movement, and of wielding a colossal power in Europe.

This was the moment for profiting by this general war to crush France, to ruin her navy for ever, and to take her colonies from her—a much more sure and enviable result in the estimation of Pitt than the repression of certain political and religious doctrines. He had succeeded in the preceding year in arming against France the two maritime powers which should always have continued in alliance with her—Spain and Holland; he was anxious to keep them in their political error, and to turn it to the best account against the French navy. England was able to send out of her ports at least one hundred sail of the line, Spain forty, and Holland twenty, exclusively of a multitude of frigates. How was France, with the fifty or sixty ships left her since the conflagration at Toulon, to cope with such a force? Though, no naval action had yet been fought, the English flag was paramount in the Mediterranean, in the Atlantic Ocean, and in the Indian Seas. In the Mediterranean, the English squadrons threatened the Italian powers which were desirous of remaining neuter, blockaded Corsica with a view to wrest that island from us, and awaited a favourable moment for landing troops and stores in La Vendée. In America, they surrounded our Antilles, and sought to profit by the terrible dissensions prevailing between the whites, the mulattoes, and the blacks, to gain possession of them. In the Indian seas, they completed the establishment of British power and the ruin of Pondicherry. With another campaign our commerce would be destroyed, whatever might be the fortune of arms on the continent. Thus nothing could be more politic than the war waged by Pitt with France, and the Opposition was wrong to find fault with it on the score of advantages. It would have been right in one case only, and that case has not yet occurred; if her debt, continually increasing and now become enormous, is really beyond her wealth, and destined some day to overwhelm her, England will have exceeded her means, and will have done wrong in struggling for an empire which will have cost her her strength. But this is a mystery of the future.

Pitt hesitated at no violence to augment his means and to aggravate the calamities of France. The Americans, happy under Washington, freely traversed the seas, and began to engage in that vast carrying-trade which has enriched them during the long wars of the continent. Pitt subjected their vessels to impressment. The British squadrons stopped American ships, and took away men belonging to their crews. More than five hundred vessels had already undergone this violence, and it was the subject of warm remonstrances on the part of the American government, but they were not

* "The House of Commons passed the bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act by a majority of 261 to 42. In the House of Lords it was adopted without a division."—*Annual Register*. E.

listened to. This was not all. By favour of the neutrality, the Americans, the Danes, the Swedes, frequented our ports, bringing thither succours in corn, which the dearth rendered extremely valuable, and many articles necessary for the navy; and took away in exchange the wines and other productions with which the soil of France furnishes the world. Owing to this intermediate agency of neutrals, commerce was not entirely interrupted, and the most urgent wants were supplied. England, considering France as a besieged place, which must be famished and reduced to extremity, meditated the infraction of these rights of neutrals, and addressed notes full of sophistry to the northern courts, in order to enforce a violation of the right of nations.

While England was employing these means of all kinds, she had still forty thousand men in the Netherlands, under the command of the Duke of York. Lord Moira, who had been unable to reach Granville in time, was lying at Jersey with his squadron and a land force of ten thousand men. Lastly, the English treasury held funds at the disposal of all the belligerent powers.

On the continent the zeal was not so great. The powers which had not the same interest in the war as England, and which engaged in it for pretended principles alone, prosecuted it neither with the same ardour nor with the same activity. England strove to rouse the general zeal. She still held Holland under her yoke by means of the Prince of Orange, and obliged her to furnish her contingent to the allied army of the North. Thus that unhappy nation had its ships and its regiments in the service of its most formidable enemy, and against its most steadfast ally. Prussia, notwithstanding the mysticism of her king, had in a great measure shaken off the illusions with which she had been fed for two years past. The retreat of Champagne, in 1792, and that of the Vosges, in 1793, had nothing encouraging for her. Frederick William, who had exhausted his exchequer, and weakened his army in a war which could not have any favourable result for his kingdom, and which could prove serviceable at most to the house of Austria, would have been glad to relinquish it. An object, moreover, of much greater interest to him called him northward; namely, Poland, which was in motion, and the dissevered members of which were tending to reunite. England, surprising him amidst this indecision, prevailed upon him to continue the war by the all-powerful means of her gold. She concluded at the Hague, in her name and in that of Holland, a treaty by which Prussia engaged to furnish sixty-two thousand four hundred men for the service of the coalition. This army was to be under a Prussian commander, and all the requests that it should make were to belong jointly to the two maritime powers—England and Holland. In return, those two powers promised to furnish the King of Prussia with fifty thousand pounds sterling per month for the maintenance of his troops, and to pay him besides for bread and forage. Over and above this sum, they granted three hundred thousand pounds, to defray the first expenses of taking the field, and one hundred thousand for the return to the Prussian states. At this price Prussia continued the impolitic war which she had begun.*

The house of Austria had no longer any catastrophe to avert in France, since the princess whom she had given to Louis XVI. had expired on the scaffold. That power had less to fear from the Revolution than any other country, since the political discussions of the last thirty years have not yet

* "The discontent of the Prussian troops was loudly proclaimed when it transpired that they were to be transferred to the pay of Great Britain; and they openly murmured at the disgrace of having the soldiers of the great Frederick sold, like mercenaries, to a foreign

awakened the public mind in her dominions; it was, therefore, merely revenge to fulfil an engagement, a wish to gain some fortresses in the Netherlands, perhaps too, but this must have been vague, the silly hope of having a share of our provinces, that induced Austria to continue the war. She carried it on with more ardour than Prussia, but not with much more real activity; for she merely completed and reorganized her regiments without increasing their number. A great part of her troops was in Poland, for she had, like Prussia, a powerful motive for looking back, and for thinking of the Vistula as much as of the Rhine. Galicia occupied her attention not less than the Netherlands and Alsace.

Sweden and Denmark maintained a wise neutrality, and replied to the sophistries of England that the public right was immutable, that there was no reason for violating it towards France, and for extending to a whole country the laws of blockade, laws applicable only to a besieged place; that Danish and Swedish vessels were well received in France; that they found there not barbarians, as the French were called, but a government which did justice to the demands of commercial foreigners, and which paid all due respect to the nations with which it was at peace; that there was, therefore, no reason for breaking off an advantageous intercourse with it. In consequence, though Catherine, quite favourable to the plans of the English, seemed to decide against the rights of neutral nations, Sweden and Denmark persisted in their resolutions, preserved a prudent and firm neutrality, and concluded a treaty by which both engaged to maintain the rights of neutrals, and to enforce the observance of a clause in the treaty of 1780, which closed the Baltic against the armed ships of such powers as had no port in that sea. France, therefore, had ground to hope that she should still receive corn from the north, and the timber and hemp requisite for her navy.

Russia, continuing to affect much indignation at the French Revolution, and giving great hopes to the emigrants, thought of nothing but Poland, and entered so far into the policy of the English merely to obtain their adhesion to hers. This accounts for the silence of England on an event of not less importance than the sweeping of a kingdom from the political stage. At this moment of general spoliation, when England was reaping so large a share of advantages in the south of Europe and in every sea, it would not have become her to talk the language of justice to the copartitioners of Poland. Thus the coalition, which accused France of having fallen into barbarism, was committing in the North the most impudent robbery that policy ever engaged in, meditating a similar procedure against France, and contributing to destroy for ever the liberty of the seas.

The German princes followed the movements of the house of Austria. Switzerland, protected by her mountains, and freed by her institutions from engaging in a crusade on behalf of monarchies, persisted in not espousing either party, and covered by her neutrality the eastern provinces, the least defended of all France. She pursued the same course upon the continent which the Americans, the Swedes, and the Danes, followed at sea. She rendered the same services to French commerce, and reaped the same benefit from her conduct. She supplied us with the horses necessary for our armies and with cattle, of which we had been deficient since the war had ravaged the Vosges and La Vendée; she exported the produce of our manufactures, and thus became the intermediate agent of a most lucrative traffic

power. The event soon demonstrated that the succours stipulated from Prussia would prove of the most inefficient description."—*Alison*. E.

Piedmont continued the war, no doubt, with regret, but she could not consent to lay down her arms, so long as she should lose two provinces, Savoy and Nice, at this sanguinary and ill-played game. The Italian powers wished to be neuter, but they were exceedingly annoyed on account of this intention. The republic of Genoa had seen the English resort to an unworthy procedure in her port, and commit a real attack upon the right of nations. They had seized a French frigate, lying there under shelter of the Genoese neutrality, and had slaughtered the crew. Tuscany had been obliged to dismiss the French resident. Naples, which had recognised the republic when the French squadrons threatened her coasts, made great demonstrations against her, since the English flag was unfurled in the Mediterranean, and promised to succour Piedmont with eighteen thousand men. Rome, fortunately powerless, cursed us, and had allowed Basseville, the French agent, to be murdered within its walls. Lastly, Venice, though far from feeling flattered by the demagogue language of France, would not on any account engage herself in a war, and hoped, by favour of her distant position, to preserve her neutrality. Corsica was on the point of being wrested from us, since Paoli had declared for the English.* The only places that we had yet left there, were Bastia and Calvi.

Spain, the most innocent of our enemies, continued an impolitic war against us, and persisted in committing the same blunder as Holland. The duties which the thrones pretended to have then to perform against France, the victories of Ricardos, and the English influence, decided her to try another campaign, though she was greatly exhausted, in want of soldiers, and still more of money. The celebrated Alcudia caused d'Aranda to be disgraced for having advised peace.

Politics, therefore, had changed but little since the preceding year. Interests, errors, blunders, and crimes, were the same in 1794 as in 1793. England alone had increased her forces. The allies still had in the Netherlands one hundred and fifty thousand men, Austrians, Germans, Dutch, and English. Twenty-five or thirty thousand Austrians were at Luxemburg; sixty-five thousand Prussians and Saxons in the environs of Mayence. Fifty thousand Austrians, intermixed with some emigrants, lined the Rhine from Mannheim to Basle. The Piedmontese army still consisted of forty thousand men and seven or eight thousand Austrian auxiliaries. Spain had made some levies to recruit her battalions, and demanded some pecuniary aid of her clergy, but her army was not more considerable than in the preceding year, being still limited to about sixty thousand men, divided between the eastern and western Pyrenees.

It was in the North that our enemies proposed to strike the most decisive blows against us by supporting themselves upon Condé, Valenciennes, and Le Quesnoy. The celebrated Mack† had drawn up in London a plan from which great results were expected. This time the German tactician had been rather more bold, and he had introduced into his plan a march to Paris.

* "The crown of Corsica, which had been offered by Paoli and the aristocratical party, to the King of England, was accepted, and efforts immediately made to confer upon the inhabitants a constitution similar to that of Great Britain."—*Annual Register*. E.

† "Bonaparte speaking to me of him one day, said, 'Mack is a man of the lowest mediocrity I ever saw in my life; he is full of self-sufficiency and conceit, and believes himself equal to anything. He has no talent. I should like to see him opposed some day to one of our good generals; we should then see fine work! He is a boaster, and that is all. He is really one of the most silly men existing; and besides that, he is unlucky.'"—*Bourbonne*. E.

Unluckily it was rather too late for any daring attempt; for the French could no longer be taken by surprise, and their forces were immense. The plan consisted in taking another fortress, that of Landrecies, collecting in force at that point, bringing the Prussians from the Vosges towards the Sambre, and marching forward, leaving two corps on the wings, one in Flanders, the other on the Sambre. At the same time Lord Moira was to land troops in La Vendée, and to increase our dangers by a double march upon Paris.

To take Landrecies, when in possession of Valenciennes, Condé, and Le Quesnoy, was a puerile conceit; to cover the communications towards the Sambre was most judicious; but to place a corps to guard Flanders was absolutely useless, when the intention was to form a powerful invading mass; to bring the Prussians upon the Sambre was a questionable proceeding, as we shall presently see; lastly, to make a diversion in La Vendée was too late by a year, for the great Vendée had perished. We shall soon perceive, from the comparison of the project with the event, the vanity of all these plans drawn up in London.*

The coalition had not, we say, brought into play great resources. There were at this moment only three really active powers in Europe—England, Russia, and France. The reason of this is simple. England was anxious to make herself mistress of the seas, Russia to secure Poland, and France to save her existence and her liberty. There was no natural energy except in these great powers; there was no purpose noble but that of France; and in behalf of this interest she made the greatest efforts that history has ever recorded.

The permanent requisition, decreed in the month of August in the preceding year, had already supplied the armies with reinforcements and contributed to the successes with which the campaign concluded; but this important measure was not destined to produce its full effect till the ensuing campaign. Owing to this extraordinary movement, twelve hundred thousand men had left their homes, and covered the frontiers or filled the depots of the interior. The brigading of these fresh troops had been commenced. One battalion of the line was incorporated with two battalions of the new levy, and excellent regiments were thus formed. On this plan, several hundred thousand men had been organized, and they were distributed on the frontiers and in the fortresses. They were, including the garrisons two hundred and fifty thousand in the North; forty thousand in the Ardennes; two hundred thousand on the Rhine and the Moselle; one hundred thousand at the foot of the Alps; one hundred and twenty thousand at the Pyrenees; and eighty thousand between Cherbourg and La Rochelle. The means for equipping these forces had been neither less prompt nor less extraordinary than those for assembling them. The manufactures of arms established in Paris and in the provinces, had soon attained the degree of activity which was intended to be given to them, and produced great quantities of cannon, swords, and muskets. The committee of public welfare, skilfully turning the French character to account, had contrived to bring into vogue the manufacture of saltpetre. In the preceding year it had already ordered an examination of all cellars for the purpose of extracting from them the mould impregnated with saltpetre. It soon adopted a still better method. It drew up directions, a model of simplicity and clearness, to teach the citizens how to lixiviate the

* Those who wish to read the best political and military discussion on this subject are referred to the critical memoir on that campaign written by General Jomini, and appended to his great History of the Wars of the Revolution. E.

mould of cellars. It also took into its pay a number of operative chemists to instruct them in the manipulation. The practice soon became generally introduced. People imparted to others the instructions which they had received, and each house furnished some pounds of this useful salt. Some of the quarters of Paris assembled for the purpose of carrying with pomp to the Convention the saltpetre which they had fabricated. A festival was instituted, on which each came to deposit his offering on the altar of the country. Emblematic forms were given to this salt; all sorts of epithets were lavished upon it; some called it the *avenging* salt, others the *liberating* salt. The people amused themselves with it, but produced considerable quantities; and the government had attained its object. Some inconveniences naturally arose out of all this. The cellars were dug up, and the mould, after it had been lixiviated, lay in the streets, which it encumbered and spoiled. An ordinance of the committee of public welfare put an end to this nuisance, and the lixiviated earth was replaced in the cellars. Saline matters ran short: the committee ordered that all the herbage, not employed either as food for cattle or for domestic or rural purposes, should be immediately burned, in order to be employed in the making of saltpetre, or converted into saline substances.

Government had the art to introduce another fashion that was not less advantageous. It was easier to raise men and to manufacture arms than to find horses, of which the artillery and the cavalry were deficient. The war had rendered them scarce, and, owing to the demand and the general rise in the prices of all commodities, they were very dear. It was absolutely necessary to recur to the grand expedient of requisitions, that is to say, to take by force what an indispensable necessity demanded. In each canton, one horse out of every twenty-five was taken and paid for at the rate of nine hundred francs. Mighty, however, as force may be, good-will is much more effective. At the suggestion of the committee, a horse-soldier, fully equipped, was offered to it by the Jacobins. The example was then universally followed. Communes, clubs, sections, were eager to offer to the republic what were called *Jacobin Horsemen*, completely mounted and equipped.

There were now soldiers, but officers were still wanting. The committee acted in this respect with its accustomed promptitude. "The Revolution," said Barrère, "must accelerate all things for the supply of its wants. The Revolution is to the human mind what the sun of Africa is to vegetation." The school of Mars was re-established; young men, selected from all the provinces, repaired on foot, and in military order, to Paris. Encamped in tents on the plain of Sablons, they repaired thither to acquire rapid instruction in all the departments of the art of war, and then to be distributed among the armies.

Efforts equally energetic were made to recompose our navy. It consisted in 1789, of fifty sail of the line and as many frigates. The disorders of the Revolution, and the disaster of Toulon, had reduced it to about fifty vessels, only thirty of which, at most, were in a fit state to be sent to sea. Men and officers were what they stood most in need of. The navy required experienced men, and all the experienced men were incompatible with the Revolution. The reform effected in the staffs of the land forces, was therefore still more inevitable in the staffs of the naval forces, and could not fail to cause a much greater disorganization in the latter. The two ministers, Monge and d'Albarade, had succumbed under these difficulties and been dismissed. The committee resolved, in this instance also, to have recourse to extraordinary means. Jean-Bon-St.-Andre, and Prieur of La Marne, were

sent to Brest with the usual powers of commissioners of the Convention. The Brest squadron, after arduously cruising for four months off the west coast to prevent communication between the Vendéans and the English, had mutinied in consequence of its long hardships. No sooner had it returned than Admiral Morard de Gales was arrested by the representatives, and rendered responsible for the disorderly conduct of the squadron. The crews were entirely decomposed and reorganized in the prompt and violent manner of the Jacobins. Peasants, who had never been at sea, were put on board the ships of the republic to manœuvre against veteran English sailors. Inferior officers were raised to the highest ranks, and Captain Villaret-Joyeuse* was promoted to the command of the squadron. In a month, a fleet of thirty ships was ready to sail: it left the port full of enthusiasm, and amidst the acclamations of the people of Brest; not, indeed, to defy the formidable squadrons of England, Holland, and Spain, but to protect a convoy of two hundred sail, bringing a considerable quantity of corn from America, and ready to fight to the last extremity, if the safety of the convoy required it. Meanwhile, Toulon was the theatre of not less rapid creations. The ships which had escaped the flames were repaired and new ones built. The expenses were levied upon the property of the Toulonese, who had contributed to surrender their port to the enemy. For want of the large ships which were under repair, a multitude of privateers covered the sea, and made valuable prizes. A bold and courageous nation, which lacks the means of carrying on war upon a large scale, may always resort to petty warfare, and therein exert its intelligence and its valour; by land it wages the war of partisans, at sea, that of privateers. According to the report of Lord Stanhope, we had taken, from 1793 to 1794, four hundred and ten vessels, whereas the English had taken from us only three hundred and sixteen. The government then did not renounce the task of re-establishing even the naval portion of our forces.

Such prodigious efforts could not fail to produce their fruit, and we were about to reap, in 1794, the benefit of our exertions in 1793.

The campaign first opened on the Pyrenees and on the Alps. Far from being active on the western, it was destined to be much more so on the eastern Pyrenees, where the Spaniards had conquered the line of the Tech, and still occupied the famous camp of Boulou. Ricardos was dead, and that famous general had been succeeded by one of his lieutenants, the Count de la Union, an excellent soldier, but an indifferent commander. Not having yet received the fresh reinforcements which he expected, La Union thought of nothing further than keeping Boulou. The French were commanded by the brave Dugommier, who had retaken Toulon. Part of the *matériel* and of the troops employed in that service had been sent before Perpignan, while the new levies were training in the rear. Dugommier was enabled to bring thirty-five thousand men into line, and to profit by the wretched state in which the Spaniards then were. Dagobert, still enthusiastic in spite of his age, proposed a plan of invasion by the Cerdagne, which,

* "Louis Thomas Villaret-Joyeuse, a French vice-admiral, served at first in the infantry. An affair of honour in which he killed his adversary obliged him to quit his corps, and he went to Brest, entered into the navy, and made himself known as a brave and intelligent officer. In 1789 he declared for the Revolution, and from 1793 to 1796 was employed at the head of the French fleets, but was generally unsuccessful. In 1797 he quitted the navy and was deputed to the council of Five Hundred where he spoke against the Terrorists. In the year 1802 he was appointed captain-general of Martinique, and in 1805 was decorated with the red ribbon."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

carrying the French beyond the Pyrenees and upon the rear of the Spanish army, would have obliged the latter to fall back. It was deemed preferable to attempt, in the first instance, an attack on the camp of Boulou, and Dagobert, who was with his division in the Cerdagne, was directed to await the result of that attack. The camp of Boulou, situated on the banks of the Tech, and with its back to the Pyrenees, had for outlet the causeway of Bellegarde, which forms the high road between France and Spain. Dugommier, instead of attacking the enemy's positions, which were extremely well fortified, in front, strove by some means to penetrate between Boulou and the causeway of Bellegarde, so as to reduce the Spanish camp. His plan was completely successful. La Union had pushed the bulk of his forces to Ceret, and left the heights of St. Christophe, which commanded the Boulou, insufficiently guarded. Dugommier crossed the Tech, despatched part of his troops towards St. Christophe, and attacked with the rest the front of the Spanish positions, and, after a brisk action, remained master of the heights. From that moment the camp ceased to be tenable. The enemy was obliged to retreat by the causeway of Bellegarde; but Dugommier took possession of it, and left the Spaniards only a narrow and difficult track across the Col de Porteil. Their retreat soon became a rout. Being charged briskly and opportunely, they fled in confusion, leaving us fifteen hundred prisoners, one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, eight hundred mules laden with their baggage, and camp effects for twenty thousand men. This victory, gained in the middle of Floreal (the beginning of May), made us masters of the Tech, and carried us beyond the Pyrenees. Dugommier immediately blockaded Collioure, Port-Vendre, and St. Elme, with the intention of retaking them from the Spaniards. At the moment of this important victory, the brave Dagobert, attacked by a fever, closed his long and glorious career. This noble veteran, aged seventy-six years, carried with him the regret and the admiration of the army.

Nothing could be more brilliant than the opening of the campaign in the eastern Pyrenees. In the western we took the valley of Bastan, and these triumphs over the Spaniards whom we had not yet conquered, occasioned universal joy.

Towards the Alps, we had yet to establish our line of defence on the great chain. Towards Savoy, we had, in the preceding year, driven back the Piedmontese into the valleys of Piedmont, but we had to take the posts of the Little St. Bernard and of Mont Cenis. Towards Nice, the army of Italy was still encamped in sight of Saorgio, without being able to force the formidable camp of the Fourches. General Dugommier had been succeeded by old Dumerbion, a brave officer, but almost always ill with the gout. Fortunately, he suffered himself to be entirely directed by young Bonaparte, who in the preceding year had decided the reduction of Toulon, by recommending the attack of Little Gibraltar. This service had gained Bonaparte the rank of general of brigade and high consideration in the army.* After

* The following is the Duchess d'Abrantes's vivid and interesting description of Bonaparte's personal appearance at this period of his career, when he had just been appointed general of brigade: "When Napoleon came to see us after our return to Paris, his appearance made an impression on me which I shall never forget. At this period of his life he was decidedly ugly; he afterwards underwent a total change. I do not speak of the illusive charm which his glory spread around him, but I mean to say that a gradual physical change took place in him in the space of seven years. His emaciated thinness was converted into a fulness of face, and his complexion, which had been yellow and apparently unhealthy, became clear and comparatively fresh; his features, which were angular and sharp, became round and filled out. As to his smile, it was always agreeable. The mode of dressing his

reconnoitering the enemy's positions, and ascertaining the impossibility of carrying the camp of the Fourches, he was struck by an idea not less happy than that which, in the preceding year, had restored Toulon to the republic. Saorgio is situated in the valley of the Roya. Parallel with this valley is that of Oneglia, in which runs the Taggia. Bonaparte conceived the idea of throwing a division of fifteen thousand men into the valley of Oneglia, making this division ascend to the sources of the Tanaro, then pushing it forward to Mount Tanarello, which borders the upper Roya, and thus intercepting the causeway of Saorgio, between the camp of the Fourches and the Col di Tenda. The camp of the Fourches, cut off by these means from the high Alps, must necessarily fall. This plan was liable but to one objection, namely, that it obliged the army to encroach on the territory of Genoa. But the republic had no need to make any scruple of this, for in the preceding year two thousand Piedmontese had passed through the Genoese territory and embarked at Oneglia for Toulon; besides, the outrage committed by the English on the frigate *La Modeste*, in the very port of Genoa, was the most signal violation of a neutral country. There was, moreover, an important advantage in extending the right of the army of Italy to Oneglia, which consisted in covering part of the Riviera of Genoa, in driving the privateers from the little harbour of Oneglia where they were accustomed to take refuge, and thus giving security to the commerce of Genoa with the south of France. This commerce, which was carried on by coasters, was exceedingly annoyed by English cruisers and squadrons, and it was important to protect it, because it contributed to supply the south with grain. There could, therefore, be no hesitation in adopting the plan of Bonaparte. The representatives applied to the committee of public welfare for the necessary authority, and the execution of this plan was immediately ordered.

On the 17th of Germinal (April 6) a division of fourteen thousand men, divided into five brigades,* crossed the Roya. General Massena* proceeded

hair, which had such a droll appearance as we see it in the prints of the passage of the bridge of Areole, was then comparatively simple; for the young men of fashion, whom he used to rail at so loudly at that time, wore their hair very long. But he was very careless of his personal appearance; and his hair, which was ill-combed and ill-powdered, gave him the look of a sloven. His little hands too underwent a great metamorphosis. When I first saw him, they were thin, long, and dark; but he was subsequently vain of their beauty, and with good reason. In short, when I recollect Napoleon at the commencement of 1794, with a shabby round hat drawn over his forehead, and his ill-powdered hair hanging over the collar of his gray great-coat, which afterwards became as celebrated as the white plume of Henry IV., without gloves, because he used to say they were a useless luxury, with boots ill-made and ill-blackened—with his thinness and his sallow complexion—in fine, when I recollect him at that time, and I think what he was afterwards, I do not see the same man in two pictures." E.

* "André Massena, Duke of Rivoli and Prince of Esslingen, Marshal of France, was born in 1758 at Nice, and rose from a common soldier to the rank of commander. In 1792, when the warriors of the republic had ascended Mount Cenis, he joined their ranks; distinguished himself by courage and sagacity; and in 1793 was made general of brigade. In the ensuing year he took the command of the right wing of the Italian army. He was the constant companion in arms of Bonaparte, who used to call him the spoiled child of victory. In 1799 Massena displayed great ability as commander-in-chief in Switzerland. After he had reconquered the Helvetian and Rhetian Alps, he was sent to Italy to check the victorious career of the Austrians. He hastened with the small force he could muster to the support of Genoa, the defence of which is among his most remarkable achievements. In 1804 he was created marshal of the empire, and the year after, received the chief command in Italy, where he lost the battle of Caldiero. After the peace of Tilsit, war having broken out in Spain, Massena took the field with the title of Duke of Rivoli; but in 1809 he was

towards Mount Tanaro, and Bonaparte, with three brigades, marched to Oneglia, drove out an Austrian division, and entered the town. He found in Oneglia twelve pieces of cannon, and cleared the port of all the privateers which infested those parts. While Massena was ascending the Tanaro to Tanarello, Bonaparte continued his movement, and proceeded from Oneglia to Ormea in the valley of the Tanaro. He entered it on the 28th of Germinal (April 15), and there found some muskets, twenty pieces of cannon, and magazines full of cloth for the clothing of the troops. As soon as the French brigades had joined in the valley of the Tanaro, they marched for the upper Roya, to execute the prescribed movement on the left of the Piedmontese. General Dumerbion attacked the Piedmontese positions in front, while Massena fell upon their flanks and their rear. After several very brisk actions, the Piedmontese abandoned Saorgio, and fell back on the Col di Tenda. They presently abandoned the Col di Tenda itself, and fled to Limona beyond the great chain.

During these occurrences in the valley of the Roya, the valleys of the Tinea and the Vesubia were scoured by the left of the army of Italy, and soon afterwards the army of the high Alps, piqued with emulation, took by main force the St. Bernard and Mount Cenis. Thus, from the middle of Floreal (the beginning of May), we were victorious on the whole chain of the Alps, and occupied the whole tract from the first hills of the Apennines to Mont Blanc. Our right supported at Ormea, extended almost to the gates of Genoa, covered great part of the Riviera di Ponente, and thus protected commerce from the piracies by which it had been previously annoyed. We had taken three or four thousand prisoners, fifty or sixty pieces of cannon, a great quantity of clothing, and two fortresses. Our commencement, therefore, was as fortunate at the Alps as at the Pyrenees, since on both points it gave us a frontier and part of the resources of the enemy.

The campaign opened rather later on the great theatre of the war, that is, in the North. There, five hundred thousand men were coming into collision from the Vosges to the sea. The French still had their principal force about Lille, Guise, and Maubeuge. Pichegru had become their general. Commanding the army of the Rhine in the preceding year, he had

recalled to Germany. At Esslingen his firmness saved the French army from total destruction, and Napoleon rewarded him with the dignity of prince of that place. After the peace he hastened to Spain, but, being unsuccessful against Wellington, was recalled. In 1814 Massena commanded at Toulon, declared for Louis XVIII. On the landing of Bonaparte in 1815, he joined him, was created a peer, and commander of the national guard at Paris. He lived afterwards in retirement, and his death was hastened by chagrin at the conduct of the Royalists. He died in the year 1817."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

"Massena, said Napoleon, was a man of superior talent. He generally, however, made bad dispositions previously to a battle; and it was not until the dead began to fall about him that he began to act with that judgment which he ought to have displayed before. In the midst of the dying and the dead, and of balls sweeping away those who encircled him, Massena was himself, and gave his orders and made his dispositions with the greatest sangfroid and judgment. It was truly said of him, that he never began to act with skill, until the battle was going against him. He was, however, *un voleur*. He went halves with the contractors and commissaries of the army. I signified to him often that if he would discontinue his speculations, I would make him a present of eight hundred thousand, or a million, of francs; but he had acquired such a habit, that he could not keep his hands from money. On this account he was hated by the soldiers, who mutinied against him three or four times. However, considering the circumstances of the times, he was precious; and had not his bright parts been sullied by avarice, he would have been a great man."—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

"Massena was a very superior man, but, by a strange peculiarity of temperament, he possessed the desired equilibrium only in the midst of the greatest dangers."—*Las Cases*. E.

contrived to appropriate to himself the honour of raising the blockade of Landau, which belonged to young Hoche. He had wormed himself into the confidence of St. Just, while Hoche was thrown into prison, and had obtained the command of the army of the North. Jourdan, esteemed as a discreet general, had not been considered as sufficiently energetic to retain the chief command of the North, and had succeeded Hoche at the army of the Moselle, as Michaud had done Pichegru at that of the Rhine. Carnot still presided over the military operations and directed them from his office. St. Just and Lebas had been sent to Guise, to rouse the energy of the army.

The nature of the localities required a very simple plan of operations and one which was likely to have very speedy and very extensive results. It consisted in directing the great mass of the French forces upon the Meuse, towards Namur, and thus threatening the communications of the Austrians. There was the key of the theatre of the war, and there it always will be, while war shall be carried on in the Netherlands against Austrians coming from the Rhine. Any diversion made in Flanders would be an imprudence; for, if the wing thrown into Flanders were strong enough to make head against the allies, it would only contribute to repel them in front without compromising their retreat; and, if it were not considerable enough to obtain decisive results, the allies would only have occasion to let it advance into West Flanders, and might then inclose and drive it back to the sea. Pichegru, with acquirements, intelligence, and abundance of resolution, but a very moderate military genius, formed a wrong notion of the position; and Carnot, prepossessed with his plan of the preceding year, persisted in attacking the enemy directly in the centre, and in harassing him on both his wings. Of course the principal mass was to act from Guise upon the centres of the allies, while two strong divisions, the one operating upon the Lys the other upon the Sambre, were to make a double diversion. Such was the plan opposed to the offensive plan of Mack.

Coburg was still commander-in-chief of the allies. The Emperor of Germany had gone in person to the Netherlands to excite his army, and above all to put an end by his presence to the dissensions which were every moment arising among the allied generals. Coburg collected a mass of about one hundred thousand men in the plains of the Cateau, to blockade Landrecies. This was the first act with which the allies meant to commence, till they could obtain the march of the Prussians from the Moselle upon the Sambre.

The movements began about the end of Germinal. The hostile mass, after repulsing the French divisions which had dispersed before it, established itself around Landrecies. The Duke of York was placed in observation near Cambray, and Coburg towards Guise. By the movement which the allies had just made, the French divisions of the centre, driven backward, were separated from the divisions of Maubeuge, which formed the right wing. On the 2d Floreal (April 21), an attempt was made to rejoin these Maubeuge divisions. A sanguinary action was fought on the Helpe. Our columns, still too much divided, were repulsed at all points, and driven back to the positions from which they had started.

A new but general attack on the centre and on both wings was resolved upon. Desjardins's division, which was towards Maubeuge, was to make a movement in order to join Charbonnier's division, which was coming from the Ardennes. In the centre, seven columns were to act at once and concentrically on the whole hostile mass grouped around Landrecies. Lastly,

on the left, Souham and Moreau,* starting from Lüne with two divisions, forming a total of fifty thousand men, were ordered to advance into Flanders

* "Jean Victor Moreau, one of the oldest and most celebrated generals of the French republic, was born in Bretagne in 1763. His father intended him for the law, but he fled from his studies, and enlisted in a regiment before he had attained his eighteenth year. In 1789 he joined the army of the North, and subsequently favoured the Girondins, whose fall greatly affected him, and it was with much repugnance that he accepted the constitution of 1793, when proposed to the army. In 1794 he was appointed general of division, and commanded the right wing of Pichegru's army. He was soon after named commander-in-chief of the troops on the Rhine, and commenced that course of operations which terminated in the celebrated retreat from the extremity of Germany to the French frontier, in the face of a superior enemy, by which his skill as a consummate tactician was so much exalted. In 1798 Moreau was sent to command the army in Italy, but, after some brilliant successes, was compelled to give way to the Russians under Suwarrow. After Napoleon's return from Egypt, Moreau was appointed to the command of the armies of the Danube and Rhine, and gained the decisive victory of Hohenlinden. He was afterwards accused of participating in the conspiracy of Pichegru and Georges, and sentenced to banishment, whereupon he went to America and lived in retirement till 1813, when he joined the allied armies, and was killed in the battle of Dresden which was fought in that year."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

The following is a contemporary account of the death of this celebrated general, whose military fame once rivalled that of Bonaparte. It is extracted from a letter written by a British officer, and dated Toplitz, Sept. 4, 1813: "General Moreau died yesterday. He was in the act of giving some opinion on military matters, while passing with the Emperor of Russia behind a Prussian battery to which two French ones were answering, and Lord Cathcart and Sir R. Wilson were listening to him, when a ball struck his thigh and almost carried his leg off, passed through his horse, and shattered his other leg to pieces. He gave a deep groan at first, but, immediately after the first agony was over, he spoke with the utmost tranquillity and called for a cigar. They bore him off the field on a litter made of Cossacks' pikes, and carried him to a cottage at a short distance, which however was so much exposed to the fire, that they were obliged, after just binding up his wounds, to remove him further off to the emperor's quarters, where one leg was amputated, he smoking the whole time. When the surgeon informed him he must deprive him of the other leg, he observed, in the calmest manner, that had he known that before, he would have preferred dying. The litter on which they had hitherto conveyed him, was covered with wet straw, and a cloak drenched with rain, which continued in torrents the whole day. He was brought however safely to Laun, where he seemed to be going on well, till a long conference which took place between him and three or four of the allied generals completely exhausted him. Soon after this he became extremely sick, and died at six o'clock yesterday morning." E.

"Moreau," observed the Emperor, 'possesses many good qualities. His bravery is undoubted, but he has more courage than energy; he is indolent and effeminate. When with the army, he lived like a pacha; he smoked, was almost constantly in bed, and gave himself up to the pleasures of the table. His dispositions are naturally good; but he is too lazy for study. He does not read, and since he has been tied to his wife's apron-strings, he is fit for nothing. He sees only with the eyes of his wife and her mother, who have had a hand in all his plots against me; and yet, strange to say, it was by my advice that he entered into this union. You must remember, Bourrienne, my observing to you more than two years ago, that Moreau would one day strike his head against the gate of the Tuileries. Had he remained faithful to me, I would have conferred on him the title of First Marshal of the Empire.'—*Bourrienne*. E.

"I mentioned," says Barry O'Meara, "Moreau's famous retreat through Germany, and asked him if he had not displayed great military talents in it. 'That retreat,' replied Napoleon, 'was the greatest blunder that ever Moreau committed. The Directory were jealous of me, and wanted to divide, if possible, the military reputation; and as they could not give Moreau credit for a victory, they did for a retreat, which they caused to be extolled in the highest terms, though even the Austrian generals condemned him for having performed it. Moreau was an excellent general of division, but not fit to command a large army. Calm and cool in the field, he was more collected and better able to give orders in the heat of action, than to make dispositions prior to it. His death was not a little curious. In the battle before Dresden, I ordered an attack to be made upon the allies by both flanks of my army. While the manoeuvres for this purpose were executing, at the distance of about a hundred yards I observed a group of persons on horseback. Concluding that they were watching my ma-

and to take Menin and Courtrai before the face of Clairfayt. The left of the French army operated without impediment, for Prince Kaunitz, with the division which he had on the Sambre, could not prevent the junction of Charbonnier and Desjardins. The columns of the centre broke up on the 7th of Floreal (April 26), and marched from seven different points on the Austrian army. This system of simultaneous and disjointed attacks, which had succeeded so ill with us last year, was not more successful on this occasion. These columns, too far apart, could not support each other, and gained no decisive advantage at any point. One of them, indeed, that of General Chappuis, was entirely defeated. This general, who had marched from Cambray, found himself opposed to the Duke of York, who, as we have stated, was covering Landrecies on that side. He scattered his troops on different points, and arrived before the intrenched positions of Trois-Ville with an inadequate force. Overwhelmed by the fire of the English, charged in flank by the cavalry, he was put to the rout, and his dispersed division returned pell-mell to Cambray. These checks were owing less to the troops than to the injudicious manner in which the operations were directed. Our young soldiers, staggered at times by a fire to which they were not yet accustomed, were nevertheless easy to lead and to be carried to the attack, and they frequently displayed extraordinary ardour and enthusiasm.

While the attempt on the centre had proved so unavailing, the diversion operating in Flanders against Clairfayt had completely succeeded. Souham and Moreau had started from Lille and proceeded to Menin and Courtrai on the 7th of Floreal (April 26). It is well known that those two fortresses are situated, one beyond the Lys, the other on its banks. Moreau invested the first, Souham took the second. Clairfayt mistaken respecting the march of the French, sought them where they were not; but, being soon apprized of the investment of Menin and the capture of Courtrai, he endeavoured to make us fall back by threatening our communications with Lille. On the 9th of Floreal (April 28), he accordingly advanced to Moucroen with eighteen thousand men, and imprudently exposed himself to the attack of fifty thousand French troops, who might have crushed him while falling back. Moreau and Souham, bringing up immediately a part of their forces towards their threatened communications, marched upon Moucroen and resolved to give battle to Clairfayt. He was intrenched in a position accessible only by five narrow defiles, defended by a formidable artillery. On the 10th of Floreal (April 29), the attack was ordered. Our young soldiers, most of whom saw fire for the first time, at first gave way; but generals and officers braved all dangers to rally them: they succeeded, and the positions were carried. Clairfayt lost twelve hundred prisoners, eighty-four of whom were officers, thirty-three pieces of cannon, four pair of colours, and five hundred muskets. This was our first victory in the north, and it served in an extraordinary degree to heighten the courage of the army. Menin was taken immediately afterwards. A division of emigrants which was shut up in the place, escaped by gallantly cutting their way sword in hand.

The success of the left and the reverse of the centre determined Pichegru and Carnot to abandon the centre entirely, and to act exclusively on the wings. Pichegru sent General Bonnaud with twenty thousand men to Sanghien, near Lille, to secure the communications of Moreau and Souham.

mœuvres, I resolved to disturb them, and called out to a captain of artillery, Throw a dozen bullets at once into that group; perhaps there are some little generals in it. It was done instantly, and one of the balls mortally wounded Moreau. A moment before, the Emperor Alexander had been speaking to him.”—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

He left at Guise only twenty thousand men under General Ferrand, and detached the rest towards Maubeuge, to join Desjardins's and Charbonnier's divisions. These united forces made the right wing, destined to act upon the Sambre, amount to fifty-six thousand men. Carnot, judging much more correctly than Pichegru of the state of affairs, gave an order which decided the issue of the campaign. Beginning to perceive that the point on which the allies might be struck to the greatest advantage was the Sambre and the Meuse, and that, if beaten on that line, they would be separated from their base, he ordered Jourdan to assemble fifteen thousand men from the army of the Rhine, to leave on the western slope of the Vosges as many troops as were indispensable for covering that frontier, then to quit the Moselle with forty-five thousand men, and proceed by forced marches for the Sambre. Jourdan's army, united to that of Maubeuge, was to form a mass of ninety or one hundred thousand men, and to effect the defeat of the allies on the decisive point. This order, the most brilliant of the whole campaign, that to which all its results are to be attributed, was issued on the 11th of Floreal (April 30), from the office of the committee of public welfare.

Coburg had meanwhile taken Landrecies. Regarding the defeat of Clairfayt as less important than it really was, he detached the Duke of York towards Lamain, between Tournay and Lille.

Clairfayt had proceeded into West Flanders, between the advanced left of the French and the sea: thus he was farther than ever from the grand army and from the succour which the Duke of York was bringing him. The French, *en échelon*, at Lille, Menin, and Courtray, formed in advanced column in Flanders. Clairfayt, having arrived at Thielt, was between the sea and this column; and the Duke of York, posted at Lamain, before Tournay, was between this column and the grand allied army. Clairfayt determined to make an attempt on Tournay, and attacked it on the 21st of Floreal (May 10). Souham was at this moment in rear of Courtray. He promptly made his dispositions, returned to Courtray to the succour of Vandamme, and, while preparing a sortie, he detached Macdonald* and Malbranck upon Menin, with orders to cross the Lys there and to turn Clairfayt. The action took place on the 22d (May 11). Clairfayt had made the best dispositions on the causeway of Bruges and in the suburbs; but our young recruits boldly braved the fire from the houses and the batteries, and, after an obstinate conflict, obliged Clairfayt to retire. Four thousand men belonging to

* "Marshal Macdonald is the son of a Highland gentleman of the Clanronald sept, who was among the first to join the Pretender in 1745, and, after the battle of Culloden, escaped to France, where he settled. His son was born in 1765, and entered as lieutenant into the Irish regiment of Dillon. On the breaking out of the Revolution, he embraced its principles, but with moderation. At the battle of Jemappes he behaved with great gallantry, and led the van of the army of the North as general of brigade. On the 18th Brumaire he took part with Bonaparte, but his favour with the First Consul ceased in 1803, and he remained in obscurity till the year 1809, when he was offered a command in the army, and at the battle of Wagram exhibited such skill and intrepidity that the emperor created him a marshal on the field, and said to him, 'Henceforth, Macdonald, let us be friends.' In Spain and Russia, the marshal (now created Duke of Tarentum) equalled the best of Napoleon's generals. He was also at Lutzen and Bautzen, and rendered signal services at Leipsic. Macdonald faithfully adhered to the Emperor until his abdication at Fontainebleau. The new government made him a peer of France, and loaded him with honours. On the return of Bonaparte from Elba, Macdonald endeavoured to make head against him, but in vain; and accordingly he accompanied Louis to the frontiers of the kingdom. The marshal is still living, and inhabits in Paris the splendid hotel of the Legion of Honour. He has daughters, but no son to inherit his title."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

both sides covered the field of battle ; and if, instead of turning the enemy on the side next to Menin, he had been turned on the opposite side, his retreat upon Flanders might have been cut off.

This was the second time that Clairfayt had been beaten by our victorious left wing. Our right wing, on the Sambre, was not so fortunate. Commanded by several generals, who held a council of war with St. Just and Lebas, the representatives, it was not so judiciously directed as the two divisions under Souham and Moreau. Kleber and Marceau, who had been removed to it from La Vendée, were capable of conducting it to a victory, but their opinions were not attended to. The movement prescribed to this right wing was to pass the Sambre and to march upon Mons. A first passage was attempted on the 20th of Floreal (May 9), but, the necessary dispositions not having been made on the other bank, the army could not maintain itself there, and was obliged to recross the Sambre in disorder. On the 22d, St. Just resolved to make a second attempt notwithstanding the failure of the first. It would have been much better to await the arrival of Jourdan, who with his forty-five thousand men, must have rendered the success of the right wing infallible. But St. Just would not admit of hesitation or delay ; and the generals were forced to obey this terrible proconsul. The new passage was not more lucky than the first. The French army crossed the Sambre a second time ; but, again attacked on the other bank, before it was firmly established there, it would have been undone but for the intrepidity of Marceau and the firmness of Kleber.

Thus for a month past the contending parties had been fighting from Maubeuge to the sea with incredible obstinacy and without any decisive results. Successful on the left, we were foiled on the right ; but our troops acquired discipline, and the bold and skilful movement prescribed to Jourdan led the way to important results.

Mack's plan had become impracticable. The Prussian General Möllendorff refused to march to the Sambre, observing that he had no orders to that effect from his court. The English negotiators had been demanding explanations of the Prussian cabinet relative to the treaty of the Hague, and meanwhile Coburg, threatened on one of his wings, had been obliged to dissolve his centre after the example of Pichegru. He had reinforced Kaunitz towards the Sambre, and moved the main body of his army towards Flanders, to the environs of Tournay. A decisive action was, therefore, about to take place on the left, for the moment was at hand when mighty masses must come into collision and fight one another.

A plan, called the *plan of destruction*, was at this moment conceived at the Austrian head-quarters. Its object was to separate the French army from Lille, to surround and to annihilate it. Such an operation was possible, for the allies could bring nearly one hundred thousand men into action against seventy thousand ; but they made singular dispositions for attaining this object. The French were still distributed in the following manner : Souham and Moreau at Menin and Courtray with fifty thousand men, and Bonnaud in the environs of Lille with twenty thousand. The allies were still divided upon the two flanks of this advanced line ; Clairfayt's division on the left in West Flanders, and the mass of the allies on the right towards Tournay. The allies resolved to make a concentric effort on Turcoing, which separates Menin and Courtray from Lille. Clairfayt was to march thither from West Flanders, passing through Werwick and Lincelles. Generals de Busch, Otto, and the Duke of York, were ordered to march upon the same point from the opposite side, that is from Tournay. De Busch was to proceed to Moucroen,

Otto to Turcoing itself, and the Duke of York, advancing to Roubaix and Mouvaux, was to form a junction with Clairfayt. By this latter junction, Souham and Moreau would be cut off from Lille. General Kinsky and the Archduke Charles, with two strong columns, were directed to drive Bonnaud back into Lille. These dispositions, in order to succeed, would have required a combination of movements which was impossible. Most of these corps were to start from extremely distant points, and Clairfayt had to march through the French army.

These movements were to be executed on the 20th of Floreal (May 17). Pichegru had gone at that moment to the left wing of the Sambre, to repair the checks which that wing had experienced: Souham and Moreau directed the army in the absence of Pichegru. The first intimation of the designs of the allies was given them by the march of Clairfayt upon Werwick. They instantly moved towards that quarter; but, on learning that the main army of the enemy was approaching on the opposite side and threatening their communications, they formed a prompt and judicious resolution, namely, to make an attempt on Turcoing, with a view to possess themselves of this decisive position between Menin and Lille. Moreau remained with Vandamme's division before Clairfayt, in order to retard his march, and Souham marched upon Turcoing with forty-five thousand men. The communications with Lille were not yet interrupted; the French general could therefore send orders to Bonnaud to advance on his side to Turcoing, and to make a powerful effort to maintain the communication between that position and Lille.

The dispositions of the French generals were attended with complete success. Clairfayt could advance but slowly; retarded at Werwick, he could not reach Lincelles on the prescribed day. General de Busch had at first possessed himself of Moucroen, but had afterwards received a slight check, and Otto, having divided his troops to succour him, had not left a sufficient force at Turcoing; lastly, the Duke of York had advanced to Roubaix and Mouvaux, without seeing anything of Clairfayt or being able to connect himself with him. Kinsky and the Archduke Charles had not arrived near Lille till late on the day of the 28th (May 17). Next morning the 29th (May 18), Souham marched briskly upon Turcoing, defeating all that came in his way, and made himself master of that important position. Bonnaud, on his part, marching from Lille upon the Duke of York, who was to interpose between Turcoing and Lille, found him spread out upon an extended line. The English, though taken unawares, attempted to resist, but our young recruits, marching with ardour, obliged them to give way, and, throwing away their arms, to betake themselves to flight. The rout was such that the Duke of York, riding off at full gallop, owed his escape solely to the swiftness of his horse. From that moment the confusion among the allies became general, and from the heights of Templeuve the Emperor of Austria witnessed the flight of his whole army. Meanwhile the Archduke Charles, ill supplied with intelligence and ill placed, was inactive below Lille, and Clairfayt, stopped towards the Lys, was compelled to retreat.* Such was the issue of this *plan of destruction*. It gave us

* "So sudden was the rout, that the Duke of York himself owed his safety to the fleetness of his horse, a circumstance which he had the candour to admit in his official despatch. Such was the defect of the combinations of Prince Coburg, that, at the time when his central columns were overwhelmed, the two columns on the left, amounting to not less than thirty thousand men, under the Archduke Charles and Kinsky, remained in a state of absolute inaction; and Clairfayt, who came up too late to take any active part in the en-

several thousand prisoners, a great quantity of *matériel*, and the glory of a great victory, gained with seventy thousand men over nearly one hundred thousand.

Pichegru arrived when the battle was won. All the allied corps fell back upon Tournay, and Clairfayt, returning to Flanders, resumed his position at Thielt. Pichegru did not make the best use of this important victory. The allies were grouped near Tournay, having their right supported on the Scheldt. The French general resolved to intercept a quantity of forage coming up the Scheldt for them, and made his whole army fight for this puerile object. Approaching the Scheldt, he closely pressed the allies in their semicircular position of Tournay. Presently, all his corps were successively engaged on this semicircle. The action was hottest at Pont-a-Chin, along the Scheldt. For twelve hours there was a most frightful carnage, and without any possible result. From seven to eight thousand men perished on both sides. The French army fell back, after burning some boats, and losing in part that superiority which the battle of Turcoing had gained it.*

We might, nevertheless, consider ourselves as victorious in Flanders, and the necessity to which Coburg was reduced of sending succours elsewhere soon rendered our superiority there more decided. On the Sambre, St. Just had determined to effect a third passage, and to invest Charleroi; but Kautz, being reinforced, had caused the siege to be raised at the moment when, fortunately, Jourdan arrived with the whole army of the Moselle. From that moment, ninety thousand men were about to act on the real line of operations, and to put an end to the fluctuations of victory. On the Rhine nothing of importance had occurred; General Möllendorff, profiting by the diminution of our forces on that point, had merely taken from us the post of Kaiserslautern, but had returned to his former inactivity immediately after this advantage. Thus from the month of Prairial (the end of May), and along the whole line of the north, we had not only withstood the coalition, but triumphed in several actions. We had gained one great victory, and we were advancing on the two wings into Flanders and on the Sambre. The loss of Landrecies was nothing compared with such advantages and with those which our present situation assured us.

The war of La Vendée was not entirely finished by the rout of Savenay. Three chiefs had escaped, Laroche-Jacquelein, Stofflet and Marigny. Besides these three chiefs, Charette, who, instead of crossing the Loire, had taken the island of Noirmoutier, remained in Lower Vendée. This war was, however, confined to mere skirmishes, and was not of a nature to give the republic any uneasiness. General Turreau had been appointed to the command of the West. He had divided the disposable army into moveable columns, which scoured the country, directing their course concentrically to one and the same point. They fought the fugitive bands when they fell in with them, and when they had not to fight, they executed the decree of the Convention. They burned the forests and the villages, and carried away the inhabitants, and removed them to other situations. Several actions had

gagement, was obliged to retire. In this action, where the allies lost three thousand men and sixty pieces of cannon, the superiority of the French generalship was very apparent."—*Alison*. E.

* "The Emperor Francis of Austria was on horseback for twelve hours during this sanguinary battle, constantly traversing the ranks, and exhorting his troops to keep up their spirits.—'Courage, my friends,' said he, when they appeared about to droop and give way, 'let us make but a few more efforts, and the day is our own.'"—*Memoirs of Prince Hardenberg*. E.

taken place, but they had not been productive of any great results. Haxo, after retaking the isles of Noirmoutier and Bouin from Charette, had several times hoped to take him, too; but this daring partisan had always escaped, and appeared again soon after the combat with a perseverance not less admirable than his address. This unhappy war was thenceforward only a war of devastation. General Turreau* had been constrained to adopt a cruel measure, namely, to order the inhabitants of the villages to quit the country, upon pain of being treated as enemies if they remained in it. This measure compelled them either to quit the soil on which they had all the means of existence, or to submit to military executions.† Such are the inevitable miseries of civil wars.

Bretagne had become the theatre of a new kind of war, that of the Chouans.‡ That province had already shown some disposition to imitate La Vendée, but, as the propensity to insurrection was not so general, some individuals only, taking advantage of the nature of particular situations, had engaged in separate acts of robbery and plunder. The wrecks of the Vendean column, which had proceeded into Bretagne, had soon afterwards increased the number of these partisans. They had formed their principal establishment in the forest of Perche, and scoured the country in bands of forty or fifty, sometimes attacking the gendarmerie, levying contributions on small communes, and committing these disorders in the name of the royal and Catholic cause. But the real war was over, and no more could now be done than deplore the particular calamities by which these wretched provinces were afflicted.

In the colonies and at sea, the war was not less active than on the continent. The wealthy settlement of St. Domingo had been the theatre of the greatest horrors recorded in history. The white population had embraced

* "General Turreau was the faithful servant of the Convention in its bloodiest days, and the faithful servant of Bonaparte after his return from Elba. He hated the old government and he hated the Bourbons, whatever government they might establish. He was a man capable of forming military arrangements, and merciless enough to act upon any system however barbarous."—*Quarterly Review*. E.

† "The poor Vendean royalists were now reduced frequently to live on alms, and forced every two or three days to shift their quarters in the middle of the night, from one wretched cabin to another. Such was the vindictive rigour of the republican party, that the most unrelaxing search was made for fugitives of all descriptions; and every adherent of the insurgent faction who fell into their hands was barbarously murdered, without the least regard to age, sex, or individual innocence. While skulking about in this state of peril, they had occasional encounters with some of their former companions whom similar misfortunes had driven upon similar schemes of concealment. In particular, a party of Vendean fugitives twice saw the daring Marigny, who had wandered over the whole country, and, notwithstanding his gigantic form and remarkable features, had contrived so to disguise himself, as to avoid all detection. He could counterfeit all ages and dialects, and speak in the *patois* of every village. He appeared before them in the character of an itinerant dealer of poultry, and retired unsuspected by all but one or two of his old companions in arms."—*Edinburgh Review*. E.

‡ "The Chouans were four brothers, who were originally smugglers, and named Cotteureau, that of Chouan, which was given them, being merely a corruption of *chat-huant* (screech-owl), because they imitated its cry in order to recognise each other in the woods at night. In 1793 they collected troops near Laval, which took their name, and soon afterwards, being reinforced by some remains of the Vendean army, they made war under the command of the Count de Puisaye, in the name of Louis XVIII. Three of the four brothers fell in battle, one of whom was John, celebrated for his courage and physical strength. The Chouans, after the total defeat of La Vendée, made peace with the Directory; but, about the end of 1799, revived with more energy than ever. Scattered through the country, and almost always invisible, they attacked the patriot posts, but disappeared before considerable bodies of men. Bonaparte put them down effectually in the year 1800."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

with enthusiasm the cause of the Revolution, which they thought must lead to their independence of the mother country. The mulattoes had embraced it not less cordially, but they hoped for something more than the political independence of the colony, and aspired to the rights of citizenship, which had always been refused them. The Constituent Assembly had recognised the rights of the mulattoes; but the whites, who wanted to keep the Revolution to themselves, had then revolted, and a civil war had commenced between the old race of freemen, and those who had been just enfranchised.

Taking advantage of this war, the blacks had appeared upon the stage, and fire and blood proclaimed their presence. They murdered their masters, and burned their property.* From this moment the colony became the theatre of the most horrible confusion. Each party reproached the other with the new enemy that had just started up, and accused its adversary of having supplied him with arms. The negroes, without yet siding with either, ravaged the country. Excited, however, by the emissaries of the Spanish party, it was not long before they pretended to espouse the royal cause. To add to the confusion, the English had interfered. One part of the whites had applied to them in a moment of danger, and had delivered to them the very important fort of St. Nicholas. Santhonax,† the commissioner, assisted principally by the mulattoes and part of the whites, had opposed the invasion of the English, which he could at last find but one expedient for repelling, and that was, to recognise the freedom of the blacks who should declare themselves in favour of the republic. The Convention had confirmed this measure, and, by a decree, proclaimed all the negroes free. From that mo-

* "At midnight, on the 30th of October, 1791, the insurrection of the blacks of St. Domingo broke forth. In an instant twelve hundred coffee and two hundred sugar plantations were in flames; the buildings, the machinery, the farm-houses, were reduced to ashes; and the unfortunate proprietors were hunted down, murdered, or thrown into the flames, by the infuriated negroes. The horrors of a servile war universally appeared. The unchained African signalized his ingenuity by the discovery of new and unheard-of modes of torture. An unhappy planter was sawed asunder between two boards. The horrors inflicted on the women exceeded anything known, even in the annals of Christian ferocity. The indulgent master was sacrificed equally with the inhuman. On all alike, young and old, rich and poor, the wrongs of an oppressed race were indiscriminately wreaked. Crowds of slaves traversed the country with the heads of white children affixed on their pikes. These served as the standards of the furious insurgents. Jean François, a slave of vast penetration, firm character, and violent passions, not unmingled with generosity, was the leader of the conspiracy. His lieutenants were Biasson and Toussaint. The former, of gigantic stature and indomitable ferocity, was well fitted to assert his superiority; the latter, gifted with rare intelligence, dissimulation, boundless ambition, and heroic firmness, was fitted to become at once the Numa and the Romulus of the sable republic in the western hemisphere. The republican commissioners sent out by the Convention contrived for a time partly to quell the insurrection, but, in 1793, it broke out with redoubled fury. Three thousand insurgents penetrated into Cape Town, and, making straight for the prisons, delivered a large body of slaves who were there in chains. Instantly the liberated captives spread themselves over the country, set it on fire in every quarter, and massacred the whites. A scene of matchless horror ensued. Twenty thousand negroes burst into the city, with the torch in one hand and the sword in the other. Neither age nor sex was spared. The young were cut down in striving to defend their houses; the aged in the churches, where they had fled for protection. Virgins were immolated on the altar; infants hurled into the fires. The finest city in the West Indies was reduced to ashes. Its splendid churches, its stately palaces, were wrapt in flames, and thirty thousand human beings perished in the massacre."—*Alison*. E.

† "L. F. Santhonax, deputy from Ain, was successively delegated to St. Domingo by the constitutional King, by the Convention, and by the Directory. His administration was tyrannical and ineffective, and he was frequently denounced to the government in Paris. On his final recall in 1797, he was admitted into the council of Five Hundred; and in the year 1805 was living in retirement at Fontainebleau."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

ment, a portion of them, who had espoused the royal cause, had gone over to the party of the republicans; and the English, intrenched in Fort St. Nicholas, had no longer any hopes of securing that rich settlement, which, after being long ravaged, was destined at last to become independent of any foreign power. Guadeloupe had been taken and retaken, and still continued in our possession. Martinique was definitively lost.

Such were the disorders in the colonies. At sea, an important event had occurred, namely, the arrival of that convoy from America, so impatiently expected in our ports. The Brest squadron had left that port, as we have stated, to the number of thirty sail, with orders to cruise and not to fight, unless the safety of the convoy imperatively required it. We have already said that Jean-Bon-St.-André was on board the admiral's ship; that Villaret-Joyeuse had been promoted from captain to commander of the squadron; that peasants who had never been at sea had been placed among the crews; and that these sailors, officers, and admirals of a day, were sent forth to fight the veteran English navy. Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse weighed on the 1st of Prairial (May 20), and made sail for the isles of Coves and Flores, to wait for the convoy. He took by the way a great number of English merchantmen, the captains of which said to him, "You are taking us retail, but Lord Howe will soon take you wholesale." That admiral was actually cruising off the coasts of Bretagne and Normandy with thirty-three sail of the line and twelve frigates. On the 9th of Prairial (May 28), the French squadron descried a fleet. The impatient crews watched those black specks on the horizon growing gradually larger and larger; and, when they ascertained them to be the English, they set up shouts of enthusiasm, and insisted on fighting, with that ardent patriotism which has always distinguished the inhabitants of our coasts. Though the instructions given to the admiral forbade him to fight unless to save the convoy, yet Jean-Bon-St.-André, himself hurried away by the universal enthusiasm, assented to the general wish, and caused orders to be issued to prepare for action. Towards evening, a ship of the rear-division, *Le Révolutionnaire*, which had shortened sail, was brought to action by the English, made an obstinate resistance, lost her captain, and was obliged to steer for Rochefort to refit. Night prevented the action from becoming general.

'Next day, the 10th (May 29), the two squadrons were opposite to one another. The English admiral manœuvred against our rear. The movement which we made to protect it brought on an action between the two fleets. The French not manœuvring so well, two of their ships, *L'Indomptable* and *Le Tyrannicide*, found themselves opposed to a very superior force, and fought with determined courage. Villaret-Joyeuse ordered some of his squadron to go to the relief of the ships engaged; but his orders being neither clearly understood nor duly executed, he advanced alone, at the risk of not being followed. This was done, however, soon afterwards: our whole squadron bore down upon that of the enemy, and obliged it to sheer off. Unfortunately, we had lost the advantage of the wind. We kept up a terrible fire on the English but were unable to pursue them. We retained our two ships and the field of battle.

On the 11th and 12th (May 30 and 31), a thick fog enveloped the two fleets. The French endeavoured to lead the English to the north and to the west of the track which the convoy was to pursue. On the 13th, the fog dispersed, and the sun shone brightly upon both squadrons. The French had no more than twenty-six sail, while their adversaries had thirty-six. They again insisted on fighting, and it was agreed to indulge their ardour,

for the purpose of occupying the English and keeping them aloof from the track of the convoy, which was to pass over the field of battle of the 10th.

This action, one of the most memorable that Ocean ever witnessed, began about nine in the morning. Lord Howe bore down to cut our line.* A false manœuvre of our ship, *La Montagne*, allowed him to accomplish his purpose, to cut off our left wing, and to attack it with all his force. Our right and our van were left separated. The admiral would have rallied them around him, with the intention of bearing down upon the English squadron, but he had lost the advantage of the wind, and it was five hours before he was able to approach the field of battle. Meanwhile the ships engaged fought with extraordinary heroism. The English, superior in manœuvring, lost their advantages ship to ship, and had to encounter a tremendous fire and formidable boardings. It was in the heat of this obstinate action that *Le Vengeur*, dismasted, half destroyed, and ready to founder, refused to strike her colours, at the peril of being sent to the bottom.† The English first ceased firing, and retired in astonishment at such a résistance. They had taken six of our ships. Next day, Villaret-Joyeuse, having collected his van and his right, was for bearing down and wresting from them their prey. The English, who had sustained great damage, would perhaps have yielded the victory to us. Jean-Bon-St.-André opposed a new engagement, notwithstanding the enthusiasm of the crews. The English could therefore regain their ports unmolested. They returned to them, astounded at their victory and filled with admiration of the intrepidity of our young seamen. But the essential object of this terrible conflict was accomplished. Admiral Venstabel had on that same day, the 13th, sailed over the field of battle of the 10th, which he found covered with wrecks, and had entered without accident the ports of France.

Thus victorious at the Pyrenees and the Alps, formidable in the Nether lands, heroic at sea, and strong enough to dispute a naval victory most obstinately with the English, we commenced the year 1794 in the most brilliant and glorious manner.

* "Lord Howe signalled that he should attack the centre of the enemy, consisting of twenty-six sail of the line, and that he should pass through the enemy's line and engage to leeward. The two fleets being now about four miles apart, and the crews of the British ships, after the fatigue of sitting up three nights, needing some refreshments, Lord Howe hove to, and gave the men their breakfasts. This over, the British filled, and bore down on the enemy. In a few minutes after a signal was thrown out for each ship to steer for, and independently engage, the ship opposed to her in the enemy's line. The French fleet was drawn up in a close head-and-stern line, bearing about east and west. Between a quarter and half-past 9 A. M. the French van opened its fire on the British van. In about a quarter of an hour the fire of the enemy became general, and Lord Howe, with his divisional flag-officers, bearing the signal for close action at their mast-heads, commenced a heavy fire in return. A few of the English ships cut through the French line, and engaged their opponents to leeward; the remainder hauled up to windward, and opened their fire, some at a long and others at a shorter distance. At 10 A. M. when the action was at its height, the French admiral made sail ahead, followed by his second astern, and afterwards by such other of his ships as had suffered little in their rigging and sails. At about 11 A. M. the heat of the action was over, and the British were left with eleven, and the French with twelve, more or less dismasted ships. At about one o'clock the general firing ceased, the enemy's vessels, for the most part, striving to escape under a spritsail, or some small sail set on the tallest stump left to them. When the action commenced, the French fleet was, within one ship, numerically equal to the British fleet opposed to it."—*James's Naval History*. E.

† "The heroism of the crew of the *Vengeur* is worthy of eternal remembrance. Though sinking rapidly in the water, and after the lower-deck guns were immersed, they continued vehemently to discharge the upper tier; and at length, when the ship went to the bottom, the crew continued to cheer, and the cries, 'Vive la République,' 'Vive la France,' were heard as she was swallowed up in the waves!"—*Alison*. E.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

INTERNAL SITUATION—ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE ROBESPIERRE, AND COLLOT-D'HERBOIS—FESTIVAL OF THE SUPREME BEING—DISSENSION BETWEEN THE COMMITTEES—LAW OF THE TWENTY-SECOND OF PRAIRIAL—GREAT EXECUTIONS—MISSIONS OF LEBON, CARRIER, MAIGNET, ETC.—LAST DAYS OF TERROR—RUPTURE BETWEEN THE LEADING MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE—SECESSION OF ROBESPIERRE—BATTLE OF FLEURUS—EVENTS OF THE EIGHTH AND NINTH OF THERMIDOR—EXECUTION OF COUTHON, ST. JUST, AND ROBESPIERRE.

WHILE the republic was victorious against its foreign foes, its internal state had not ceased to be greatly agitated. The evils by which it was afflicted were still the same. These were the assignats, the *maximum*, the scarcity of articles of subsistence, the law regarding suspected persons, and the revolutionary tribunals.

The embarrassments resulting from the necessity for regulating all the movements of commerce had only increased. The Convention had been obliged constantly to modify the law of the *maximum*. It had found it necessary to except from it, at one time, spun thread, and to grant it ten per cent. above the tariff: at another, pins, linen, cambrics, muslins, gauzes, laces of thread and silk, silks, and silken goods. But while the legislature was forced to except a great number of commodities from the *maximum*, there were others which it was expedient to subject to its provisions. Thus, the price of horses having become excessive, it could not avoid determining their value according to height and quality. From these means the same inconvenience invariably resulted. Commerce stood still and closed its markets, or opened clandestine ones; and in this case authority became powerless. If by means of the assignats it had been enabled to realize the value of the national domains, if by the *maximum* it had been enabled to place assignats on a par with merchandise, there was no way of preventing merchandise from withdrawing and concealing itself from purchasers. Thus there was no end to the complaints raised against tradesmen who retired from business or shut up their shops.

Less uneasiness, however, was this year felt on account of articles of consumption. The convoys arrived from America, and an abundant harvest had furnished a sufficient quantity of corn for the consumption of France. The committee, displaying the same vigour in all matters of administration, had ordered a general statement of the crops to be drawn up by the commission of provisions, and part of the grain to be thrashed immediately for the supply of the markets. It had been feared that the itinerant reapers who leave their homes and go to the corn countries would demand extraordinary wages; the committee, therefore, declared that persons of both sexes, who were accustomed to do harvest work, were in forced requisition, and that their wages should be determined by the local authorities. It was not long

before, the journeymen butchers and bakers having struck; the committee adopted a more general measure, and put in requisition workmen of all kinds, who were employed in the manipulation, the transport, and the sale of articles of the first necessity.

The supply of meat was a business of much greater difficulty, and caused much greater uneasiness. In Paris especially it was scarce; and, from the moment when the Hebertists attempted to make this scarcity a pretext for exciting commotion, the evil had only increased. It had been found necessary to put the city of Paris upon an allowance of meat. The commission of provisions had fixed the daily consumption at seventy-five oxen, fifteen thousand pounds weight, of veal and mutton, and two hundred hogs. It procured the requisite cattle and sent them to the Hospice de l'Humanité, which was appointed as the common and only authorized slaughter-house. The butchers named by each section came there, and took away the meat which was destined for them, and received a quantity proportioned to the population which they had to supply. Every five days they were to distribute to each family half a pound of meat per head. In this instance recourse was had to tickets, such as were delivered by the revolutionary committees for the distribution of bread, stating the number of individuals of which each family was composed. To prevent tumults and long waiting, people were forbidden to go before six in the morning to the doors of the butchers.

The insufficiency of these regulations soon became apparent. Clandestine dealers had already set up, as we have elsewhere observed. Their number daily increased. The cattle had not time to reach the markets of Neuborg, Poissy, and Sceaux; the country butchers met them and bought them in the pastures. Taking advantage of the less vigilant execution of the laws in the rural communes, these butchers sold above the *maximum*, and supplied all the inhabitants of the great communes and particularly those of Paris, who were not content with the allowance of half-a-pound every five days. In this manner the country butchers had run away with all the business of the town butchers, who had scarcely any thing to do since they were confined to the distribution of rations. Several of them even applied for a law authorizing them to throw up the leases of their shops. It then became necessary to make new regulations to prevent the stoppage of cattle on their way to the markets; and the proprietors of pasture-grounds were subjected to declarations and to extremely annoying formalities. The government was obliged to descend to still more minute details. As wood and charcoal ceased to arrive on account of the *maximum*, and suspicions of forestalling were excited, it was forbidden to have more than four loads of wood and more than two loads of charcoal.

The new government exerted itself with singular activity to surmount all the difficulties of the career upon which it had entered. While it was issuing these numberless regulations, it was engaged in reforming agriculture, changing the legislation of farming, for the purpose of dividing the tillage of lands, introducing new rotations of crops, artificial meadows, and the rearing of cattle. It ordered the institution of botanic gardens in all the chief towns of departments, for naturalizing exotic plants, forming nurseries of trees of all kinds, and opening courses of lectures on agriculture for the instruction, and adapted to the comprehension, of farmers. It ordered the general draining of marshes, on a comprehensive and well-conceived plan. It decreed that the state should make the necessary advances for this great undertaking, and that the owners whose lands should be drained and rendered

wholesome should pay a tax or sell their lands at a certain price. Lastly, it invited all the architects to furnish plans for rebuilding the villages on demolishing the mansions; it ordered embellishments to render the garden of the Tuileries more commodious for the public: and it demanded plans from artists for changing the Opera-house into a covered arena where the people might assemble in winter.

Thus it executed, or at least attempted, almost everything at once; so true it is that the more business one has to do, the more one is capable of doing. The department of the finances was not the least difficult nor the least perplexing. We have seen what resources were devised in the month of August, 1793, to restore the assignats to their nominal value, by withdrawing part of them from circulation. The one thousand millions withdrawn by the forced loan, and the victories which terminated the campaign of 1793, raised them, and, as we have elsewhere stated, they rose almost to par, owing to the terrible laws which rendered the possession of specie so dangerous. This apparent prosperity lasted, however, only for a short time. They soon fell again, and the quantity of issues rapidly depreciated them. Part of them, indeed, returned in consequence of the sales of the national property, but this return was insufficient. These possessions were sold above the estimate, which was not surprising, for the estimate had been made in money, and payment was made in assignats. Thus the price, though apparently above, was really much below, the estimated value. Besides, this absorption of the assignats could be but slow, while the issue was necessarily immense and rapid. Twelve hundred thousand men to arm and to pay, a *matériel* to create, a navy to build, with a depreciated paper, required enormous quantities of that paper. This resource having become the only one, and, moreover, the capital of the assignats increasing daily by confiscations, the government made up its mind to employ them so long as occasion required. It abolished the distinction between the ordinary and the extraordinary fund, the one arising from the produce of the taxes, the other from the creation of assignats. The two kinds of resources were blended, and, whenever occasion required, any deficit in the revenue was supplied by fresh issues. At the beginning of 1794 (year II) the sum total of the issues was doubled. Nearly four thousand millions had been added to the sum which previously existed, and had raised it to about eight thousand millions. Deducting the sums which had come back and been burned, and those which had not yet been expended, there remained in actual circulation five thousand five hundred and thirty-six millions. In Messidor (year II, June, 1794) the creation of a fresh thousand million of assignats was decreed, of all amounts, from one thousand francs to fifteen sous. The committee of finances again had recourse to a forced loan from the rich. The lists of the preceding year were made use of, and upon those who were entered in those lists was imposed an extraordinary war contribution of one-tenth of the forced loan, that is to say, of ten millions. This sum was not levied upon them as a loan repayable, but as a tax which was to be paid by them without return.

To complete the establishment of the great book, and the plan of giving uniformity to the public debt, it still remained to *capitalise* the life annuities, and to convert them into an inscription. These annuities, of all descriptions and of all forms, were the object of the most complicated stockjobbing. They had the same inconvenience as the old contracts on the state; that of reposing on a royal title, and obtaining a marked preference to republican ~~stocks~~ for people were still sure that, if the republic consented to pay the

debts of the monarchy, the monarchy would never consent to pay those of the republic. Cambon, therefore, completed his grand work of the regeneration of the debt, by proposing and obtaining a law which capitalised the life annuities; the titles were to be delivered up by the notaries and burned, as the contracts had been. The capital originally furnished by the annuitant was converted into an inscription, and bore a perpetual interest at five per cent., instead of a life revenue. At the same time, out of consideration for aged persons and those of very small fortune, who had meant to double their resources by investing them in annuities for life, those of moderate amounts were preserved and proportioned to the age of the parties. From forty to fifty, all annuities of fifteen hundred to two thousand francs were suffered to exist; from fifty to sixty, all annuities of three to four thousand; and so on to the age of one hundred, and to the sum of ten thousand five hundred francs. If the annuitant comprised in the cases above mentioned had an annuity exceeding the fixed standard, the surplus was capitalised. Certainly more consideration could not well be shown for moderate fortunes and for old age; and yet no law ever gave rise to more remonstrances and complaints, and the Convention incurred more censure for a wise measure, and one conducted with humanity, than for those terrible measures which daily marked its dictatorship.* The stockjobbers were grievously offended, because the law, in order to recognise the credits, required certificates of life. The holders of titles of emigrants could not easily procure these certificates; hence the jobbers, who were sufferers by this condition, complained loudly in the name of the aged and the infirm: they declared that neither age nor indigence was respected; they persuaded the annuitants that they should not be paid, because the operation and the formalities which it required would be attended with endless delays. However, that was not the case. Cambon caused some clauses of the decree to be modified, and, by his incessant superintendence at the Treasury, he carried its provisions into effect with the greatest promptitude. The annuitants who did not job in the titles of others, but lived upon their own income, were speedily paid; and, as Barrère said, instead of waiting their turn of payment in uncovered courts, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, they waited in the warm and comfortable rooms of the Treasury.

Along with these beneficial reforms cruelties continued to run their course.†

* "So numerous was this class of life-annuitants in France, and so tenacious are men of whatever touches their pecuniary interests, that there was no measure at the time which excited such violent discontent, and the Convention were more blamed for this retrenchment than all the sanguinary and terrible laws which had stained their administration."—*Alison*. E.

† "The sun of Liberty was in eclipse, while the crested hydra of the coalition glared round the horizon. The atmosphere was dark and sultry. There was a dead pause—a stillness in the air, except as the silence was broken by a shout like distant thunder, or the wild chime of patriotic songs. There was a fear, as in the time of a plague—a fierceness, as before and after a deadly strife. It was a civil war raging in the heart of a great city as in a field of battle, and turning it into a charnel-house. The eye was sleepless—the brain heated. Sights of horror grew familiar to the mind, which had no other choice than that of being either the victim or the executioner. What at first was stern necessity, or public duty, became a habit and a sport; and the arm inured to slaughter, struck at random, sparing neither friend nor foe. The soul, harrowed up by the spectacle of the most appalling cruelties, could not do without them, and nursed the dreadful appetite for death. The habit of going to the place of execution resembled that of visiting the theatre. Legal murder was the order of the day, a holiday sight, till France became one scene of wild disorder, and the Revolution a stage of blood. The chief actor in this tragic scene, the presiding demagogue of the storm, was Robespierre."—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon*. E.

The law which expelled the ex-nobles from Paris, the fortresses and the sea-ports, gave rise to a multitude of vexations. To distinguish the real nobles was not easier now that nobility was a calamity, than when it had been a pretension. Females originally belonging to the commonalty, who had married nobles and become widows, the purchasers of offices who had taken the title of esquire, claimed to be exempted from a distinction which formerly they had so eagerly coveted. This law then opened a new career to arbitrary power and to the most tyrannical vexations.

The representatives on mission exercised their authority with the utmost rigour, and some of them indulged in extravagant and monstrous cruelties. In Paris the prisons daily became more and more crowded. The committee of general safety had instituted a police which spread terror everywhere. At the head of it was a man named Heron, who had under his direction a host of agents, all worthy of their chief. They were what were called, the messengers of the committees. Some acted as spies, others were furnished with secret and frequently even blank orders, and went to make arrests either in Paris or in the provinces. A sum of money was allowed them for each of their expeditions. They extorted more from the prisoners, and thus added rapine to cruelty. All the adventurers who had been disbanded with the revolutionary army, or dismissed from Bouchotte's office, had taken up this new trade and become much more formidable for it. They were everywhere, in the promenades, the coffee-houses, the theatres. Every moment you fancied that you were watched and overheard by one of these inquisitors. Owing to their assiduity, the number of the suspected had increased in Paris alone to seven or eight thousand.* The prisons no longer exhibited the spectacle which they had at first presented; the rich were no longer seen there contributing to the support of the poor, and men of all opinions, of all ranks, leading at their joint cost a tolerably agreeable life, and consoling themselves by the pleasures of the arts for the hardships of captivity. This system had appeared too indulgent for what were called aristocrats. It was alleged that the rich were revelling in luxury and abundance, while the people outside were reduced to rations: that the wealthy prisoners wasted in riotous living those provisions which might have served to feed the indigent citizens: and it had been decided that the system of the prisons should be changed. Refectories and common tables had in consequence been established; the prisoners were supplied at fixed hours and in large halls with an unpalatable and unwholesome food, for which they were obliged to pay at a very dear rate. Nor were they permitted to procure their own provisions, instead of those which they could not eat. They were searched; their assignats were taken from them, and thus they were deprived of all means of procuring themselves comforts of any kind. They were no longer allowed the same liberty of seeing one another and living together, and to the hard-

* "Seven thousand prisoners were soon accumulated in the different places of confinement in Paris; the number throughout France exceeded two hundred thousand! The long nights of these wretched victims were frequently interrupted by visits from the executioners, solely intended to excite alarm; the few hours of sleep allowed them were broken by the rattling of chains and unbarring of doors, to induce the belief that their fellow-sufferers were about to be led to the scaffold. From the farthest extremities of France crowds of prisoners daily arrived at the gates of the Conciergerie, which successively sent forth its bands of victims to the guillotine. Gray hairs and youthful forms, countenances blooming with health, and faces worn with suffering, beauty and talent, rank and virtue, were indiscriminately rolled together to the fatal doors. Sixty persons often arrived in a day, and as many were, on the following morning, sent out to execution. Night and day, the cars incessantly discharged victims into the prison"—*Alison* E.

ship of seclusion were superadded the terrors of death, which daily became more active and more prompt. The revolutionary tribunal began, after the trial of the Hebertists and the Dantonists, to sacrifice victims in troops of twenty at a time.* It had condemned the family of the Malesherbes and their relatives to the number of fifteen or twenty persons.† The venerable head of that house had met death with the serenity and the cheerfulness of a sage. Happening to stumble, as he was walking to the scaffold, "This false step," said he, "is a bad omen; a Roman would go back to his home." To the family of Malesherbes had been added twenty-two members of the parliament. That of Toulouse had been almost entirely sacrificed. Lastly, the farmers-general‡ were brought to trial on account of their former contracts with the treasury. It was proved that these contracts had contained conditions prejudicial to the state, and the revolutionary tribunal sent them to the scaffold for exactions on tobacco, salt, &c. Among them was that illustrious

* "Fifteen prisoners only were at first placed on the fatal chariot, but their number was soon augmented to thirty, and gradually rose to eighty, who were daily sent forth to execution. When the fall of Robespierre put a stop to the murders, arrangements had been made for increasing them to one hundred and fifty. An immense aqueduct to remove the gore had been dug as far as the Place St. Antoine, and four men were daily employed in emptying the blood of the victims into that reservoir. It was at three in the afternoon when the melancholy procession set out from the Conciergerie. The higher orders in general behaved with firmness and serenity, and silently marched to death. The pity of the spectators was, in a peculiar manner, excited by the bands of females led out together to execution. Fourteen young women of Verdun, of the most attractive forms, were cut off together. 'The day after their execution,' says Riouffe, 'the court of the prison looked like a garden bereaved of its flowers by a tempest.' On another occasion, twenty women of Poitou, chiefly the wives of peasants, were placed together on the chariot; some died on the way, and the wretches guillotined their lifeless remains. One kept her infant in her bosom till she reached the foot of the scaffold; the executioners tore the baby from her breast as she suckled it for the last time, and the screams of maternal agony were only stifled with her life. In removing the prisoners from the gaol of the Maison Lazare, one of the women declared herself with child, and on the point of delivery. The hardhearted gaolers compelled her to move on: she did so, uttering piercing shrieks, and at length fell on the ground, and was delivered of a child in the presence of her persecutors! Such accumulated horrors annihilated all the charities and intercourse of life. Passengers hesitated to address their most intimate friends on meeting. The extent of calamity had rendered men suspicious even of those they loved most. Every one assumed the coarsest dress and the most squalid appearance. An elegant exterior would have been the certain forerunner of destruction. Night came, but with it no diminution of the anxiety of the people. Every family early assembled its numbers. With trembling looks, they gazed round the room, fearful that the very walls might harbour traitors. The sound of a foot—the stroke of a hammer—a voice in the street—froze all hearts with horror. If a knock was heard at the door, every one, in agonizing suspense, expected his fate. Unable to endure such protracted misery, numbers committed suicide."—*Alison*. E.

"Had the reign of Robespierre continued much longer, multitudes would have thrown themselves under the guillotine. That first of all social affections, the love of life, was already extinguished in almost every breast."—*Fréron*. E.

† "The intellects of Madame de Rozambeau, who was one of the daughters of Malesherbes, were unsettled by her grief for the death of her husband. Neither the consoling influence of her father, nor the tender caresses of her daughter, were able to calm the distraction of her mind. Yet when the act of accusation was presented which comprised Malesherbes, herself, and the rest of the family, she appeared suddenly to call together her wandering faculties. She hastened to find Mademoiselle Sombreuil, and, addressing her in tones of rapture, said, 'Ah, Mademoiselle, you had once the happiness to save your father, and I am going to die with mine!' This ray of reason was soon extinct for ever. She went unconsciously to prison, and died upon the scaffold, without appearing to understand her fate."—*Du Broca*. E.

‡ "Among them was the farmer-general Fougere, whose sole crime consisted in his not being able to pay a revolutionary contribution to the amount of thirty thousand livres."—*Du Broca*. E.

votary of science, Lavoisier,* the chemist, who in vain solicited a respite of a few days that he might commit to paper a discovery which he had made.

The impulse was given: men administered, fought, slaughtered, with a horrible harmony. The committees placed at the centre, governed with the same vigour. The Convention, still tranquil, decreed pensions to the widows or the children of the soldiers who had died for their country, modified the judgments of tribunals, interpreted decrees, regulated the exchange of certain domains; attended, in short, to matters the most trivial and the most subordinate. Barrère came every day to read to it reports of victories. These reports he called *carmagnoles*. At the end of every month he intimated for form's sake, that the powers of the committees had expired, and that it was necessary to renew them. He was then answered, amidst applause, that the committees had but to prosecute their labours. Sometimes he even forgot this formality, and the committees nevertheless continued to exercise their functions.

It is at such moments of absolute submission that exasperated spirits burst forth, and that the despotic authorities have to fear the dagger. There was a man, employed as an attendant in the national lottery-office, who had formerly been in the service of several distinguished families, and who was vehemently incensed against the prevailing system. His name was Ladmiral:† he was fifty years of age, and had formed the design to assassinate one of the leading members of the committee of public welfare, Robespierre or Collot-d'Herbois. For some time past, he had lodged in the same house as Collot-d'Herbois, in the Rue Favart, and hesitated between Collot and Robespierre. On the 3d of Prairial, having made up his mind to despatch the latter, he had gone to the committee of public welfare and waited for him the whole day in the gallery adjoining the committee-room. Not meeting with him there, he had returned home and posted himself on the staircase, with the intention of striking Collot-d'Herbois. About midnight, Collot came in and went up stairs, when Ladmiral snatched a pistol at him when close to the muzzle. The pistol missed fire. Ladmiral pointed it again, but again the weapon refused to second his design. A third time he was more successful, but hit only the wall. A scuffle then ensued. Collot-d'Herbois cried "murder." Luckily for him a patrol was passing along the street, and hastened up on hearing the noise. Ladmiral then ran up-stairs to his room, where he fastened himself in. He was followed by the patrol, who threatened to break open the door. He declared that he was armed, and that he would fire upon any one who should dare to come near him. This threat did not intimidate the patrol. The door was forced. A lock-smith, named

* "Anthony Lawrence Lavoisier, was a celebrated French chemist, whose name is connected with the antiphlogistic theory of chemistry, to the reception of which he contributed by his writings and discoveries. He was born at Paris in 1743, and was the son of opulent parents, who gave him a good education. He had rendered many services to the arts and sciences both in a public and private capacity. In 1791, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the national treasury. He was executed in 1794, on the charge of being a conspirator, and of having adulterated the tobacco with ingredients obnoxious to the health of the citizens. Lavoisier married in 1771 the daughter of a farmer-general, who subsequently became the wife of Count Rumford."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

† "Henri Ladmiral was originally a servant in the house of the minister Bertin, and afterwards a lottery commissioner at Brussels. He was a short but muscular man, and did not appear to have received a good education. He was executed in 1794, for having attempted the life of Collot-d'Herbois. He ascended the scaffold dressed in a red shirt, and met his fate with firmness."—*Bibliographie Moderne*. E.

Geffroy, advanced first, and received a musket-shot, which wounded him almost mortally. Admiral was immediately secured and conducted to prison. When examined by Fouquier-Tinville, he related the circumstances of his life, his designs, and the intention which he had to despatch Robespierre before he thought of Collot-d'Herbois. He was asked who had instigated him to commit this crime. He replied with firmness that it was not a crime, that it was a service which he had meant to render his country; that he alone had conceived this design without any suggestion from another; and that his only regret was that it had not succeeded.

The rumour of this attempt spread with rapidity, and, as usual, it served to increase the power of those against whom it was directed. Barrère went the very next day, the 4th of Prairial, to the Convention to read his report of this new machination of Pitt's. "The internal factions," said he, "do not cease to correspond with that government, which deals in coalitions, which purchases murders, which persecutes liberty as its bitterest enemy. While we make justice and virtue the order of the day, the coalition places on the order of the day crime and assassination. You will everywhere find the baleful spirit of the Englishman—in our markets, in our contracts, on our seas, on the continents, in the kinglings of Europe as well as in our cities. It is the same head that directs the hands which murder Basseville at Rome, the French sailors in the harbour of Genoa, the faithful French in Corsica. It is the same head that directs the steel against Lepelletier and Marat, the guillotine upon Châlier, and the pistol at Collot-d'Herbois." Barrère then produced letters from London and Holland, which had been intercepted, and which stated that the plots of Pitt were directed against the committees, and particularly against Robespierre. One of these letters said in substance, "We much fear Robespierre's influence. The more concentrated the French republican government becomes, the more strength it will possess, and the more difficult it will be to overthrow it."

This manner of exhibiting facts was well calculated to excite a strong interest in favour of the committees and especially of Robespierre, and to identify their existence with that of the republic. Barrère then related the fact, with all its circumstances, spoke of the *tender solicitude* which the constituted authorities had manifested for protecting the national representation, and described in magnificent terms the conduct of citizen Geffroy, who had received a dangerous wound in seizing the assassin. The Convention received Barrère's report with applause. It ordered an investigation for the purpose of ascertaining whether Admiral had any accomplices; it decreed thanks to citizen Geffroy, and resolved that, as some compensation, the bulletin of the state of his wound should be read every day from the tribune. Couthon then made a violent speech to propose that Barrère's report should be translated into all languages and circulated in all countries. "Pitt! Coburg!" he exclaimed, "and all of you, cowardly and petty tyrants, who consider the world as your heritage, and who, in the last moment of your agony, struggle with such fury, whet, whet your daggers; we despise you too much to fear you, and you well know that we are too great to follow your example!" The hall rang with applause. "But," continued Couthon, "the Law whose reign affrights you has her sword uplifted over your heads. She will strike you all. Mankind needs this example, and Heaven, which you outrage, has commanded it."

Collot-d'Herbois then entered, as if to receive the congratulations of the Assembly. He was hailed with redoubled acclamation, and had difficulty in making himself heard. Robespierre showed much more tact in staying

away, and affecting to withdraw himself from the homage that awaited him.

On this same day, the 4th, a young female, named Cecile Renault,* called at Robespierre's door with a parcel under her arm. She asked to see him, and urgently insisted on being admitted. She said that a public functionary ought to be always ready to receive those who have occasion to speak to him, and at last began to abuse the Duplaix family,† with whom Robespierre

* "Cecile Renault was nearly twenty years of age when she committed the extraordinary act which conducted her to the scaffold. She had one of those figures which please without being beautiful. Her features were far from handsome, yet, from the vivacity of her manners, her agreeable countenance, and elegant deportment, she was called the finest girl of her neighbourhood. Her father lived in Paris, where he carried on the business of a paper-maker. He had seven children, to all of whom he had given a good education. Two of his sons served the republic in the army of the North. Various were the conjectures at the time as to the motives for the conduct of this girl; but none of them, far from having any foundation in truth, had even probability on their side. We can assign no reason for her conduct, except that which she herself declared on her trial. On the fourth of Prairial, towards the close of the day, Cecile Renault presented herself at the door of Robespierre's house; but there seeming to be something suspicious in her manner, she was seized, and brought before the committee of public safety, by whom she was examined, but without effect. The committee then ordered a parcel to be produced before the young girl containing the entire dress of a woman, which she had left with a seller of lemonade immediately before her visit to Robespierre's house, and interrogated her on her motives for providing herself with such apparel. She answered that, well knowing she should be sent to prison, and then to the guillotine, she wished to be provided with a decent dress for the occasion. She was then asked, 'What use did you propose to make of the two knives that were found on your person?' She replied, 'None; I never designed harm against any living being.' As she continued to give the same sort of answers to every question put to her by Fouquier-Tinville, on her subsequent examinations, his ingenuity contrived a species of torture for her. Perceiving that she loved dress, he gave orders to the keeper of the prison to take her clothes from her, and put filthy rags on her. In this condition they compelled her to appear again before the council, but far from being ashamed of her appearance, Cecile Renault jested with the public accuser on the pettiness of his invention. It was then resolved to put her and her family to death, and she was conducted before the revolutionary tribunal. As she entered the box appropriated to the accused, she saw among the associates of her misfortune her father and an aunt by whom she had been educated. Her eyes filled with tears at the spectacle, but in a short time she regained her serenity. Not less than eight carriages were prepared to conduct her accomplices to the scaffold. This sight of fifty-four condemned persons, each covered with a red shirt, and surrounded by a strong guard, was contrived to gratify the jealousy of Robespierre. All eyes sought for the young Renault. The approach of death had made no change in her countenance. During the long time occupied in the march from the Conciergerie to the scaffold, she never betrayed one symptom of fear. She was even seen to smile more than once. On reaching the place of execution, she descended from the cart with firmness, and embracing her father and her aunt, exhorted them to die with constancy. When it was her turn to mount the scaffold, she ascended cheerfully, and even seemed eager to bow her head beneath the axe."—*Du Broca*. E.

† "Robespierre, on his arrival in Paris as a member of the Constituent Assembly, had taken, in common with a young friend, a cheap lodging; and on the evening in which the massacre of the petitioning patriots took place in the Champ de Mars (1791), he was returning thence in great agitation, accompanied by a crowd, crying, 'Vive Robespierre!' His situation at the moment was dangerous, for the red flag was still flying. A carpenter of the name of Duplay, his zealous admirer, invited him to take refuge in his house. Robespierre accepted the offer, and was persuaded not to return home that night. Duplay had a wife and three daughters, who were all flattered by the presence of the great popular leader; and at length the carpenter proposed that Robespierre should give up his lodgings, and become his inmate and his guest. Domiciled in this family, Robespierre sought no other society, and gave all his private hours to this humble circle. Duplay himself received his reward in being appointed one of the jurors of the revolutionary tribunal, a place of power and emolument—as was also, we believe, his son. Madame Duplay became conspicuous as one of the leaders of those ferocious women who sate daily at their needlework round the scaffold.

lodged, because they would not admit her. From the perseverance and the strange air of this young female, suspicions were conceived. She was seized and delivered over to the police. On opening her parcel, it was found to contain some clothes and two knives. It was instantly surmised that she intended to murder Robespierre. On being questioned, she answered with the same assurance as Ladmiral. She was asked what was her business with Robespierre. She replied that she wanted to see how a tyrant looked. She was asked what the clothes and the knives were for. She answered that she had not intended to make any particular use of the knives; that, as for the clothes, she had provided herself with them because she expected to be carried to prison, and from prison to the guillotine. She added that she was a royalist, because she would rather have one king than fifty thousand. She was urged to answer further questions, but refused, and desired to be conducted to the scaffold.

This evidence appeared sufficient to warrant the conclusion that young Renault was one of the assassins armed against Robespierre.* To this last circumstance was presently added another. On the following day, at Choisy-sur-Seine, a citizen was relating in a coffee-house the attempt to murder Collot-d'Herbois, and rejoicing that it had not succeeded. A monk, named Saint-Anax, who was listening to the account, replied that it was unlucky that the scoundrels belonging to the committee had escaped, but he hoped that sooner or later they would be despatched. The unfortunate man was immediately secured and carried the very same night to Paris. These circumstances were more than enough to authorize conjectures of vast ramifications. It was asserted that a band of assassins was in readiness; people eagerly thronged around the members of the committee, begging them to be cautious and to take care of their lives, which were so valuable to the country. The sections assembled, and sent fresh deputations and addresses to the Convention. They said that, among the miracles which Providence had wrought in favour of the republic, the manner in which Robespierre and Collot-

The eldest daughter, Eleonore, who now assumed the classic name of Cornelia, aspired to captivate Robespierre; she endeavoured to become his wife, and ended in passing, in the opinion of the neighbours, as his mistress. She seems to have had much of her mother's ferocity, for she, with her sisters and other companions, used to sit at their windows to see the batches of victims who passed every day to the scaffold. The second sister married Lebas, a member of the Convention; and the third married another member."—*Quarterly Review*. E.

* "It is rather a curious circumstance that, about the time of Cecile Renault's adventure, there appeared, at a masked ball in London, a character dressed like the spectre of Charlotte Corday, who came, as she said, to seek Robespierre, and inflict on him the doom of Marat."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

"Some writers doubt whether there was any real design against Robespierre, and imagine that, jealous of Collot-d'Herbois being selected as a worthier object of assassination, he falsely represented himself as having been the first object of Ladmiral, and got upon the scene of Cecile Renault to counterbalance the popularity which the former event was likely to confer on Collot. There is something to countenance this opinion. The possibility of an intention to assassinate turns altogether on the fact of the knife or knives. Now, in all the early contemporaneous accounts there is no mention of any knife. It is remarkable too, that, while the attack on Collot was blazoned by the government in the Convention, no mention was made of Cecile's attempt till a question was asked about it; and then Barrère made a report in which the facts were stated, with, however, the all-important omission of the knife. That seems to be an afterthought. The earlier writers state distinctly that Cecile had no knife whatsoever. We think it probable, nevertheless, that she had some vague intention of imitating Charlotte Corday; she, however, seems to have been a weak-minded, ignorant girl, who had not thought very distinctly of her object, and not at all of its means."—*Quarterly Review*. E.

d'-Herbois had escaped the strokes of the assassins, was not the least. One of them even proposed to furnish a guard of twenty-five men for the personal protection of the members of the committee.

The day appointed for the meeting of the Jacobins was two days afterwards. Robespierre and Collot-d'Herbois attended, and were received with the utmost enthusiasm. When power has found means to insure a general submission, it merely needs that it should allow base minds to act, and these complete the work of its domination, and add to it divine worship and honours. Robespierre and Collot-d'Herbois were gazed at with eager curiosity. "Look," it was said, "at those valuable men! The God of free men has saved them. He has thrown his shield over them, and has preserved them for the republic. It is right that they should share the honours which France has decreed to the martyrs of liberty; she will thus have the satisfaction of honouring them without having to weep over their funeral urns."* Collot first spoke with his usual vehemence, and said that the emotion which he felt at that moment proved to him how delightful it was to serve the country, even at the price of the greatest perils. "He gathered from it," he said, "this truth, that he who has incurred any danger for his country, receives new strength from the fraternal interest which he excites. That kind applause is a new compact of union between all men of strong minds. The tyrants, held at bay, and feeling their end approaching, strive in vain to have recourse to daggers, to poison, to stratagems; the republicans are not to be daunted. Are not the tyrants aware that, when one patriot expires under their blows, all the patriots who survive him swear upon his grave vengeance for the crime and the eternity of liberty?"

Collot finished amidst applause. Bantabolle proposed that the president should give Collot and Robespierre the fraternal embrace in the name of the whole society. Legendre, with the eagerness of a man who had been the friend of Danton, and who was forced to stoop to more than one meanness to cause that friendship to be forgotten, said that the hand of guilt was raised to strike virtue, but that the God of nature had prevented the consummation of the crime.† He exhorted all the citizens to form a guard around the members of the committee, and he himself offered to be the first to protect their invaluable lives. At this moment some sections solicited admittance into the hall. The enthusiasm was extreme, but the concourse was so great that the society was forced to leave them at the door.

The insignia of supreme power were offered to the committee, and this was the fit moment for declining them. It was sufficient for adroit chiefs to cause such marks of distinction to be offered to them, that they might have the merit of a refusal. The members of the committee who were present opposed with affected indignation the proposal for assigning guards to them. Couthon immediately addressed the assembly. He was astonished, he said, at the proposal which had just been made to the Jacobins, and which had already been submitted to the Convention. He was willing, indeed, to attribute it to pure intentions, but none but despots surrounded themselves with guards, and the members of the committee had no wish to place themselves on the same footing as despots. They had no need of guards to defend

* See the proceedings of the Jacobins on the 6th of Prairial.

† "The clubs and the Convention rung with the most fulsome congratulations on Robespierre's escape, which was openly attributed to the good Genius of the republic, and to the interposition of the Supreme Being, in gratitude for Robespierre having proclaimed his existence! Such was the madness of those times!"—*Hazlitt*. E.

them. Virtue, the confidence of the people, and Providence were their protectors. They needed no other guarantees for their safety. Besides, they would always be ready to die at their post and for liberty.

Legendre lost no time in defending his motion. He said that he did not mean to give precisely an organized guard to the members of the committee, but to induce the good citizens to watch over their safety. At any rate, if he was in the wrong, he would withdraw his motion. His intention was pure. Robespierre succeeded him in the tribune. It was the first time that he had risen to speak. He was hailed with loud and prolonged applause. Silence was at length obtained, and he was allowed to begin. "I am one of those," said he, "whom the events which have just occurred ought least to interest. Still I cannot refrain from a few reflections. If the defenders of liberty are exposed to the poniards of tyranny, it is no more than might be expected. I have already said, if we fight the enemy, if we thwart the factions, we shall be assassinated. What I foresaw has happened. The soldiers of tyranny have bitten the dust, the traitors have perished on the scaffold, and daggers have been whetted for us. I know not what impression these events make upon you, but that which they have produced upon me is this: I have felt that it was easier to assassinate us than to conquer our principles and to subdue our armies. I said to myself that the more uncertain and precarious the lives of the defenders of the people are, the more anxious they ought to be to employ their last days in performing actions serviceable to liberty. I, who do not believe in the necessity of living, but only in virtue and in Providence,—I am placed in a state in which most assuredly the assassins had no intention to place me. I feel more independent than ever of the malice of men. The crimes of tyrants and the weapons of assassins have rendered me more free and more formidable to all the enemies of the people. My soul is more disposed than ever to unveil the traitors, and to strip them of the mask with which they presume to cover themselves. Frenchmen! friends of equality, commit with confidence to us the duty of employing the short remainder of life that Providence may grant us, in combating the enemies that surround you!" These words were followed by redoubled acclamations, and transports of enthusiasm burst from all parts of the hall. Robespierre, after enjoying this homage for a few moments, again began to speak against a member of the society, who had moved that civic honours should be paid to Geffroy. Coupling this motion with that for assigning guards to the members of the committee, he maintained that these motions were intended to excite calumny and envy against the government, by loading it with superfluous honours. He, in consequence, proposed and carried the rejection of that which had demanded civic honours for Geffroy.

At the degree of power which the committee had attained, it behoved it to avoid the appearance of sovereignty. It exercised an absolute dictatorship, but it was not for its interest that this should be too plainly perceived; and all the external signs, all the parade of power, would but compromise it to no purpose. An ambitious soldier, who is victor by his sword, and who aspires to a throne, hastens to characterize his authority as speedily as possible, and to add the ensigns of power to power itself; but the leaders of a party, who govern that party by their influence alone, and who wish to remain masters of it, must continually flatter it, incessantly refer to it the power which they exercise, and, while governing, appear only to obey it.

It behoved, therefore, the members of the committee of public welfare, the chiefs of the Mountain, not to separate themselves from it and from the Convention, but to repel, on the contrary, whatever might seem to raise them

too high above their colleagues. People had already changed their opinion, and the extent of their power struck even persons of their own party. They already regarded them as dictators, and it was Robespierre in particular whose high influence began to dazzle all eyes. It was customary to say no longer, *The committee wills it*, but *Robespierre wills it*. Fouquier-Tinville said to an individual whom he threatened with the revolutionary tribunal, "If it please Robespierre, thou shalt go before it." The agents of power constantly named Robespierre in their operations, and seemed to refer everything to him as to the cause from which everything emanated. To him the victims did not fail to impute their sufferings, and the inmates of the prisons recognised but one oppressor—Robespierre. Foreigners themselves, in their proclamations, called the French soldiers *Robespierre's soldiers*. This expression occurred in a proclamation of the Duke of York's.

Sensible how dangerous the use made of his name was, Robespierre lost no time in delivering a speech to the Convention, for the purpose of repelling what he termed perfidious insinuations, the object of which was to ruin him. He repeated it at the Jacobins, and there obtained the applause which was usually bestowed on all his harangues. The *Journal de la Montagne* and the *Moniteur* having given, on the following day, a report of this speech, and asserted that "it was a masterpiece which was not susceptible of analysis, because every word was equivalent to a sentence, every sentence to a page," he took up the matter with great warmth, and complained next day at the Jacobins of the journals, which affected to bepraise the members of the committee, in order to ruin them by giving them the appearance of being all-powerful. The two journals were obliged to retract what they had said, and to apologize for having praised Robespierre, by the assurance that their intentions were pure.

Robespierre had vanity, but was not great enough to be ambitious. Covetous of flattery and homage, he feasted upon them,* and justified himself

* "Robespierre was now (1794), and had been for some time, no longer like the same man. A sort of delirium of vanity had seized him, and it was at this period that, under the influence, no doubt, of this madness of self-conceit, he put into my hands his *Memoirs*, of which I was thus enabled to take a copy. He sought my company more than ever; his friendship was troublesome to me; it was a weight upon my heart, that I knew not how to get rid of. I never saw him but at night, and, as it were, in secret, sometimes in the garden of the Tuileries, sometimes at my lodgings, and very rarely at his own. He seemed to wish that I should not meet with any of his usual companions. He chatted with me on the most indifferent things, on the fine arts, and on literature, avoided all conversation on political matters, and stopped my mouth by a bitter expression or an angry look whenever I ventured upon that forbidden topic. The reader may figure to himself what I must have felt, when, *tête-à-tête* with him after the horrors of the day, and there was not one but was marked by sanguinary executions, I was obliged to talk to him about Homer, Tasso, or Rousseau, or to analyze Cicero, Montaigne, and Rabelais, with this man, whose hands were stained with blood! He was fond of novels, and took great delight in the poems of Ossian. From a singular contrast, next to those sombre and melancholy products of the bards of the North, he liked nothing so well as the buffooneries of Scarron. He knew by heart two entire cantos of the burlesque translation of the *Æneid*, and I have heard him laugh immoderately on repeating these lines, in which Scarron says that, in the infernal regions, *Æneas*

‘Rencontra l'ombre d'un cocher,
Qui, tenant l'ombre d'une brosse,
En frottait l'ombre d'un carrosse.’

But Robespierre's laughter, so far from communicating any hilarity to me, made me profoundly sad. I fancied that I heard the howling of a tiger, and, even at this day, whenever the recollection of that laugh recurs to my mind, I shudder involuntarily, as if a demon

for receiving them by declaring that he had no desire to be all-powerful. He had around him a kind of court, composed of a few men, but chiefly of a great number of women, who paid him the most delicate attentions. Thronging to his residence, they manifested the most constant anxiety for his welfare. They were continually eulogizing among themselves his virtue, and his eloquence, his genius. They called him a divine, a superhuman mortal. An old marquise was the principal of those females who waited, like real devotees, on this proud and blood-thirsty pontiff. The enthusiasm of the women is always the surest symptom of public infatuation. It is they who, by their active attentions, their language, and their solicitude, undertake the task of throwing ridicule upon it.

With the women who adored Robespierre, was associated a ridiculous and absurd sect that had recently sprung up. It is at the moment of the abolition of an established religion that sects particularly abound, because the absolute necessity for believing something seeks to feed itself with other illusions in lieu of those which have been destroyed. An old woman, named Catharine Theot, whose brain was turned in the prisons of the Bastille, called herself the mother of God, and proclaimed the speedy coming of a new Messiah.* He was to appear, according to her, amidst convulsions, and, at the moment of his appearance, an eternal life was to begin for the elect. These elect were to propagate their faith by all means whatever, and to exterminate the enemies of the true God. Dom Gerle, the Carthusian, who had figured under the Constituent Assembly, and whose weak imagination had been led astray by mystic dreams, was one of their true prophets. Robespierre was the other. His deism had no doubt obtained

were venting close to my ear the bursts of his satanic gaiety. Robespierre had habits of excessive delicacy, especially at the period of which I am speaking, and amid the men by whom he was surrounded. He was particular about having his linen very fine, and very white. The woman who took care of it was frequently scolded on this account, and I have witnessed some curious scenes between him and his laundress. He would have his frills plaited with extreme neatness: he wore waistcoats of delicate colours—pink, light blue, chamois, elegantly embroidered. The dressing of his hair took him a good deal of time; and he was very difficult about the colour and cut of his coats. He had two watches, wore several costly rings on his fingers, and had a valuable collection of snuff-boxes. His elegant appearance formed a singular contrast with the studied squalidness of the Jacobins. The populace would have insulted a stranger who should have dressed with such care, and in whom it would have been deemed aristocratic; but in its favourite, Robespierre, this was considered perfectly republican. From a singular contrast, this man, so bold in speech, trembled with fear at the least danger. He did not like to be left alone in the dark. The slightest noise made him shudder, and terror was expressed in his eyes. I had in my room a skull, which I made use of to study anatomy. The sight of it was so disagreeable to him, that he at length begged me to put it away, and not let him see it any more. I was confounded at such a proof of weakness, which furnished occasion for profound reflections.”—*Memoirs of a Peer of France*. E.

* “There lived, in an obscure quarter of Paris, an old woman of the name of Catharine Theot, who had the same mania as our Johanna Southcott, of believing that, at the age of seventy, she was to become the mother of the Saviour, who was now to be born again, and to commence his final reign. With maniacs of this description, it was natural that the great name of Robespierre, who had made himself the apostle of deism, should mingle itself with their visions. The committee of general security heard of these bedlamites—which probably Robespierre himself had never done—and they seized the favourable opportunity of throwing on him all the ridicule and discredit of their fanaticism. There was no proof whatever that he knew any thing of his fanatic admirers; the injury therefore to his reputation was not great—but the insult was. His power was at once too fearful and too fragile to tolerate levity. Its essence was terror and silence; and he wished to be spoken of neither *en bien ni en mal*. At this crisis, as at all the former, his prudence seems to have made him desirous of withdrawing his recent prominence.” *Quarterly Review*. E.

him this honour. Catharine Theot called him her beloved son ; the initiated treated him with reverence, and regarded him as a supernatural being, called to sublime and mysterious destinies. He was probably apprized of their follies, and, without being their accomplice, he profited by their error. It is certain that he had protected Dom Gerle, that he was frequently visited by him, and that he had given him a certificate of civism, signed by his own hand, to save him from the persecution of a revolutionary committee. This sect was widely spread ; it had its form of worship and its practices, which contributed not a little to its propagation ; it held its meetings at Catharine Theot's, in a remote quarter of Paris, near the Pantheon. Here the reception of new members took place, in the presence of the mother of God, Dom Gerle, and the principal of the elect. This sect began to be known, and it was also vaguely known that Robespierre was regarded by it as a prophet. Thus everything contributed to exalt and to compromise him.

It was among his colleagues more especially that jealousies began to arise. Divisions already manifested themselves, and this was natural ; for, the power the of committee being established, rivalries had sprung up. The committee had split into several distinct groups. The twelve members who composed it were reduced to eleven by the death of Herault-Sechelles. Jean-Bon-St.-André, and Prieur of La Marne were still absent on missions. Carnot was exclusively occupied with the war department, Prieur of the Côte-d'Or with the army supplies, Robert Lindet with provisions. These were called *examiners*. They took no part either in politics or in rivalries. Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon, were linked together. A sort of superiority of mind and manners, the high opinion which they seemed to have of themselves, and the contempt which they appeared to feel for their other colleagues, had led them to form a knot by themselves. They were called the men of the *high hand*. Barrère was, in their estimation, but a weak and pusillanimous creature, disposed, by his suppleness, to serve anybody ; Collot-d'Herbois but a club declaimer ; Billaud-Varennes but a man of moderate capacity, gloomy, and full of envy. These last three could not forgive this secret disdain of their colleagues. Barrère durst not speak out ; but Collot-d'Herbois, and particularly Billaud, whose temper was indomitable, could not conceal the hatred which had begun to inflame them. They sought to prop themselves upon their colleagues called the *examiners*, and to gain them to their side. They had also reason to hope for support from the committee of general safety, which began to feel sore at the supremacy of the committee of public welfare. Specially limited to the police, and frequently watched or controlled in its operations by the committee of public welfare, the committee of general safety could ill brook this dependence. Amar, Vadier, Vouland, Jagot, Louis of the Bas-Rhin, the most cruel of its members, were at the same time the most disposed to shake off the yoke. Two of their colleagues, who were called the *listeners*, watched them on Robespierre's behalf, and this kind of *espionnage* they could no longer endure. The discontented in both committees might therefore unite and become dangerous to Robespierre, Couthon, and St. Just. We ought particularly to observe that it was the rivalry of pride and power which commenced the division, and not a difference of political opinion ; for Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, Vadier, Noulard, Amar, Jagot, and Louis, were not less formidable revolutionists than the three adversaries whom they sought to overthrow.

Another circumstance tended to widen the breach between the committee of general safety and the rulers of the committee of public welfare. Great

complaints were made of the arrests, which daily became more numerous, and which were often unjust, as they were directed against a great number of persons known to be excellent patriots. People also complained of the rapine and vexations of the numerous agents to whom the committee of general welfare had delegated its inquisition. Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon, not daring to obtain either the abolition or the renewal of this committee, devised a scheme for establishing an office of police in the bosom of the committee of public welfare. This was, without destroying the committee of general safety, to encroach upon, and strip it of its functions. St. Just was to have the direction of this office, but, having been sent to the army, he had not been able to perform that duty, and Robespierre had undertaken it in his stead. The office of police caused those who had been apprehended by order of the committee of general safety to be set at liberty, and the latter committee acted in the same manner towards the other. This usurpation of functions led to an open rupture. This disagreement transpired; and, notwithstanding the secrecy which enveloped the government, it was soon known that its members were at variance.

Other discontents, not less serious, arose in the Convention. It was still very submissive, but some of its members, who had conceived fears on their own account, gained somewhat more boldness from danger. These were old friends of Danton's who had compromised themselves by their connexion with him, and who were sometimes threatened as the relics of the party of the *corrupted* and of the *indulgents*. Some had been guilty of malversation in their functions, and dreaded the application of the *system of virtue*. Others had appeared averse to the exercise of the daily increasing severities. The most compromised among them was Tallien. It was said that he had been guilty of malversation at the commune when he was a member of it, and afterwards at Bordeaux when on mission there. It was added that, while in the latter city, he had suffered himself to be softened and conquered by a young and beautiful female,* who had accompanied him to Paris, and just been thrown into prison. Next to Tallien was mentioned Bourdon of the Oise, who was compromised by his quarrel with the Saumur party, and who had been expelled from the Jacobins with Fabre, Camille, and Philipeaux; likewise Thuriot, who had also been excluded by the Jacobins; Legendre, who, notwithstanding his daily submissions, could never obtain forgiveness

* "Madame Tallien was above the middle height, but a perfect harmony in her whole person took away all appearance of the awkwardness of too lofty a stature. It was the Venus of the Capitol, but still more beautiful than the work of Phidias; for you perceived in her the same perfection of features, the same symmetry in arms, hands, and feet; and the whole animated by a benevolent expression—a reflection of the magic mirror of the soul, which indicated all that there was in that soul, and this was kindness. She might have become the French Aspasia, with whom her wit, her beauty, and her political influence, may serve to establish a comparison, though neither of her husbands was a Pericles. Madame Tallien was born in Spain, where her father, M. de Cabarrus, a French banker, settled, and had acquired a great reputation. At twelve years of age, Theresa Cabarrus was the loveliest of all the beauties of Cadiz. Her father sent her from home at an early age, because he was still too young to take upon himself the superintendence of so lovely a daughter. She was seen about this time by her uncle, Jalabert,* who could not escape the fascination which the lovely Theresa, with a look and a smile, exercised upon every man who beheld her. He wished to marry her, but she gave the preference to M. de Fontenoy, to whom she was united some time after. With a cultivated mind and intellectual powers of a high order, Madame Tallien would have possessed, even without her beauty, more than an ordinary share of attractions. She was always remarkably kind and obliging, but such is the effect on the multitude, of a name that bears a stain, that her cause was never separated from that of her second husband."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

for his former connexion with Danton; lastly, Fréron,* Barras,† Lecointe, Rovère,‡ Monestier, Panis; &c., all either friends of Danton's or disapprovers of the system followed by the government. These personal anxieties propagated themselves. The number of the discontented daily increased, and they were ready to join the members of one or the other committee who would give them a hand.

The 20th of Prairial (June 8) approached. It was the day fixed for the festival in honour of the Supreme Being. On the 16th a president was to be appointed. The Convention unanimously named Robespierre to occupy the arm-chair. This was assigning to him the principal part on the 20th. His colleagues, as we see, still strove to flatter and to soothe him by dint of honours. Vast preparations had been made, agreeably to the plan conceived by David. The festival was to be magnificent. On the morning of the 20th the sun shone forth in all its brightness. The multitude, ever ready to attend sights given to it by power, had collected. Robespierre kept it waiting a considerable time. At length he appeared amidst the Convention. He was dressed with extraordinary care. His head was covered with feathers, and in his hand he held, like all the representatives, a bunch of flowers, fruit, and ears of corn. In his countenance, usually so gloomy, beamed a cheerfulness that was uncommon with him. An amphitheatre was erected in the centre of the garden of the Tuileries. This was occupied by the Convention; and on the right and left were several groups of boys, men, aged persons, and females. The boys wore wreaths of violets, the youths of myrtle, the men of oak, the aged people of ivy and olive. The women held their

* "Fréron was the earliest object of the affections of Napoleon's second sister Pauline, but neither the Emperor nor Josephine would hear of an alliance with the friend of Robespierre, and ready instrument of his atrocities."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† "Barras, of a good family of Provence, was an officer in the regiment of the Isle of France. At the Revolution he was deputed to the Convention, but had no talent for oratory, and no habits of business. On his return to Paris, after having been appointed commissioner to the army of Italy, and to Provence, he helped to oppose Robespierre, marched against the commune which had risen in favour of the tyrant, and succeeded. Subsequent events brought him into the Directory. He did not possess the qualifications required to fill that situation, but he acted better than was expected from him by those who knew him. He put his establishment on a splendid footing, kept a pack of hounds, and his expenses were considerable. When he went out of the Directory, he had still a large fortune, and did not attempt to conceal it; but the manner in which it had been acquired, by favouring the contractors, impaired the morality of the nation. Barras was tall; he spoke sometimes in moments of agitation, and his voice filled the house. His intellectual capacity, however, did not allow him to go beyond a few sentences. He was not a man of resolution, and had no opinion of his own on any part of the administration of public affairs."—*Las Cases*. E.

"Barras was born at Foix, in Provence, in the year 1755, of the family of Barras, whose antiquity in that quarter had become a proverb. He died in retirement in the year 1829."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

‡ "J. M. de Rovère, deputy to the Convention, was the son of a very rich innkeeper in the country of Venassin. A good education and plausible address furnished him with the means of introducing himself into the best society, where he gave himself out as a descendant of the ancient family of Rovère de St. Marc, which had long been extinct. A man named Pin, well known at Avignon for his skill in forging titles, made him a genealogy, by means of which he found himself grafted on that illustrious house, and took the title of Marquis de Fonville, and soon obtained the hand of a Mademoiselle de Claret, a rich heiress, whose fortune he afterwards dissipated. In 1791 Rovère figured under Jourdan at the head of the army of ruffians of Avignon. In 1793, he voted for the King's death, and became one of the persecutors of the Girondins. In the ensuing year he declared against Robespierre. In 1795 he presided in the Convention; but, having afterwards rendered himself obnoxious to the ruling powers, was transported to Cayenne, where he died in the year 1798."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

daughters by the hand, and carried baskets of flowers. Opposite to the amphitheatre were figures representing Atheism, Discord, Selfishness. These were destined to be burned. As soon as the Convention had taken its place, the ceremony was opened with music. The president then delivered a first discourse on the object of the festival. "Republican Frenchmen!" said he, "the ever fortunate day which the French people dedicated to the Supreme Being is at length arrived. Never did the world which he created, exhibit a spectacle so worthy of his attention. He has beheld tyranny, crime, and imposture, reigning on earth. He beholds at this moment a whole nation, assailed by all the oppressors of mankind, suspending the course of its heroic labours, to lift its thoughts and its prayers towards the Supreme Being, who gave it the mission to undertake and the courage to execute them!"

After proceeding in this manner for a few minutes, the president descended from the amphitheatre, and, seizing a torch, set fire to the figures of Atheism, Discord, and Selfishness. From amidst their ashes arose the statue of Wisdom; but it was remarked that it was blackened by the flames from which it issued. Robespierre returned to his place, and delivered a second speech on the extirpation of the vices leagued against the republic. After this first ceremony, the assembly set out in procession for the Champ de Mars. The pride of Robespierre seemed redoubled, and he affected to walk very far before his colleagues. But some indignantly approached and lavished on him the keenest sarcasms. Some laughed at the new pontiff, and said, in allusion to the smoky statue of Wisdom, that his wisdom was darkened. Others uttered the word "Tyrant," and exclaimed that there were still Brutuses. Bourdon of the Oise addressed him these prophetic words: "The Tarpeian rock is close to the Capitol."

The procession at length reached the Champ de Mars. There, from amidst the old altar of the country, rose a lofty mount. On the summit of this mount was a tree, beneath the boughs of which the Convention seated itself. On each side of the mount the different groups of boys, old men, and women, took their places. A symphony commenced; the groups then sang stanzas, alternately answering one another; at length, on a given signal, the youths drew their swords, and swore to the elders to defend the country; the mothers lifted their infants in their arms; all present raised their hands towards Heaven, and the oath to conquer was mingled with the homage paid to the Supreme Being. They then returned to the garden of the Tuileries, and the festival concluded with public diversions.

Such was the famous festival celebrated in honour of the Supreme Being. Robespierre had on that day attained the summit of honours, but he had attained the summit only to be hurled from it.* Everybody had been hurt by his pride. The sarcasms had reached his ear,† and he had observed in

* "All looked forward to something extraordinary as the result of this imposing attitude and ostentatious display on the part of Robespierre. His enemies expected an attempt at usurpation; the people in general, a relaxation of the system of severity. How little this was to understand the nature of the passions! The glossy sleekness of the panther's skin does not imply his tameness, and his fawning eye dooms its prey while it glitters. Robespierre went on as before. No ray of hope appeared in his harangue to the people, which was as dull as it was dispiriting. 'To-day,' he cried, 'let us give ourselves up to the transports of a pure enjoyment; to-morrow, we will combat vice and tyranny anew.' These ideas had taken such strong possession of his mind, that he was haunted by them. He was no longer a voluntary agent, but the mere slave of habitual and violent excitement."—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† "Lecointre of Versailles, stepping up to him, had had the boldness to say, 'I like your festival, Robespierre, but you I detest mortally.' Many among the crowd muttered the word

some of his colleagues a boldness that was unusual in them. Next day he went to the committee of public welfare, and expressed his indignation against the deputies who had insulted him on the preceding day. He complained of those friends of Danton's, those impure relics of the indulgent and corrupted party, and demanded the sacrifice of them. Billaud-Varennes and Collot d'Herbois, who were not less indignant than their colleagues at the part which Robespierre had performed the day before, appeared extremely cold, and showed no disposition to avenge him. They did not defend the deputies of whom Robespierre complained, but, referring to the festival itself, they expressed apprehensions concerning its effects. It had, they said, alienated many minds. Besides, those ideas of the Supreme Being, of the immortality of the soul, those pompous ceremonies, looked like a return to the superstition of former times, and were likely to give a retrograde impulse to the Revolution. Robespierre was irritated by these remarks. He insisted that he never meant to make the Revolution retrograde, that, on the contrary, he had done everything to accelerate its course. In proof of this, he mentioned a *projet de loi*, which he had just drawn up with Couthon, and which would tend to make the revolutionary tribunal still more sanguinary. This *projet* was as follows:

For two months past some modifications in the organization of the revolutionary tribunal had been contemplated. The defence made by Danton, Camille, Fabre, and Lacroix, had shown the inconvenience of the remaining formalities that had been suffered to exist. Every day it was still necessary to hear witnesses and advocates, and, how brief soever the examination of witnesses, how limited soever the examination of the advocates, still they occasioned a great loss of time and were always attended by a certain notoriety. The heads of this government, who wished everything to be done promptly and without noise, were desirous of suppressing these inconvenient formalities. Having accustomed themselves to think that the Revolution had a right to destroy all its enemies, and that they were to be distinguished on the mere inspection, they conceived that the revolutionary proceedings could not be rendered too expeditious. Robespierre, who was specially charged with the superintendence of the tribunal, had prepared the law with Couthon alone, for St. Just was absent. He had not designed to consult his other colleagues of the committee of public welfare, and he merely came to read the *projet* to them before he presented it. Though Barrère and Collot d'Herbois were quite as willing to admit of its sanguinary dispositions, they could not but receive it coldly, because it was drawn up and digested without their participation. It was however agreed that it should be proposed on the following day, and that Couthon should report upon it; but no satisfaction was given to Robespierre for the affronts which he had received on the preceding day.

The committee of general safety was no more consulted upon this law than the committee of public welfare had been. It knew that a law was preparing, but was not invited to take any part in it. It wished at least, out of

'Tyrant,' and when in the course of his speech he had observed that it was the Great Eternal who had placed in the bosom of the oppressor the sensation of remorse and terror, a powerful voice exclaimed, 'True, Robespierre, most true!'—*Lacretelle*. E.

"Robespierre conceived the idea of celebrating a festival in honour of the Supreme Being, flattering himself, doubtless, with being able to rest his political ascendancy on a religion arranged according to his own notions. But, in the possession of this impious festival, he betwought himself, of walking the first, in order to mark his pre-eminence, and from that moment he was lost!"—*Madame de Staël*. E.

fifty jurors who should be designated, to have the nomination of twenty; but Robespierre rejected them all, and chose none but his own creatures. The proposition was submitted on the 22d of Prairial. Couthon was the reporter. After the usual declamations on the inflexibility and promptitude which ought to be the characteristics of revolutionary justice, he read the *projet*, which was couched in terrific language. The tribunal was to be divided into four sections, composed of a president, three judges, and nine jurors. Twelve judges and fifty jurors were appointed, who were to succeed one another in the exercise of their functions, so that the tribunal might sit every day. The only punishment was to be death. The tribunal, said the law, was instituted to punish the enemies of the people. Then followed a most vague and comprehensive definition of the enemies of the people. In the number were included dishonest contractors, and the alarmists who circulated bad news. The power of bringing citizens before the revolutionary tribunal was assigned to the two committees, to the Convention, to the representatives on mission, and to Fouquier-Tinville, the public accuser. If there existed proofs, either *material or moral*, no witnesses were to be examined. Lastly, there was a clause to this effect: *To calumniated patriots the law gives patriot jurors as defenders; to conspirators it grants none.*

A law suppressing all guarantees, limiting the proceeding to a mere nominal appeal, and which, in attributing to the two committees the power of sending the citizens to the revolutionary tribunal, gives them thus the right of life and death, such a law could not but excite real alarm, especially in those members of the Convention who were already uneasy on their own account. It was not said whether the committees were to have the power of bringing the representatives before the tribunal without applying for a previous decree of accusation; thenceforward the committees would possess the power of sending their colleagues to death, without any further trouble than that of pointing them out to Fouquier-Tinville. The remnant of the faction of the so-called *indulgents* was accordingly roused, and for the first time during a considerable period, an opposition was manifested in the bosom of the Assembly. Ruamps moved for the printing and adjournment of the *projet*, saying that, if this law were adopted without adjournment, they would have no other course left than to blow out their brains.* Lecointre of Versailles, seconded the motion of adjournment. Robespierre immediately came forward to combat this unexpected resistance. "There are," said he, "two opinions as old as our revolution; one, which tends to punish conspirators in a prompt and inevitable manner; the other, which tends to absolve the guilty; this latter has never ceased to show itself on all occasions. It again manifests itself to-day, and I come to put it down. For these two months, the tribunal has been complaining of the shackles which obstruct its progress; it complains of the lack of jurors; a law therefore is required. Amidst the victories of the republic, the conspirators are more active and more ardent than ever. It behoves us to strike them. This unexpected opposition which manifests itself is not natural. You wish to divide the

* "This decree sounded like a death-knell in the ears of the Convention. All were at once made sensible that another decimation of the legislative body approached. Ruamps, one of the deputies, exclaimed, in accents of despair, 'If this decree is resolved on, the friends of liberty will have no other course left than to blow their own brains out.' From this moment there was mortal, though secret war, between Robespierre and the most distinguished members of the Assembly, who began to devise means of screening themselves from power which, like the huge anaconda, enveloped in its coils, and then crushed and swallowed, what ever came in contact with it."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

Convention; you wish to intimidate it.”—“No, no,” cried several voices, “nobody shall divide us.”—“It is not we,” added Robespierre, “who have always defended the Convention, it is not we that it will have occasion to fear. At any rate we have now arrived at the point where they may kill us, but where they shall not prevent us from saving the country.”

Robespierre never missed a single occasion to talk of daggers and of assassins, as though he were still threatened. Bourdon of the Oise replied to him, and said that, if the tribunal was in need of jurors, it had but to adopt immediately the proposed list, for nobody had any wish to clog the march of justice, but that the rest of the *projet* ought to be adjourned. Robespierre again ascended the tribune, and said that the law was neither more complex nor more obscure than a great many others which had been adopted without discussion, and that, at a moment when the defenders of liberty were threatened with the dagger, people ought not to strive to retard the repression of the conspirators. He concluded with proposing to discuss the whole law, article by article, and to sit till midnight, if needful, that it might be decreed that very day. The sway of Robespierre once more triumphed. The law was read and adopted in a few moments.

Bourdon, Tallien, and all the members who entertained personal apprehensions, were nevertheless alarmed at such a law. As the committees were empowered to bring all the citizens before the revolutionary tribunal, and not a single exception was made in favour of the members of the national representation, they were afraid of being some night apprehended and delivered up to Fouquier, before the Convention should even be apprized of it. On the following day the 23d of Prairial, Bourdon begged leave to speak. “In giving,” said he, “to the committees of public welfare and of general safety the right to send the citizens before the revolutionary tribunal, the Convention certainly could not mean that the power of the committees should extend over all its members without a previous decree.” There were cries from all quarters of “No, no.”—“I fully expected these murmurs,” continued Bourdon; “they prove to me that liberty is imperishable.” This remark caused a deep sensation. Bourdon proposed to declare that members of the Convention could not be delivered up to the tribunal without a decree of accusation. The committees were absent; Bourdon’s motion was favourably received. Merlin moved the previous question; murmurs arose against him, but he explained and demanded the previous question with a preamble to this effect, that the Convention could not strip itself of the right of alone decreeing respecting its own members. The preamble was adopted, to the general satisfaction.

A scene which occurred in the evening gave still greater notoriety to this novel opposition. Tallien and Bourdon, walking in the Tuileries, were closely followed by spies of the committee of public welfare. At length Tallien, indignantly turned round, provoked them, called them base spies of the committee, and bade them go and tell their masters what they had seen and heard. This scene caused a strong sensation. Couthon and Robespierre were enraged. Next day they went to the Convention, resolved to complain bitterly of the resistance which they experienced. Delacroix and Mallarmé furnished them with occasion to do so. Delacroix desired that those whom the law called *corrupters of morals* should be characterized in a more precise manner. Mallarmé inquired what was meant by these words; *The law gives calumniated patriots no other defender than the conscience of patriot jurors*. Couthon then ascended the tribune, complained of the amendments adopted on the preceding day, and of those which were then proposed. “It

was slandering the committee of public welfare," he said, "to appear to suppose that it wished to have the power of sending members of the Convention to the scaffold. That tyrants should calumniate the committee was perfectly natural; but that the Convention itself should listen to the calumny—such an injustice was insupportable, and he could not help complaining of it. Yesterday a member prided himself on a *lucky clamour* which proved that liberty was imperishable, as if liberty had been threatened. The moment when the members of the committee were absent was chosen for making this attack. Such conduct," added Couthon, "is unmanly, and I propose to rescind the amendments adopted yesterday, and those which have just been submitted to-day." Bourdon replied, that to demand explanations concerning a law was not a crime; that, if he prided himself on a clamour, it was because he was pleased to find himself in unison with the Convention; that, if the same acrimony were to be shown on both sides, discussion would be impossible. "I am accused," said he, "of talking like Pitt and Coburg. Were I to reply in the same spirit, where should we be? I esteem Couthon, I esteem the committees, I esteem the Mountain, which has saved liberty."

These explanations of Bourdon's were applauded; but they were excuses, and the authority of the dictators was still too strong to be unreservedly defied. Robespierre then addressed the Assembly in a prolix speech full of pride and bitterness. "Mountaineers!" said he, "you will still be the bulwark of the public liberty, but you have nothing in common with the intriguers and the perverse, whoever they be. If they strive to thrust themselves among you, they are not the less strangers to your principles. Suffer not intriguers, each more despicable than the other, because more hypocritical, to attempt to misguide a portion of you, and to set themselves up as leaders of a party." Bourdon of the Oise here interrupted Robespierre, saying that he had never attempted to set himself up for the leader of a party. Robespierre without answering him proceeded thus: "It would be the height of disgrace, if calumniators, leading astray our colleagues—" Bourdon again interrupted him. "I insist," said he, "that the speaker prove what he is advancing; he has asserted in plain terms that I am a villain."—"I have not named Bourdon," replied Robespierre; "we be to him who names himself! Yes, the Mountain is pure, it is sublime; intriguers belong not to the Mountain." Robespierre then expatiated at great length on the efforts which had been made to frighten the members of the Convention, and to persuade them that they were in danger. He said that it was the guilty only who were thus alarmed, and who strove to alarm others. He then related what had occurred the preceding evening between Tallien and the spies, whom he called the *messengers of the committee*. This recital drew very warm explanations from Tallien, and brought upon the latter abundance of abuse. At length, all these discussions terminated in the adoption of the demands made by Couthon and Robespierre.* The amendments of the preceding day were rescinded, those of that day rejected, and the horrible law of the 22d was left in its original state.

The leaders of the committee were once more triumphant. Their adversaries trembled. Tallien, Bourdon, Ruamps, Delacroix, Mallarmé, and all those who had made objections to the law, gave themselves up for lost, and

* "Robespierre had at this critical period a prodigious force at his disposal. The lowest orders, who saw the Revolution in his person, supported him as the best representative of their doctrines and interests; the armed force of Paris was at his beck; he ruled with absolute sway at the Jacobins; and all important places were filled with his creatures."

Mignet. E.

feared every moment that they should be arrested. Though a previous decree of the Convention was still necessary for placing a member under accusation, it was still so intimidated, that it was likely to grant whatever should be demanded of it. It had issued a decree against Danton; it was to be presumed that it would not hesitate to issue another against such of his friends as survived him. A report was soon circulated that the list was drawn up, and the number of the victims was stated to be twelve, and afterwards eighteen. Their names were mentioned. The alarm soon spread, and more than sixty members of the Convention ceased to sleep at their own homes.

There was, nevertheless, an obstacle which prevented their lives from being disposed of so easily as they apprehended. We have already seen that Billaud-Varennes, Collot, and Barrère, had replied coldly to the first complaints of Robespierre against his colleagues. The members of the committee of general safety were more adverse to him than ever, for they were to be kept aloof from all co-operation in the law of the 22d, and it even appears that some of them were threatened. Robespierre and Couthon carried their demands to a great length. They were for sacrificing a great number of deputies; they talked of Tallien, Bourdon of the Oise, Thuriot, Rovère, Lecointre, Panis, Monestier, Legendre, Fréron, Barras. They wanted even Cambon, whose financial reputation annoyed them, and who had seemed adverse to their cruelties; lastly, they meant to include in their vengeance several of the stanchest members of the Mountain, as Duval, Audouin, and Leonard Bourdon.* The members of the committee of public welfare, Billaud, Collot, and Barrère, and all those of the committee of general safety, refused their assent. The danger, now extending to so great a number of lives, might very soon threaten their own.

They were in this hostile position, with not the slightest inclination to agree to a new sacrifice, when another circumstance produced a definitive rupture. The committee of general safety had discovered the meetings that were held at the house of Catherine Theot. They had learned that this extravagant sect regarded Robespierre as a prophet, and that the latter had given a certificate of civism to Dom Gerle. Vadier, Voulant, Jagot, and Amar, immediately resolved to revenge themselves, by representing this sect as an assemblage of dangerous conspirators, by denouncing it to the Convention, and by thus throwing upon Robespierre a share of the ridicule and odium which would attach to it. They sent an agent named Senart, who, pretending to be desirous of becoming a member of the society, was admitted to one of its meetings. In the midst of the ceremony, he stepped to a window, gave a signal to the armed force, and caused almost the whole sect to be secured: Dom Gerle and Catherine Theot were apprehended. Upon Dom Gerle was found the certificate of civism given him by Robespierre, and in the bed of the mother of God was discovered a letter written by her to her beloved son, to the chief prophet, to Robespierre.

When Robespierre learned that proceedings were about to be instituted against the sect, he opposed that course, and provoked a discussion on this subject in the committee of public welfare. We have already seen that Billaud and Collot were not very favourably disposed towards deism, and that they viewed with umbrage the political use which Robespierre wished to make of that creed. They were for the prosecution. Upon Robespierre persisting in his endeavours to prevent it, the discussion grew extremely

* See the list given by Villate in his Memoirs.

warm. He had to endure the most abusive language, failed to carry his point, and retired weeping with rage. The quarrel had been so vehement, that, lest they should be overheard by persons passing through the galleries, the members of the committee resolved to adjourn their sitting to the floor above. The report on the sect of Catherine Theot was presented to the Convention. Barrère, in order to revenge himself in his own way on Robespierre, had secretly drawn up the report, which Vouland was to read. The sect was thus rendered equally ridiculous and atrocious. The Convention, horror-stricken by some parts of the report, at others diverted by the picture drawn by Barrère, decreed the accusation of the principal leaders of the sect, and sent them to the revolutionary tribunal.

Robespierre, indignant at the resistance which he had experienced and the insulting language used towards him, resolved to cease attending the committee and to take no further part in its deliberations. He withdrew towards the end of Prairial (the middle of June). This secession proves of what nature his ambition was. An ambitious man never betrays ill-humour; he is irritated by obstacles, seizes the supreme power, and crushes those who have affronted him. A weak and vain declaimer is pettish and gives way when he ceases to meet with either flattery or respect. Danton retired from indolence and disgust, Robespierre from wounded vanity. His retirement proved as fatal to him as that of Danton.* Couthon was left alone against Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, and Barrère, and these latter were about to seize the helm of affairs.

These divisions were not yet bruited abroad. People only knew that the committees of public welfare and of general safety were at variance. They were delighted at this misunderstanding, and hoped that it would prevent fresh proscriptions. Those who were threatened, courted, flattered, implored the committee of general safety, and had even received the most cheering promises from some of its members. Elie Lacoste,† Moysse Bayle, Lavicom-

* "Robespierre now in his retirement began to sink beneath the weight of a part greatly superior to his talents. New vices, foreign to his temper, but superinduced by the perturbation of his mind, added to the perplexity that bewildered him. That man whose heart was, I believe, never moved by the voice or appearance of a woman, latterly abandoned himself to debauchery. Often stretched out in a park, the proprietor of which had been his victim, and surrounded by the most degraded women, he sought the gratification of his sensual appetites. How many torments surrounded Robespierre in his asylum, the papers there found attest. He received a multitude of letters expressive of the wildest adoration; but others contained imprecations that must have congealed his blood. Read these appalling words that were addressed to him! 'This hand that writes thy doom—this hand which thy bewildered eye seeks in vain—this hand that presses thine with horror—this hand shall pierce thy heart! Every day I am with thee—every day I see thee—at every hour my uplifted arm seeks thy breast. Vilest of men! live still awhile to think of me. Sleep to dream of me! let my image and thy fear be the first prelude of thy punishment! Farewell! This very day, on beholding thee, I shall gloat over thy terrors!'—*Lacretelle*. E.

† "Lacoste, minister of the marine in 1792, was, before the Revolution, head clerk in the navy office. Having attached himself to the Jacobins, he gave great displeasure to the royalists, who looked on him as a coarse and violent man. His enemies, however, confess that Lacoste was a worthy man, who, while following the Revolution, detested its excesses. In the year 1800 Bonaparte gave him a seat in the council of captures, which he still held in 1806."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

‡ "L. Lavicomterie, a writer, was deputy to the Convention, where he voted for the King's death. He was afterwards a member of the committee of general safety during the Reign of Terror, and participated in the proceedings of the members of the government. Some time after the fall of Robespierre he presented a statement on morality considered as a calculation; in this he insisted that the idea of a retributive and avenging God was absurd, that the human race would be eternal, and that men had no punishments to fear, no rewards

terie,‡ and Dubarran, the best of the members of the committee of general safety, had promised to refuse their signature to any new list of proscription.

Amidst these dissensions, the Jacobins were still devoted to Robespierre. They made as yet no distinction between the different members of the committee, between Couthon, Robespierre, and St. Just, on the one hand, and Billaud-Varennes, Collot, and Barrère, on the other. They saw only the revolutionary government on one side, and on the other some relics of the faction of the indulgents, some friends of Danton's, who, on occasion of the law of the 22d Prairial, had opposed that salutary government. Robespierre, who had defended that government in defending the law, was still in their estimation the first and the greatest citizen of the republic; all the others were but intriguers, who must be completely destroyed. Accordingly, they did not fail to exclude Tallien from their committee of correspondence, because he had not replied to the accusations preferred against him on the sitting of the 24th. From that day, Collot and Billaud-Varennes, aware of Robespierre's influence, abstained from appearing at the Jacobins. What could they have said? They could not have exposed their solely personal grievances, and made the public judge between their pride and that of Robespierre. All they could do was to be silent and to wait. Robespierre and Couthon had therefore an open field.

The rumour of a new proscription having produced a dangerous effect, Couthon hastened to disavow before the society the designs imputed to them against twenty-four, and even sixty, members of the Convention. "The spirits of Danton, Hebert, and Chaumette, still walk among us," said he; "they still seek to perpetuate discord and division. What passed in the sitting of the 24th is a striking instance of this. People strive to divide the government, to discredit its members, by painting them as Syllas and Neros; they deliberate in secret, they meet, they form pretended lists of proscription, they alarm the citizens in order to make them enemies to the public authority. A few days ago, it was reported that the committees intended to order the arrest of eighteen members of the Convention; nay, they were even mentioned by name. Do not believe these perfidious insinuations. Those who circulate such rumours are accomplices of Hebert's and of Danton's; they dread the punishment of their guilty conduct; they seek to cling to pure men, in the hope that, whilst hidden behind them, they may easily escape the eye of justice. But be of good cheer; the number of the guilty is happily very small; it amounts but to four or six, perhaps; and they shall be struck, for the time is come for delivering the republic from the last enemies who are conspiring against it. Rely for its salvation on the energy and the justice of the committees."

It was judicious to reduce to a small number the proscribed persons whom Robespierre intended to strike. The Jacobins applauded, as usual, the speech of Couthon; but that speech tended not to cheer any of the threatened victims, and those who considered themselves in danger continued nevertheless to sleep from home. Never had the terror been greater, not only in the Convention, but in the prisons and throughout France.

The cruel agents of Robespierre, Fouquier-Tinville, the accuser, and Dumas the president, had taken up the law of the 22d of Prairial, and were preparing to avail themselves of it for the purpose of committing fresh atro-

to hope beyond the present world. In 1798 Lavicommerie obtained a place in the office for regulating the registers, but was afterwards dismissed, and lived in obscurity at Paris."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

cities in the prisons. Very soon, said Fouquier, there shall be put up on their doors bills of *This house to let*. The plan was to get rid of the greater part of the suspected persons. People had accustomed themselves to consider these latter as irreconcilable enemies, whom it was necessary to destroy for the welfare of the republic. To sacrifice thousands of individuals, whose only fault was to think in a certain manner, nay, whose opinions were frequently precisely the same as those of their persecutors,—to sacrifice them seemed a perfectly natural thing, from the habit which people had acquired of destroying one another. The facility with which they put others to death or encountered death themselves,* had become extraordinary. In the field of battle, on the scaffold, thousands perished daily, and nobody was any longer shocked at it.† The first murders committed in 1793 proceeded from a real irritation caused by danger. Such perils had now ceased; the republic was victorious; people now slaughtered not from indignation, but from the atrocious habit which they had contracted. That formidable machine, which they had been obliged to construct in order to withstand enemies of all kinds, began to be no longer necessary; but once set a going, they knew not how to stop it. Every government must have its excess, and does not perish till it has attained that excess. The revolutionary government was not destined to finish on the same day that all the enemies of the republic should be sufficiently terrified; it was destined to go beyond that point, and to exercise itself till it had become generally disgusting by its very atrocity. Such is the invariable course of human affairs. Why had atrocious circumstances compelled the creation of a government of blood, which was to reign and vanquish solely by inflicting death?

A still more frightful circumstance is that, when the signal is given, when the idea is established that lives must be sacrificed, all dispose themselves for this horrid purpose with an extraordinary facility. Every one acts without remorse, without repugnance. People accustom themselves to this, like the judge who condemns criminals to death, like the surgeon who sees beings writhing under his instrument, like the general who orders the sacrifice of twenty thousand soldiers. They frame a horrid language according to their new operations; they contrive even to render it gay; they invent striking words to express sanguinary ideas. Every one, stunned and hurried along, keeps pace with the mass; and men who were yesterday engaged in the peaceful occupations of the arts and commerce, are to day seen applying themselves with the same facility to the work of death and destruction.

The committee had given the signal by the law of the 22d. Dumas and Fouquier had but too well understood it. It was necessary, however, to find pretexts for immolating so many victims. What crime could be imputed to them, when most of them were peaceful, unknown citizens, who had never given any sign of life to the state? It was conceived that, being con

* "During the latter part of the French Revolution, it became a fashion to leave some 'mot' as a legacy; and the quantity of facetious last words spoken during that period would form a melancholy jest-book of considerable size."—*Lord Byron*. E.

"One prisoner alone raised piteous cries on the chariot, and struggled, in a perfect frenzy of terror, with the executioners on the scaffold—it was the notorious Madame du Barri, the associate of the licentious pleasures of Louis XV."—*Lauretelle*. E.

† "One of the most extraordinary features of these terrible times was the universal disposition which the better classes both in Paris and the provinces evinced to bury anxiety in the delirium of present enjoyment. The people who had escaped death went to the opera daily, with equal unconcern whether thirty or a hundred heads had fallen during the day."—*Alison*. E.

fined in the prisons they would think how to get out of them, that their number was likely to inspire them with a feeling of their strength, and to suggest to them the idea of exerting it for their escape. The pretended conspiracy of Dillon was the germ of this idea, which was developed in an atrocious manner. Some wretches among the prisoners consented to act the infamous part of informers. They pointed out in the Luxembourg one hundred and sixty prisoners, who, they said, had been concerned in Dillon's plot. Some of these listmakers were procured in all the other places of confinement, and they denounced in each one or two hundred persons as accomplices in the conspiracy of the prisons. An attempt at escape made at La Force served but to authorize this unworthy fable, and hundreds of unfortunate creatures began immediately to be sent to the revolutionary tribunal. They were transferred from the various prisons to the Conciergerie to be thence taken to the tribunal and to the scaffold. In the night between the 18th and 19th of Messidor (June 6), the one hundred and sixty persons denounced at the Luxembourg were transferred. They trembled on hearing themselves called: they knew not what was laid to their charge, but they regarded it as most probable that death was reserved for them. The odious Fouquier, since he had been furnished with the law of the 22d, had made great changes in the hall of the tribunal. Instead of the seats for the advocates and the bench appropriated to the accused and capable of holding eighteen or twenty persons, an amphitheatre, that would contain one hundred or one hundred and fifty accused at a time was by his order constructed. This he called his *little seats*. Carrying his atrocious activity still further, he had even caused a scaffold to be erected in the very hall of the tribunal, and he proposed to have the one hundred and sixty accused in the Luxembourg tried at one and the same sitting.

The committee of public welfare, when informed of the kind of mania which had seized its public accuser, sent for him, ordered him to remove the scaffold from the hall in which it was set up, and forbade him to bring sixty persons to trial at once. "What!" said Collot-d'Herbois in a transport of indignation, "wouldst thou then demoralize death itself?" It should, however, be remarked that Fouquier asserted the contrary, and maintained that it was he who demanded the trial of the one hundred and sixty in three divisions. Everything proves, on the contrary, that it was the committee which was less extravagant than their minister, and checked his mad proceedings. They were obliged to repeat the order to Fouquier-Tinville to remove the guillotine from the hall of the tribunal.

The one hundred and sixty were divided into three companies, tried, and executed in three days. The proceedings were as expeditious and as frightful as those adopted in the Abbaye on the nights of the 2d and 3d of September. Carts ordered for every day were waiting from the morning in the court of the Palace of Justice, and the accused could see them as they went up stairs to the tribunal. Dumas, the president, sitting like a maniac, had a pair of pistols on the table before him. He merely asked the accused their names, and added some very general question. In the examination of the one hundred and sixty, the president said to one of them, Dorival, "Do you know any thing of the conspiracy?" "No." "I expected that you would give that answer: but it shall not avail you. Another." He addressed a person named Champigny, "Are you not an ex-noble?" "Yes." "Another." To Gudreville, "Are you a priest?" "Yes; but I have taken the oath." "You have no right to speak. Another." To a man named Menil, "Were you not servant to the ex-constituent Menou?" "Yes."

"Another." To Vely, "Were you not architect to Madame?" "Yes; but I was dismissed in 1788." "Another." To Gondrecourt, "Had you not your father-in-law at the Luxembourg?" "Yes." "Another." To Durfort, "Were you not in the life-guard?" "Yes; but I was disbanded in 1789." "Another."

Such was the summary mode of proceeding with these unfortunate persons.* According to the law, the testimony of witnesses was to be dispensed with only when there existed material or moral proofs; nevertheless, no witnesses were called, as it was alleged that proofs of this kind existed in every case. The jurors did not take the trouble to retire to the consultation-room. They gave their opinions before the audience, and sentence was immediately pronounced. The accused had scarcely time to rise and to mention their names. One day, there was a prisoner whose name was not upon the list of the accused, and who said to the Court, "I am not accused; my name is not on your list." "What signifies that?" said Fouquier, "give it quick!" He gave it, and was sent to the scaffold like the others. The utmost negligence prevailed in this kind of barbarous administration. Sometimes, owing to the extreme precipitation, the acts of accusation were not delivered to the accused till they were before the tribunal. The most extraordinary blunders were committed. A worthy old man, Loizerolles, heard along with his own surname the Christian names of his son called over: he forbore to remonstrate, and was sent to the scaffold. Some time afterwards the son was brought to trial; it was found that he ought not to be alive, since a person answering to all his names had been executed: it was his father. He was nevertheless put to death. More than once victims were called long after they had perished. There were hundreds of acts of accusation quite ready, to which there was nothing to add but the designation of the individuals. The trials were conducted in like manner. The printing-office was contiguous to the hall of the tribunal: the forms were kept standing, the title, the motives, were ready composed; there was nothing but the names to be added. These were handed through a small loophole to the overseer. Thousands of copies were immediately worked, and plunged families into mourning and struck terror into the prisons. The hawkers came to sell the bulletin of the tribunal under the prisoners' windows, crying, "Here are the names of those who have gained prizes in the lottery of St. Guillotine." The accused were executed on the breaking up of the court, or at latest on the morrow, if the day was too far advanced.†

* "The judges of the revolutionary tribunal, many of whom came from the galleys of Toulon, laboured incessantly at the work of extermination, and mingled indecent ribaldry and jests with their unrelenting cruelty to the crowds of captives who were brought before them. An old man, who had lost the use of his speech by a paralytic affection, being placed at the bar, the president exclaimed, 'No matter, it is not his tongue, but his head that we want.'"—*Alison*. E.

† The following anecdote, recorded by Prudhomme, will convey an idea of the summary way in which people were tried and executed at this period. M. de Fleury, who was confined in the Luxembourg in the year 1794, wrote the following note to Dumas, president of the revolutionary tribunal: "Man of blood, thou hast murdered my family; thou wilt condemn to the scaffold those who this day appear at thy tribunal; thou mayest condemn me to the same fate, for I declare to thee that I participate in their sentiments." Fouquier-Tinville was with Dumas when he received this letter. "Here," said Dumas, "is a billet-doux—read it."—"This gentleman," replied Fouquier, "is in a great hurry; he must be satisfied." He immediately issued orders to bring him from his prison. About noon M. de Fleury arrived at the tribunal, was tried, condemned in an hour as the accomplice of persons he had never known, and immediately sent to the scaffold, covered with a red shirt, like the man who had attempted to murder Collot-d'Herbois.

Ever since the passing of the law of the 22d of Prairial, victims perished at the rate of fifty or sixty a day. "That goes well," said Fouquier-Tinville; "heads fall like tiles:" and he added, "It must go better still next decade; I must have four hundred and fifty at least."* For this purpose there were given what were called orders to the wretches who undertook the office of spies upon the suspected. These wretches had become the terror of the prisons. Confined as suspected persons, it was not exactly known which of them it was who undertook to mark out victims; but it was inferred from their insolence, from the preference shown them by the gaolers, from the orgies which they held in the lodges with the agents of the police. They frequently gave intimation of their importance in order to traffic with it. They were caressed, implored, by the trembling prisoners; they even received sums of money not to put their names upon their lists. These they made up at random: they said of one that he had used aristocratic language; of another, that he had drunk on a certain day when a defeat of the armies was announced; and their mere designation was equivalent to a death-warrant. The names which they had furnished were inserted in so many acts of accusation; these acts were notified in the evening to the prisoners, and they were removed to the Conciergerie. This was called in the language of the gaolers *the evening journal*. When those unfortunate creatures heard the rolling of the tumbrels which came to fetch them, they were in an agony as cruel as that of death. They ran to the gates, clung to the bars to listen to the list, and trembled lest their name should be pronounced by the messenger. When they were named, they embraced their companions in misfortune, and took a last leave of them. Most painful separations were frequently witnessed—a father parting from his children, a husband from his wife. Those who survived were as wretched as those who were conducted to the den of Fouquier-Tinville. They went back expecting soon to rejoin their relatives. When the fatal list was finished, the prisoners breathed more freely, but only till the following day. Their anguish was then renewed, and the rolling of the carts brought fresh terror along with it.

The public pity began to be expressed in a way that gave some uneasiness to the exterminators. The shopkeepers in the rue St. Honoré, through which the carts passed every day, shut up their shops. To deprive the victims of these signs of mourning, the scaffold was removed to the Barrière du Trône, but not less pity was shown by the labouring people in this quarter than by the inhabitants of the best streets in Paris.† The populace, in

* See the long trial of Fouquier-Tinville for these particulars.

† "It is evident that the better order of the people of Paris had begun to be weary of, if not disgusted with, these scenes. The guillotine had been originally placed in the Carrousel; it was removed for the execution of the King to the Place Louis XV.; there, at the foot of a plaster statue of liberty, it continued till a few weeks before Robespierre's fall. Around the scaffold were placed rows of chairs, which the passengers hired, as at other places of public amusement, to witness the operations of the 'holy guillotine.' But even of blood the Parisians will tire, and the inhabitants of the adjoining streets, through which the batches were daily trundled for execution, began to find that there might be too much of a good thing. On this, Robespierre transported the guillotine to the other extremity of Paris, where it was erected near the ruins of the Bastille. But by this time the people of the fauxbourg St. Antoine had also become satiated with massacre; and after the revolutionary engine had occupied its new position only four days, and dealt with only seventy-four victims, it was again removed to an open space near the Barrière du Trône. There it stood little more than six busy weeks, in which it despatched fourteen hundred and three victims! It was finally conveyed—for Robespierre's own use—to its original position, in order that he and his friends might die on the scene of their most remarkable triumphs. These movements of the guillotine are indicative of the state of the public mind."—*Quarterly Review*. E.

a moment of intoxication, may have no feeling for the victims whom it slaughters itself, but, when it daily witnesses the death of fifty or sixty unfortunate persons, against whom it is not excited by rage, it soon begins to be softened. This pity, however, was still silent and timid. All the distinguished persons confined in the prisons had fallen: the unfortunate sister of Louis XVI.* had been immolated in her turn; and Death was already descending from the upper to the lower classes of society. We find at this period on the list of the revolutionary tribunal, tailors, shoemakers, hair-dressers, butchers, farmers, publicans, nay, even labouring men, condemned for sentiments and language held to be counter-revolutionary.† To convey, in short, an idea of the number of executions at this period, it will be sufficient to state that, between the month of March, 1793, when the tribunal commenced its operations, and the month of June, 1794 (22 Prairial, year II), five hundred and seventy-seven persons had been condemned; and that, from the 10th of June (22 Prairial) to the 17th of July (9 Thermidor) it

* "The Princess Elizabeth appeared before her judges with a placid countenance, and listened to the sentence of death with unabated firmness. As she passed to the place of execution, her handkerchief fell from her neck, and exposed her in this situation to the eyes of the multitude; whereupon she said to the executioner, 'In the name of modesty I entreat you to cover my bosom.'"—*Du Broca*. E.

† "Jean Julien, wagoner, having been sentenced to twelve years' hard labour, took it into his head (*s'avis*) to cry *Vive le Roi!* was brought back before the tribunal and condemned to death, September 1792.

"Jean Baptiste Henry, aged *eighteen*, journeyman tailor, convicted of having sawed a tree of liberty; executed the 6th September, 1793.

"Bernard Augustin d'Absac, aged fifty-one, ex-noble, late captain in the 11th regiment, and formerly in the sea-service, convicted of having betrayed *several towns and several ships* into the hands of the enemy, was condemned to death on the 10th January, 1794, and executed the same day.

"Stephen Thomas Ogie Baulny, aged forty-six, ex-noble, convicted of having intrusted his son, aged *fourteen*, to a *garde du corps*, in order that he might emigrate. Condemned to death 31st January, 1794, and executed the same day.

"Henriette Françoise de Marbœuf, aged fifty-five, widow of the *ci-devant* Marquis de Marbœuf, residing at No. 47, *rue St. Honoré*, in Paris, convicted of having *hoped for (désiré)* the arrival of the Austrians and Prussians, and of *keeping provisions for them*. Condemned to death the 5th February, 1794, and executed the same day.

"Jacques de Baume, a *Dutch merchant*, convicted of being the author and accomplice of a plot which existed in the month of June, 1790, tending to encourage our external and internal enemies, by negotiating by way of loan, certain bonds of 100*l.* each, bearing interest at 5 per cent., of George, Prince of Wales, Frederick, Duke of York, and William Henry, Duke of Clarence. Executed the 14th February, 1794.

"Jacques Duchesne, aged sixty, formerly a servant, since a broker; Jean Sauvage, aged thirty-four, gunsmith; Françoise Loizelier, aged forty-seven, milliner; Melanie Cunosse, aged twenty-one, milliner; Marie Magdalene Virolle, aged twenty-five, female hair-dresser;—convicted of having, in the city of Paris, where they resided, composed writings, stuck bills, and *poussé de cris* [the sanguinary code of England has no corresponding name for this capital offence], were all condemned to death the 5th May, 1794, and executed the same day.

"Geneviève Gouvon, aged *seventy-seven*, seamstress, convicted of having been the author or accomplice of various conspiracies formed since the beginning of the Revolution by the enemies of the people and of liberty, tending to create civil war, to paralyze the public, and to annihilate the existing government. Condemned to death 11th May, 1793, and executed the same day.

"Françoise Bertrand, aged thirty-seven, *tinman* and publican at Leure, in the department of the Côte-d'Or, convicted of having furnished to the defenders of the country *sour wine injurious to the health of citizens*, was condemned to death at Paris 15th May, 1793, and executed the same day.

"Marie Angelique Plaisant, seamstress at Douai, convicted of having exclaimed that she was an *aristocrat*, and '*A fig for the nation*.' Condemned to death at Paris the 19th July, 1794 and executed the same day."—*Extracts from the Liste Générale des Condamnés*. E.

condemned one thousand two hundred and eighty-five; so that the total number of victims up to the 9th of Thermidor amounts to one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two.*

The sanguinary agents of these executions, however, were not easy. Dumas was perturbed, and Fouquier durst not go out at night; he beheld the relatives of his victims ever ready to despatch him. In passing with Senard through the wickets of the Louvre, he was alarmed by a slight noise; it was caused by a person passing close to him. "Had I been alone," said he, "some accident would have happened to me."

* "Numbers condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris in each month, from its first institution (17th of August, 1792) to the fall of Robespierre (27th of July, 1793)."

1792.	August,	3 victims.
	September,	4
	October,	1
[Tribunal remodelled in March, 1793.]		
1793.	April,	9
	May,	9
	June,	14
	July,	13
[Robespierre elected into the Committee of Public Safety.]		
1793.	August,	5
	September,	16
	October,	60 including Brissot, &c.
	November,	53
	December,	73
1794.	January,	83
	February,	75
	March,	123 including Hebert, &c.
	April,	263 including Danton, &c.
	May,	324
	June,	672
	July,	835 exclusive of Robespierre and his accomplices.

"To the foregoing astonishing account of the monthly executions, we think it worth while to add the daily detail of the two last months:

June.					
Day.	Victims.	Day.	Victims.	Day.	Victims.
1	13	11	22	21	25
2	13	12	17	22	15
3	32	13	23	23	19
4	16	14	38	24	25
5	6	15	19	25	44
6	20	16	42	26	47
7	21	17	61	27	30
8	<i>Decadi.</i>	18	<i>Decadi.</i>	28	<i>Decadi.</i>
9	22	19	15	29	20
10	13	20	37	30	14
July.					
Day.	Victims.	Day.	Victims.	Day.	Victims.
1	23	10	44	19	28
2	30	11	6	20	14
3	19	12	28	21	28
4	27	13	37	22	46
5	28	14	—	23	55
6	29	15	29	24	36
7	67	16	30	25	38
8	<i>Decadi.</i>	17	40	26	54
9	60	18	<i>Decadi.</i>	27	42"

Quarterly Review. E.

In the principal cities of France terror reigned as absolutely as in Paris. Carrier* had been sent to Nantes to punish La Vendée in that town. Carrier, still a young man, was one of those inferior and violent spirits, who, in the excitement of civil wars, become monsters of cruelty and extravagance. He declared immediately after his arrival at Nantes; that, notwithstanding the promise of pardon made to the Vendéans who should lay down their arms, no quarter ought to be given to them, but they must all be put to death. The constituted authorities having hinted at the necessity of keeping faith with the rebels, "You are *j . . . f . . .*," said Carrier to them, "you don't understand your trade; I will send you all to the guillotine;" and he began by causing the wretched creatures who surrendered to be mowed down by musketry and grapeshot, in parties of one and two hundred. He appeared at the popular society, sword in hand, abusive language pouring from his lips, and always threatening with the guillotine. It was not long before he took a dislike to that society, and caused it to be dissolved. He intimidated the authorities to such a degree that they durst no longer appear before him. One day, when they came to consult with him on the subject of provisions, he replied to the municipal officers that that was no affair of his; that he had no time to attend to their fooleries; and that the first blackguard who talked to him about provisions should have his head struck off. This frantic wretch imagined that he had no other mission than to slaughter.

He resolved to punish at one and the same time the Vendean rebels and the federalists of Nantes who had attempted a movement in favour of the Girondins, after the siege of their city. The unfortunate people who had escaped the disasters of Mans and Savenai were daily arriving in crowds, driven by the armies which pressed them closely on all sides. Carrier ordered them to be confined in the prisons of Nantes, and had thus collected nearly ten thousand. He had then formed a band of murderers, who scoured the adjacent country, stopped the Nantese families, and added rapine to cruelty. Carrier had at first instituted a revolutionary commission for trying the Vendéans and the Nantese. He caused the Vendéans to be shot, and the Nantese suspected of federalism or royalism to be guillotined. He soon found this formality too tedious, and the expedient of shooting attended with inconveniences. This mode of execution was slow; it was troublesome to bury the bodies. They were frequently left on the scene of carnage, and infected the air to such a degree as to produce an epidemic disease in the town. The Loire, which runs through Nantes, suggested a horrible idea to Carrier, namely, to rid himself of the prisoners by drowning them in that river. He made a first trial, loaded a barge with ninety priests, upon pretext of transporting them to some other place, and ordered it to be sunk when at some distance from the city. Having devised this expedient, he resolved to employ it on a large scale. He no longer employed the mock formality of sending the prisoners before a commission: he ordered them to be taken in the night out of the prisons in parties of one and two hundred, and put into boats. By these boats they were carried to small vessels pre-

* "Jean Baptiste Carrier, born in 1756, and an obscure attorney at the beginning of the Revolution, was deputed in 1792, to the Convention, aided in the establishment of the revolutionary tribunal, and exhibited the wildest rage for persecution. He voted for the King's death, and, in 1793, was sent to Nantes with a commission to suppress the civil war by severity, which he exercised in the most atrocious manner. After the fall of Robespierre, Carrier was apprehended, and condemned to death in 1794."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.
 "This Carrier might have summoned hell to match his cruelty without a demon venturing to answer his challenge."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

pared for this horrible purpose. The miserable wretches were thrown into the hold; the hatches were nailed down; the avenues to the deck were closed with planks; the executioners then got into the boats, and carpenters cut holes with hatchets in the sides of the vessels, and sunk them. In this frightful manner four or five thousand persons were destroyed. Carrier rejoiced at having discovered a more expeditious and more wholesome way to deliver the republic from its enemies. He drowned not only men, but also a great number of women and children.* When the Vendean families were dispersed, after the catastrophe of Savenai, a great number of Nantes had taken children of theirs, with the intention of bringing them up. "They are wolf whelps," said Carrier, and he ordered them to be restored to the republic. Most of these unfortunate children were drowned.

The Loire was covered with dead bodies. Ships, in weighing anchor, sometimes raised boats filled with drowned persons. Birds of prey flocked to the banks of the river, and gorged themselves with human flesh.† The fish, feasting upon a food which rendered them unwholesome, were forbidden by the municipality to be caught. To these horrors were added those of a contagious disease and dearth. In this disastrous situation, Carrier, still boiling with rage, forbade the slightest emotion of pity, seized by the collar and threatened with his sword those who came to speak to him, and caused bills to be posted, stating that whoever presumed to solicit on behalf of any person in confinement should be thrown into prison himself. Fortunately, he was superseded by the committee of public welfare, which desired extermination, but without extravagance.‡ The number of Carrier's victims is computed at four or five thousand.§ Most of them were Vendean.

* The Marchioness de Larochejaquelein has given some striking details respecting these atrocious massacres, from which we extract the following: "Madame de Bonchamp had procured a small boat, and attempted to cross the Loire with her two children. The armed vessels fired upon her, and a cannon-ball went through the boat; yet she reached the other side, and some peasants swam after, and saved her. She then remained concealed on a farm, and was often obliged to resort to a hollow tree for safety. In this forlorn situation the small-pox attacked her and her children, and her son died. At the end of three months she was discovered, conveyed to Nantes, and condemned to death. She had resigned herself to her fate, when she read on a slip of paper, handed to her through the grate of her dungeon, these words—'Say you are with child.' She did so, and her execution was suspended. Her husband having been dead a long time, she was obliged to say that the child belonged to a republican soldier. She remained shut up, and every day saw some unfortunate woman go to execution, who had been deposited the evening before in her dungeon, after receiving sentence. At the end of three months, it being evident she was not pregnant, she was ordered for execution, but obtained again two months and a half as a last respite, when the death of Robespierre saved her.—Madame de Jourdain was taken to the Loire to be drowned with her three daughters. A soldier wished to save the youngest, who was very beautiful; but she, determined to share her mother's fate, threw herself into the water. The unfortunate girl, falling on dead bodies, did not sink; she cried out, 'Oh, push me in, I have not water enough!' and perished.—A horrible death was that of Madame de la Roche St. André. As she was with child, they spared her till she should be delivered, and then allowed her to nurse her infant; but it died, and the next day she was executed." E.

† Deposition of a captain of a ship on Carrier's trial.

‡ "The Emperor did Robespierre the justice to say that he had seen long letters written by him to his brother, who was then with the army in the provinces, in which he warmly opposed and disavowed these excesses, declaring that they would disgrace and ruin the Revolution."—*Las Cases*. E.

§ "The miserable victims at Nantes," says Mr. Alison, "were either slain with poniards in the prisons or carried out in a vessel, and drowned by wholesale in the Loire. On one occasion, a hundred priests were taken out together, stripped of their clothes, and precipitated into the waves. Women big with child, infants, eight, nine, and ten years of age, were thrown together into the stream, on the sides of which men armed with sabres, were

Bordeaux, Marseilles, Toulon, atoned for their federalism. At Toulon, Fréron and Barras, the representatives, had caused two hundred of the inhabitants to be shot, and had punished them for a crime, the real authors of which had escaped in the English squadron.* In the department of Vaucluse, Maignet exercised a dictatorship as terrific as the other envoys of the Convention. He had ordered the village of Bedoin to be burned, on account of revolt; and at his request the committee of public welfare had instituted at Orange a revolutionary tribunal, the jurisdiction of which extended to the whole of the South. This tribunal was framed after the model of the revolutionary tribunal of Paris, with this difference, that there were no jurors, and that five judges condemned, on what were termed *moral proofs*, all the unfortunate persons whom Maignet picked up in his excursions. At Lyons, the sanguinary executions ordered by Collet-d'Herbois had ceased. The revolutionary commission had just given an account of its proceedings, and furnished the number of the acquitted and of the condemned. One thousand six hundred and eighty-four persons had been guillotined or shot. One thousand six hundred and eighty-two had been set at liberty by the *justice of the commission*.

placed to cut off their heads if the waves should throw them undrowned on the shore. On one occasion, by orders of Carrier, twenty-three of the royalists—on another, twenty-four, were guillotined together without any trial. The executioner remonstrated, but in vain. Among them were many children of seven or eight years of age, and seven women; the executioner died two or three days after with horror of what he himself had done. So great was the multitude of captives who were brought in on all sides, that the executioners declared themselves exhausted with fatigue, and a new method of execution was devised. Two persons of different sexes, generally an old man and an old woman, bereft of every species of dress, were bound together and thrown into the river. It was ascertained by authentic documents that six hundred children had perished by that inhuman species of death; and such was the quantity of corpses accumulated in the Loire, that the water became infected. The scenes in the prisons which preceded these executions exceeded all that romance had figured of the terrible. On one occasion the inspector entered the prison to seek for a child, where, the evening before, he had left above three hundred infants; they were all gone in the morning, having been drowned the preceding night. To all the representations of the citizens in favour of these innocent victims, Carrier only replied, 'They are all vipers, let them be stifled.' Three hundred young women of Nantes were drowned by him in one night; so far from having had any share in the political discussions, they were of the unfortunate class who live by the pleasures of others. On another occasion, five hundred children of both sexes, the eldest of whom was not fourteen years old, were led out to the same spot to be shot. The littleness of their stature caused most of the bullets at the first discharge to fly over their heads; they broke their bonds, rushed into the ranks of the executioners, clung round their knees, and sought for mercy. But nothing could soften the assassins. They put them to death even when lying at their feet. One woman was delivered of an infant on the quay; hardly were the agonies of child-birth over, when she was pushed, with the new-born innocent, into the fatal boat! Fifteen thousand persons perished at Nantes under the hands of the executioner, or of diseases in prison, in one month. The total number of victims of the Reign of Terror in that town exceeded thirty thousand!" E.

* "Barras, Fréron, and Robespierre the younger, were chosen to execute the vengeance of the Convention on Toulon. Several thousand citizens of every age and sex perished in a few weeks by the sword or the guillotine; two hundred were daily beheaded for a considerable time, and twelve thousand labourers were hired to demolish the buildings of the city. Among those who were struck down in one of the fusillades was an old man, who was severely but not mortally wounded. The executioners conceiving him dead, retired from the scene of carnage; and in the darkness of the night he had strength enough left to raise himself from the ground and move from the spot. His foot struck against a body, which gave a groan, and, stooping down, he discovered that it was his own son! After the first transports of joy were over, they crept along the ground, and, favoured by the night and the inebriety of the guards, they had the good fortune to escape, and lived to recount a tale which might well have passed for fiction."—*Alison*. E.

The North had its proconsul, Joseph Lebon.* He had been a priest, and confessed that, in his youth, he should have carried religious fanaticism to such a length as to kill his father and mother, had he been enjoined to do so. He was a real lunatic, less ferocious perhaps than Carrier, but more decidedly insane. From his language, and from his conduct, it was evident that his mind was deranged. He had fixed his principal residence at Arras,† established a tribunal with the approbation of the committee of public welfare, and travelled through the departments of the North with his judges and a guillotine. He had visited St. Pol, St. Omer, Bethune, Bapaume, Aire, and other places, and had everywhere left bloody traces of his progress. The Austrians having approached Cambray, and St. Just perceiving, as he thought, that the aristocrats of that town were in secret correspondence with the enemy, summoned thither Lebon, who, in a few days, sent to the scaffold a multitude of unfortunate persons, and pretended that he had saved Cambray by his firmness. When Lebon had finished his excursions, he returned to Arras. There he indulged in the most disgusting orgies, with his judges and various members of the clubs. The executioner was admitted to his table, and treated with the highest consideration. Lebon, stationed in a balcony, attended the executions. He addressed the people, and caused the *Ca ira* to be played while the blood of his victims was flowing. One day, having received intelligence of a victory, he hastened to his balcony, and ordered the execution to be suspended, that the sufferers who were about to die might be made acquainted with the successes of the republic.

Lebon's conduct had been so extravagant, that he was liable to accusation, even before the committee of public welfare. Inhabitants of Arras, who had sought refuge in Paris, took great pains to gain admittance to their fellow-citizen, Robespierre, for the purpose of submitting their complaints to him. Some of them had known, and even conferred obligations on him in his youth. Still they could not obtain an interview with him. Guffroy, the deputy,‡ who was at Arras, and who was a man of great courage, spared no

* "Joseph Lebon, born at Arras, at the period of the Revolution connected himself with Robespierre. After the 10th of August he was appointed mayor of that town; was then appointed attorney-general of the department, and afterwards joined the Convention as supplementary deputy. In 1793 he was sent as commissioner to Arras, where he perpetrated the most flagrant cruelties. In the year 1795 he was condemned to death as a Terrorist. At the time of his execution he was thirty years of age."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† Lebon prided himself on his apostacy, libertinism, and cruelty. Every day after his dinner he presided at the execution of his victims. By his order an orchestra was erected close to the guillotine. He used to be present at the trials, and once gave notice of the death of those whom he chose to be sentenced to die. He delighted in frightening women by firing off pistols close to their ears."—*Prudhomme*. E.

‡ "It is a curious fact, highly illustrative of the progress of revolutions, that Lebon was at first humane and inoffensive in his government, and it was not till he had received repeated orders from Robespierre, with a hint of a dungeon in case of refusal, that his atrocities commenced. Let no man, if he is not conscious of the utmost firmness of mind, be sure that he would not, under similar circumstances, have done the same."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

† "In the city of Arras above two thousand persons perished by the guillotine. Mingling treachery and seduction with sanguinary oppression, Lebon turned the despotic powers with which he was invested into the means of individual gratification. After having disgraced the wife of a nobleman, who yielded to his embraces in order to save her husband's life, he put the man to death before the eyes of his devoted consort. Children whom he had corrupted, were employed by him as spies on their parents; and so infectious did the cruel example become, that the favourite amusement of this little band was putting to death birds and small animals with little guillotines made for their use."—*Alison*. E.

‡ "A. B. J. Guffroy, an advocate, was deputy to the Convention, where he voted for the King's death. He was one of the most intemperate journalists of his time. In 1793 he

efforts to call the attention of the committees to the conduct of Lebon. He had even the noble hardihood to make an express denunciation to the Convention. The committee of public welfare took cognizance of it, and could not help summoning Lebon. The committee, however, was not willing either to disavow its agents, or to appear to admit that it was possible to be too severe towards the aristocrats. It sent Lebon back to Arras, and, in writing to him, made use of these expressions: "Pursue the good course; and pursue it with the discretion and the dignity which leave no handle for the calumnies of the aristocracy." The complaints preferred in the Convention by Guffroy against Lebon required a report from the committee. Barrère was commissioned to prepare it. "All complaints against representatives," said he, "ought to be referred to the committee in order to spare discussions, which would annoy the government and the Convention. Such is the course which has been followed on this occasion in regard to Lebon. We have inquired into the motives of his conduct. Are these motives pure?—is the result useful to the Revolution?—is it serviceable to liberty?—are the complaints merely recriminatory, or are they only the vindictive outcries of the aristocracy? This is what the committee has kept in view in this affair. Forms somewhat harsh have been employed; but these forms have destroyed the snares of the aristocracy. The committee certainly has reason to disapprove of them; but Lebon has completely beaten the aristocrats, and saved Cambray. Besides, what is there that ought not to be forgiven the hatred of a republican against the aristocracy! With how many generous sentiments has not a patriot occasion to cover whatever there may be acrimonious in the prosecution of the enemies of the people! The Revolution should not be mentioned but with respect, nor revolutionary measures but with indulgence. *Liberty is a virgin, whose veil it is culpable to lift up.*"

The result of all this was that Lebon was authorized to proceed, and that Guffroy was classed among the troublesome censors of the revolutionary government, and became liable to share their dangers. It was evident that the entire committee was in favour of the system of terror. Robespierre, Couthon, Billaud, Collot-d'Herbois, Vadier, Vouland, Amar, might differ concerning their prerogatives and concerning their number and the selection of their colleagues to be sacrificed; but they perfectly agreed as to the system of exterminating all those who formed obstacles to the Revolution. They did not wish this system to be applied with extravagance by the Lebons and the Carriers; but they were anxious to be delivered promptly, certainly, and with as little noise as possible, after the example set in Paris, from the enemies whom they supposed to have conspired against the republic. While censuring certain insane cruelties, they had the self-love of power, which is always reluctant to disavow its agents. They condemned what had been done at Arras and at Nantes; but they approved of it in appearance, that they might not acknowledge a fault in their government. Hurried into this horrible career, they advanced blindly, not knowing whither it was likely to lead them. Such is the sad condition of the man engaged in evil, that he has not the power to stop. As soon as he begins to conceive a doubt as to the nature of his actions, as soon as he discovers that he has lost his way, instead of turning back he rushes forward, as if to stun himself—as if to

became one of the committee of general safety. On the downfall of Robespierre, whose enemy he had become, he joined the Thermidorian party. In 1794 he denounced Lebon, with whom he had once been very intimate. Guffroy was subsequently appointed chief assistant in the administration of justice, and died in the year 1800, about fifty-six years of age."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

escape from the sights which annoy him. Before he can stop, he must be calm, he must examine himself, he must pass a severe judgment upon himself, which no man has the courage to do.

Nothing but a general rising could stop the authors of this terrible system. It was requisite that, in this rising, the members of the committees, jealous of the supreme power, the threatened Mountaineers, the indignant Convention, and all the hearts disgusted by this horrid effusion of blood, should be associated. But, to attain this alliance of jealousy, fear, and indignation, it was requisite that jealousy should make progress in the committees, that fear should become extreme in the Mountain, that indignation should restore courage to the Convention and to the public. It was requisite that an occasion should cause all these sentiments to burst forth at once; and that the oppressors should give the first blows, in order that the oppressed might dare to return them.

Public opinion was disposed, and the moment had arrived when a movement in behalf of humanity against revolutionary violence was possible. The republic being victorious and its enemies daunted, people had passed from fear and fury to confidence and pity. It was the first time during the Revolution that such a circumstance could have happened. When the Girondins and the Dantonists perished, it was not yet time to invoke humanity. The revolutionary government was not yet discredited, neither had it become useless.

While waiting for the moment, the parties watched one another, and resentments were accumulated in their hearts. Robespierre had entirely seceded from the committee of public welfare. He hoped to discredit the government of his colleagues by taking no further part in it: he appeared only at the Jacobins, where Billaud and Collot durst no longer show themselves and where he was every day more and more adored. He began to throw out observations there on the intestine dissensions of the committee. "Formerly," said he, "the hollow faction which has been formed out of the relics of Danton and Camille-Desmoulins attacked the committees *en masse*; now it prefers attacking certain members in particular, in order to succeed in breaking the bundle. Formerly, it durst not attack the national justice; now it deems itself strong enough to calumniate the revolutionary tribunal, and the decree concerning its organization; it attributes to a single individual what belongs to the whole government; it ventures to assert that the revolutionary tribunal has been instituted for the purpose of slaughtering the National Convention, and unfortunately it has obtained but too much credence. Its calumnies have been believed; they have been assiduously circulated; a dictator has been talked of; he has been named; it is I who have been designated, and you would tremble, *were I to tell you in what place*. Truth is my only refuge against crime. These calumnies will most assuredly not discourage me, but they leave me undecided what course to pursue. Till I can say more on this subject, I invoke the virtues of the Convention, the virtues of the committees, the virtues of all good citizens, and lastly, your virtues, which have so often proved serviceable to the country."

We see by what perfidious insinuations Robespierre began to denounce the committees, and to attach the Jacobins exclusively to himself. For these tokens of confidence he was repaid with unbounded adulation. The revolutionary system being imputed to him alone, it was natural that all the revolutionary authorities should be attached to him, and warmly espouse his cause. With the Jacobins were of course associated the commune, always

united in principle and conduct with the Jacobins, and all the judges and jurors of the revolutionary tribunal. This association formed a very considerable force, and, with more resolution and energy, Robespierre might have made himself extremely formidable. By means of the Jacobins he swayed a turbulent mass, which had hitherto represented and ruled the public opinion: by the commune he had the local authority, which had taken the lead in all the insurrections, and what was of still more consequence, the armed force of Paris. Pache, the mayor, and Henriot,* the commandant, whom he had saved when they were about to be coupled with Chaumette, were wholly devoted to him. Billaud and Collot had taken advantage, it is true, of his absence, to imprison Pache; but Fleuriot, the new mayor, and Payen, the national agent, were just as much attached to him; and his adversaries had not dared to take Henriot from him. Add to these persons, Dumas, the president of the tribunal, Coffinhal, the vice-president, and all the other judges and jurors, and we shall have some idea of the influence which Robespierre possessed in Paris. If the committees and the Convention did not obey him, he had only to complain to the Jacobins, to excite a movement among them, to communicate this movement to the commune, to compel the municipal authority to declare that the people resumed its sovereign powers, to set the sections in motion, and to send Henriot, to demand of the Convention sixty or seventy deputies. Dumas, Coffinhal,† and the whole tribunal would then be at his command, to put to death the deputies whom Henriot should have obtained by main force. All the means, in short, of such a day as the 31st of May, more prompt and more certain than the former, were in his hands.

Accordingly, his partisans, his parasites, surrounded and urged him to give the signal for it. Henriot offered moreover the assistance of his columns, and promised to be more energetic than on the 2d of June. Robespierre, who preferred doing everything by words, and who imagined that he could yet accomplish a great deal by such means, resolved to wait. He hoped to

* "Henriot was the offspring of parents who were poor, but maintained an irreproachable character, residing in Paris. In his youth he was footman to a counsellor of parliament. He made no conspicuous figure in the early period of the Revolution, but rose by degrees to be commandant of his section, and distinguished himself by his cruelty in the September massacres. At the time of the contest between the Mountain and the Girondins, Henriot, to serve the purposes of his party, was raised to the command of the national guard. When the fall of Robespierre was in agitation, he also was denounced, and, after in vain endeavouring to enlist the soldiers in his cause, he took refuge with the rest of the faction at the Hôtel de Ville. The danger of their situation enraged Coffinhal to such a degree, that he threw Henriot out of a window into the street, who, dreadfully bruised by his fall, crept into a common sewer, where he was discovered by some soldiers, who struck him with their bayonets, and thrust out one of his eyes, which hung by the ligaments down his cheek. He was executed the same day with Robespierre and the rest of his associates. He went to the scaffold with no other dress than his under-waistcoat, all over filth from the sewer, and blood from his own wounds. As he was about to ascend the scaffold a bystander snatched out the eye which had been displaced from its socket! Henriot suffered at the age of thirty-five."—*Adolphus*. E.

"Henriot was clerk of the Barriers, but was driven thence for theft. He was then received by the police into the number of its spies, and was again sent to the Bicêtre, which he quitted only to be flogged and branded; at last, passing over the piled corpses of September, where he drank of Madame de Lamballe's blood, he made himself a way to the generalship of the 2d of June, and finally to the scaffold."—*Prudhomme*. E.

† "Coffinhal was born in the year 1746. He it was, who, when Lavoisier requested that his death might be delayed a fortnight, in order that he might finish some important experiments, made answer, that the republic had no need of scholars or chemists."—*Universal Biography*. E.

make the committees unpopular by his secession and by his speeches at the Jacobins, and he then proposed to seize a favourable moment for attacking them openly in the Convention. He continued, notwithstanding his seeming abdication, to direct the tribunal, and to exercise an active police by means of an office which he had established. He thus kept strict watch over his adversaries, and informed himself of all their movements. He now indulged in rather more relaxation than formerly. He was observed to repair to a very handsome country-seat, belonging to a family that was devoted to him, at Maisons-Alfort, three leagues from Paris. Thither all his partisans accompanied him. To this place, too, came Dumas, Coffinhal, Payen, and Fleuriot. Henriot also frequently went thither with all his aides-de-camp; they proceeded along the road five abreast and at full gallop, upsetting all who happened to be in their way, and by their presence spreading terror through the country. The entertainers and the friends of Robespierre, caused him, by their indiscretion, to be suspected of many more plans than he meditated, or had the courage to prepare. In Paris, he was always surrounded by the same persons, and he was followed at certain distances by Jacobins or jurors of the tribunal, men devoted to him, armed with sticks and secret weapons, and ready to hasten to his assistance in any emergency. They were called his life-guards.

Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, and Barrère, seized, on their part, the direction of all affairs, and, in the absence of their rival, they attached to themselves Carnot, Robert Lindet, and Prieur of the Côte-d'Or. A common interest induced the committee of general safety to join them. For the rest, they maintained the most profound silence. They strove to diminish by degrees the power of their adversary, by reducing the armed force of Paris. There were forty-eight companies of artillery belonging to the forty-eight sections, perfectly organized; and which had given proofs, under all circumstances, of the most revolutionary spirit. From the 10th of August to the 31st of May, they had always ranged themselves on the side of insurrection. A decree directed that half of them at least should remain in Paris, but permitted the other part to be removed. Billaud and Collot had ordered the chief of the commission superintending the movements of the armies to send them off successively to the frontiers, and this order had already begun to be carried into effect. They concealed all their operations as much as possible from Couthon, who, not having withdrawn like Robespierre, watched them attentively, and annoyed them much. During these proceedings, Billaud, gloomy and splenetic, seldom quitted Paris; but the witty and voluptuous Barrère went to Passy with the principal members of the committee of general safety, with old Vadier, Vouland, and Amar. They met at the house of old Dupin, formerly a farmer-general, famous under the late government for his kitchen, and during the Revolution for the report which sent the farmers-general to the scaffold. There they indulged in all sorts of pleasures with beautiful women; and Barrère exercised his wit against the pontiff of the Supreme Being, the chief prophet, the beloved son of the mother of God. After amusing themselves, they quitted the arms of their courtizans to return to Paris into the midst of blood and rivalships.

The old members of the Mountain, who found themselves threatened, met on their part in secret, and sought to come to some arrangement. The generous woman who, at Bordeaux, had attached herself to Tallien,* and

* "The marriage of Madame Fontenai with Tallien was not a happy one. On his return from Egypt, a separation took place, and in 1805 she married M. de Caraman, Prince of Chimai."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

snatched from him a multitude of victims, urged him from the recesses of her prison to strike the tyrant. Tallien, Lecointre, Bourdon of the Oise, Thuriot, Panis, Barras, Freron, Monestier, were joined by Guffroy, the antagonist of Lebon; Dubois-Crancé, compromised at the siege of Lyons, and detested by Couthon; Fouché of Nantes, who had quarrelled with Robespierre, and who was reproached with having conducted himself in a manner not sufficiently patriotic at Lyons.* Tallien and Lecointre were the most daring and the most impatient. Fouché was particularly feared, on account of his skill in contriving and conducting an intrigue, and it was against him that the triumvirs were most embittered.

On occasion of a petition from the Jacobins of Lyons, in which they complained to the Jacobins of Paris of their existing situation, the whole history of that unfortunate city came again under review. Couthon denounced Dubois-Crancé, as he had done some months before, accused him of having allowed Precy to escape, and obtained his erasure from the list of Jacobins. Robespierre accused Fouché, and imputed to him the intrigues which had caused Gaiard, the patriot, to lay violent hands on himself. At his instigation, it was resolved that Fouché should be summoned before the society to justify his conduct. It was not so much the intrigues of Fouché at Lyons, as his intrigues in Paris, that Robespierre dreaded, and was desirous of punishing. Fouché, aware of the danger, addressed an evasive letter to the Jacobins, and besought them to suspend their judgment till the committee, to whom he had just submitted his conduct, and whom he had furnished with all the documents in his favour, should have pronounced its decision. "It is astonishing," said Robespierre, "that Fouché should to-day implore the aid of the Convention against the Jacobins. Does he shrink from the eyes and the ears of the people? Is he afraid lest his sorry face should betray guilt? Is he afraid lest the looks of six thousand persons fixed upon him should discover his soul in his eyes, and read his thoughts there in despite of nature which has concealed them? The conduct of Fouché is that of a guilty person: you cannot keep him any longer in your bosom; he must be excluded." Fouché was accordingly excluded, as Dubois-Crancé had been. Thus the storm roared daily more and more vehemently against the threatened Mountaineers, and the horizon on all sides became more overcast with clouds.

Amidst this turmoil, the members of the committees, who feared Robespierre, would rather have courted an explanation and conciliated his ambition, than commenced a dangerous conflict. Robespierre had sent for his young colleague, St. Just, and the latter had immediately returned from the army. It was proposed that a meeting should take place for the purpose of attempting to adjust their differences. It was not till after much entreaty that Robespierre consented to an interview. He did at length comply, and the two committees assembled. Both sides complained of each other with great acrimony. Robespierre spoke of himself with his usual pride, denounced secret meetings, talked of conspirator deputies to be punished, censured all the operations of the government, and condemned everything—administration, war, and finances.

* "The following extract from a letter written by Fouché to Collot-d'Herbois, will show the sort of treatment which this bloodthirsty Jacobin adopted towards the unfortunate citizens of Lyons: 'Let us show ourselves terrible; let us annihilate in our wrath, and at one blow, every conspirator, every traitor, that we may not feel the pain, the long torture, of punishing them as kings would do. We this evening send two hundred and thirteen rebels before the thunder of our cannon! Farewell, my friend; tears of joy stream from my eyes, and overflow my heart!'—*Moniteur*. E.

St. Just supported Robespierre, pronounced a magnificent panegyric upon him, and said that the last hope of foreigners was to produce dissension in the government. He related what had been said by an officer who had been made prisoner before Maubeuge. The allies were waiting, according to that officer, till a more moderate party should overthrow the revolutionary government, and cause other principles to predominate. St. Just took occasion from this fact to insist on the necessity of conciliation and concord in future proceedings. The antagonists of Robespierre entertained the same sentiments, and they were willing to arrange matters in order to remain masters of the state; but in order to effect such an arrangement they must consent to all that Robespierre desired, and such conditions could not suit them. The members of the committee of general safety complained bitterly that they had been deprived of their functions. Elie Lacoste had the boldness to assert that Couthon, St. Just, and Robespierre formed a committee in the committees, and even dared to utter the word *triumvirate*. Some reciprocal concessions were nevertheless agreed upon. Robespierre consented to confine his office of general police to the superintendence of the agents of the committee of public welfare; and his adversaries, in return, agreed to direct St. Just to make a report to the Convention, concerning the interview that had taken place. In this report, as may naturally be supposed, no mention was to be made of the dissensions which had prevailed between the committees; but it was to treat of the commotions which public opinion had of late experienced, and to fix the course which the government proposed to pursue. Billaud and Collot insinuated that too much should not be said in it about the Supreme Being, for they still had Robespierre's pontificate before their eyes. The former, nevertheless, with his gloomy and uncheering look, told Robespierre that he had never been his enemy; and the parties separated without being really reconciled, but apparently somewhat less divided than before. In such a reconciliation there could not be any sincerity, for ambition remains the same; it resembled those attempts at negotiation which all parties make before they come to blows; it was a hollow reconciliation, like the reconciliations proposed between the Constituents and the Girondins, between the Girondins and the Jacobins, between Danton and Robespierre.

If, however, it failed to restore harmony among the members of the committees, it greatly alarmed the Mountaineers. They concluded that their destruction was to be the pledge of peace, and they strove to ascertain what were the conditions of the treaty. The members of the committee of general safety were anxious to dispel their fears. Elie Lacoste, Dubarran, and Moyse Bayle, the best members of the committee, pacified them, and told them that no sacrifice had been agreed upon. This was true enough, and it was one of the reasons which prevented the reconciliation from being complete. Barrère, however, who was particularly desirous that the parties should be on good terms, did not fail to repeat in his daily reports that the members of the government were perfectly united, that they had been unjustly accused of being at variance, and that they were exerting their joint efforts to render the republic everywhere victorious. He affected to sum up all the charges preferred against the triumvirs, and he repelled those charges as culpable calumnies, and common to the two committees. "Amid the shouts of victory," said he, "vague rumours are heard, dark calumnies are circulated, subtle poisons are infused into the journals, mischievous plots are hatched, factitious discontents are preparing, and the government is perpetu-

ally annoyed, impeded in its operations, thwarted in its movements, slandered in its intentions, and threatened in those who compose it. Yet, what has it done?" Here Barrère added the usual enumeration of the labours and services of the government.

While Barrère was doing his best to conceal the discord of the committees, St. Just, notwithstanding the report which he had to present, had returned to the army, where important events were occurring. The movements begun by the two wings had continued. Pichegru had prosecuted his operations on the Lys and the Scheldt; Jourdan had begun his on the Sambre. Profiting by the defensive attitude which Coburg had assumed at Tournay since the battles of Turcoing and Pont-a-Chin, Pichegru had in view to beat Clairfayt separately. He durst not, however, advance as far as Thielt, and resolved to commence the siege of Ypres with the twofold object of drawing Clairfayt towards him and taking that place, which would consolidate the establishment of the French in West Flanders. Clairfayt expected reinforcements, and made no movement. Pichegru then pushed the siege of Ypres, and he pushed it so vigorously that Coburg and Clairfayt deemed it incumbent on them to quit their respective positions, and to proceed to the relief of the threatened fortress. Pichegru, in order to prevent Coburg from prosecuting this movement, caused troops to march from Lille, and to make so serious a demonstration on Orchies that Coburg was detained at Tournay. At the same time he moved forward and hastened to meet Clairfayt, who was advancing towards Rousselaer and Hoogdele. His prompt and well-conceived movements afforded him an occasion of fighting Clairfayt separately. One division having unfortunately mistaken its way, Clairfayt had time to return to his camp at Thielt, after sustaining a slight loss. But, three days afterwards, Clairfayt, reinforced by the detachment for which he was waiting, deployed unawares in face of our columns with thirty thousand men. Our soldiers quickly ran to arms, but the right division, being attacked with great impetuosity, was thrown into confusion, and the left remained uncovered on the *plateau* of Hoogdele. Macdonald commanded this left division, and found means to maintain it against the repeated attacks in front and flank to which it was long exposed. By this courageous resistance he gave Devinther's brigade time to rejoin him, and then obliged Clairfayt to retire with considerable loss. This was the fifth time that Clairfayt, ill seconded, was beaten by our army of the North. This action, so honourable for Macdonald's division, decided the surrender of the besieged fortress. Four days afterwards, on the 29th of Prairial (June 17), Ypres opened its gates, and a garrison of seven thousand men laid down its arms. Coburg was going to the succour of Ypres and Clairfayt, when he learned that it was too late. The events which were occurring on the Sambre then obliged him to move towards the opposite side of the theatre of war. He left the Duke of York on the Scheldt, and Clairfayt at Thielt, and marched with all the Austrian troops towards Charleroi. It was an absolute separation of the principal powers, England and Austria, which were on very bad terms, and the very different interests of which were on this occasion most distinctly manifested. The English remained in Flanders near the maritime provinces, and the Austrians hastened towards their threatened communications. This separation increased not a little their misunderstanding. The Emperor of Austria had retired to Vienna, disgusted with this unsuccessful warfare; and Mack, seeing his plans frustrated, had once more quitted the Austrian staff.

We have seen Jourdan arriving from the Moselle at Charleroi at the mo

ment when the French, repulsed for the third time, were recrossing the Sambre in disorder. After a few days' respite had been given to the troops, some of whom were dispirited by their defeats, and others fatigued by their rapid march, some change was made in their organization. With Desjardins' and Charbonnier's divisions, and the divisions which had arrived from the Moselle, a single army was composed, which was called the army of Sambre and Meuse. It amounted to about sixty-six thousand men, and was placed under the command of Jourdan. A division of fifteen thousand men, under Scherer, was left to guard the Sambre between Thuin and Maubeuge.

Jourdan resolved immediately to recross the Sambre and to invest Charleroi. Hatry's division was ordered to attack the place, and the bulk of the army was disposed all around to cover the siege. Charleroi is seated on the Sambre. Beyond it there is a series of positions forming a semicircle, the extremities of which are defended by the Sambre. These positions are scarcely in any respect advantageous, because they form a semicircle ten leagues in extent, are too unconnected, and have a river at their back. Kleber, with the left, extended from the Sambre to Orchies and Trasegnies, guarded the rivulet of Pieton, which ran through the field of battle and fell into the Sambre. At the centre, Morlot guarded Gosselies; Championnet advanced between Hepignies and Wagné; Lefebvre* occupied Wagné, Fleurus, and Lambusart. Lastly, on the right, Marceau extended himself in advance of the wood of Campinaire, and connected our line with the Sambre. Jourdan, sensible of the disadvantage of these positions, determined not to remain there, but to leave them, and to take the initiative of the attack on the morning of the 28th of Prairial (June 16). At this moment Coburg had not yet moved towards that point. He was at Tournay, looking on at the defeat of Clairfayt and the reduction of Ypres. The Prince of Orange, sent towards Charleroi, commanded the army of the allies. He resolved, on his part, to prevent the attack with which he was threatened, and, on the morning of the 28th, he deployed his troops so as to oblige the French to fight on the ground which they occupied. Four columns, directed against our right and our centre, had already penetrated into the wood of Campinaire, where Marceau was, taken Fleurus from Lefebvre, and Hepignies from Championnet, and were driving Morlot from Pont-a-Migneloup upon Gosselies, when Jourdan seasonably arriving with a reserve of cavalry, stopped the fourth column by a successful charge, led Morlot's troops back to their positions, and restored the combat at the centre. On the left, Wartensleben had made a similar progress towards Trasegnies. But Kleber,

* "François Joseph Lefebvre, a native of Rufack, of an humble family, was born in 1755. The Revolution which found him a veteran sergeant, opened to him the higher career of his profession. In 1793 he was raised from the rank of captain to that of adjutant-general; in December of the same year he was general of brigade, and the month after, of division. He fought under Pichegru, Moreau, Hoche, and Jourdan in the Netherlands and in Germany, and on all occasions with distinction. Lefebvre was of great use to Bonaparte in the revolution of Brumaire, and, when raised afterwards to the dignity of marshal, was one of the best supports of the imperial fortunes. In the campaigns of 1805, 6, and 7, he showed equal skill and intrepidity. After the battle of Eylau, having distinguished himself by his conduct at Dantzic which he was sent to invest, he was created Duke of Dantzic. In the German campaign of 1809 he maintained the honour of the French arms, and in 1813 and 1814 adhered faithfully to the declining fortunes of his master. Louis XVIII. made him a peer, but notwithstanding this, he supported the Emperor on his return from Elba. In 1816 he was confirmed in his rank of marshal, and three years afterwards was recalled to the upper chamber. Lefebvre died in 1820, leaving no issue."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

making the most prompt and happy dispositions, retook Trasegnies, and then, seizing the favourable moment, turned Wartensleben, drove him beyond the Pieton, and pursued him in two columns. The combat had thus far been maintained with advantage; nay, victory was about to declare for the French, when the Prince of Orange, uniting his first two columns towards Lambusart, on the point which connected the extreme right of the French with the Sambre, threatened their communications. The right and the centre were then obliged to fall back. Kleber, giving up his victorious march, covered the retreat with his troops: it was effected in good order. Such was the first affair of the 28th (June 16). It was the fourth time that the French had been forced to recross the Sambre; but this time it was in a manner much more honourable to their arms. Jourdan was not disheartened. He once more crossed the Sambre, a few days afterwards, resumed the positions which he had occupied on the 16th, again invested Charleroi, and caused the bombardment to be pushed with the utmost vigour.

Coburg, apprized of Jourdan's new operations, at length approached the Sambre. It was of importance to the French that they should take Charleroi before the arrival of the reinforcements which the Austrian army was expecting. Marescot, the engineer, pushed the operations so briskly, that in a week the guns of the fortress were silenced, and every preparation was made for the assault. On the 7th of Messidor (June 25), the commandant sent an officer with a letter to treat. St. Just, who still ruled in our camp, refused to open the letter, and sent back the officer, saying, "It is not a bit of paper, but the fortress that we want." The garrison marched out of the place the same evening, just as Coburg was coming in sight of the French lines. The enemy remained ignorant of the surrender of Charleroi. By the possession of the place, our position was rendered more secure, and the battle that was about to be fought, with a river behind, less dangerous. Hatry's division, being left at liberty, was marched to Ransart, to reinforce the centre, and every preparation was made for a decisive engagement on the following day, the 8th of Messidor (June 26).

Our positions were the same as on the 28th of Prairial (June 16). Kleber commanded on the left, from the Sambre to Trasegnies. Morlot, Championnet, Lefebvre, and Marceau formed the centre and the right, and extended from Gosselies to the Sambre. Intrenchments had been made at Hepignies, to secure our centre. Coburg caused us to be attacked along the whole of this semicircle, instead of directing a concentric effort upon one of our extremities, upon our right, for instance, and taking from us all the passages of the Sambre.

The attack commenced on the morning of the 8th of Messidor. The Prince of Orange and General Latour, who faced Kleber on the left, beat back our columns, and drove them through the wood of Monceaux to Marchienne-au-Pont, on the bank of the Sambre. Kleber, who was fortunately placed on the left for the purpose of directing all the divisions there, immediately hastened to the threatened point, despatched batteries to the heights, enveloped the Austrians in the wood of Monceaux, and attacked them on all sides. The latter, having perceived, as they approached the Sambre, that Charleroi was in possession of the French, began to show some hesitation. Kleber, taking advantage of it, caused them to be attacked with vigour, and obliged them to retire from Marchienne-au-Pont. While Kleber was thus saving one of our extremities, Jourdan was doing no less for the centre and the right. Morlot, who was in advance of Gosselies, had long made head against General Quasdanovich, and attempted several manœuvres

for the purpose of turning him; but had at length been turned himself, and fallen back upon Gosselies, after the most honourable efforts. Championnet, supported upon the redoubt of Hepignies, resisted with the same vigour; but the corps of Kaunitz had advanced to turn the redoubt at the very moment of the arrival of false intelligence stating the retreat of Lefebvre on the right. Championnet, deceived by this report, was retiring, and had already abandoned the redoubt, when Jourdan, perceiving the danger, directed part of Hatry's division, which were placed in reserve, upon that point, retook Hepignies, and pushed his cavalry into the plain upon the troops of Kaunitz.

While both sides were charging with great fury, the battle was raging still more violently nearer to the Sambre, at Wagné and Lambusart. Beaulieu, ascending along both banks of the Sambre at once for the purpose of attacking our extreme right, repulsed Marceau's division. That division fled in all haste through the woods bordering the Sambre, and even crossed the river in disorder. Marceau then collected some battalions, and, regardless of the rest of the fugitive division, threw himself into Lambusart, to perish there rather than abandon that post contiguous to the Sambre, which was an indispensable support of our extreme right. Lefebvre, who was placed at Wagné, Hepignies, and Lambusart, drew back his advanced posts from Fleurus upon Wagné, and threw troops into Lambusart to support Marceau's effort. This spot became the decisive point of the battle. Beaulieu, perceiving this, directed thither a third column. Jourdan, attentive to the danger, despatched the rest of his reserve to the spot. The combat was kept up around the village of Lambusart with extraordinary obstinacy. So brisk was the firing that the valleys could no longer be distinguished. The corn and the huts of the camp took fire, and the combatants were soon fighting amidst a conflagration. The republicans at last remained masters of Lambusart.

At this moment, the French, at first repulsed, had succeeded in restoring the battle at all points. Kleber had covered the Sambre on the left; Morlot, having fallen back to Gosselies, maintained himself there; Championnet had retaken Hepignies; and a furious combat at Lambusart had insured us that position. Night was now approaching. Beaulieu had just learned, upon the Sambre, what the Prince of Orange already knew, that Charleroi was in the possession of the French. Daring no longer to persist, Coburg then ordered a general retreat.

Such was this decisive engagement, one of the most sanguinary in the whole campaign, fought along a semicircle of ten leagues between two armies of nearly eighty thousand men each. It was called the battle of Fleurus, though that village acted but a secondary part, because the Duke of Luxemburg had already shed a lustre on that name in the time of Louis XIV. Though its results on the spot were inconsiderable, and it was confined to a repulsed attack, it decided the retreat of the Austrians, and thereby produced immense results.* The Austrians could not fight a second battle. To do this they must have formed a junction either with the Duke of York or with Clairfayt, and these two generals were occupied in the North by Pichegru. Being threatened, moreover, upon the Meuse, it was expedient for them to

* The great effect produced on public opinion by the battle of Fleurus has been erroneously attributed to the influence of a faction. Robespierre's faction had, on the contrary, the strongest interest to depreciate at the moment the importance of victories, as we shall presently see. The battle of Fleurus opened to us Brussels and Belgium; and it was this that then gave it celebrity.

fall back, lest they should compromise their communications. From that moment the retreat of the allies became general, and they resolved to concentrate themselves towards Brussels, in order to cover that city.

The campaign was now evidently decided; but, owing to an error of the committee of public welfare, results so prompt and so decisive as there had been reason to hope for were not obtained. Pichegru had formed a plan which was the best of all his military ideas. The Duke of York was on the Scheldt opposite to Tournay; Clairfayt at a great distance, at Thielt, in Flanders. Pichegru, persisting in his plan of destroying Clairfayt separately, proposed to cross the Scheldt at Oudenarde, thus to cut off Clairfayt from the Duke of York, and to fight him once more by himself. He then meant, when the Duke of York, finding that he was left alone, should think of joining Coburg, to fight him in his turn, then to take Coburg in the rear, or to form a junction with Jourdan. This plan which was attended not only with the advantage of attacking Clairfayt and the Duke of York separately, but also with that of collecting all our forces on the Meuse, was thwarted by a very silly idea of the committee of public welfare. Carnot had been persuaded to despatch Admiral Venstable with troops to be landed in the island of Walcheren, to excite insurrection in Holland. To second this plan, Carnot directed Pichegru's army to march along the coast, and to take possession of all the ports of West Flanders; he also ordered Jourdan to detach sixteen thousand men from his army, and to send them towards the sea. This latter order, in particular, was not only most injudicious but likewise most dangerous. The generals demonstrated its absurdity to St. Just, and it was not executed; but Pichegru was nevertheless obliged to move towards the sea, to take Bruges and Ostend, while Moreau was reducing Nieuport.

The movements were continued upon the two wings. Pichegru left Moreau, with part of the army, to lay siege to Nieuport and Sluys, and with the other took possession of Bruges, Ostend, and Ghent. He then advanced towards Brussels. Jourdan, on his side, was also marching thither. We had now only rear-guard battles to fight, and at length, on the 22d of Messidor (July 10), our advanced guard entered the capital of the Netherlands. A few days afterwards, the two armies of the North and of the Sambre and Meuse, effected a junction there. Nothing was of greater importance than this event. One hundred and fifty thousand French, collected in the capital of the Netherlands, were enabled to dash from that point on the armies of Europe, which, beaten on all sides, were seeking, some to regain the sea, others to regain the Rhine. The fortresses of Condé, Landrecies, Valenciennes, and Le Quesnoy, which the allies had taken from us, were immediately invested; and the Convention, pretending that the deliverance of the territory conferred all rights, decreed that, if the garrisons did not immediately surrender, they should be put to the sword. It had passed another decree enacting that no quarter should in future be given to the English, by way of punishing all the misdeeds of Pitt against France.*

* "To this inhuman decree of the Convention, the Duke of York replied, by the following order of the day: 'The National Convention has just passed a decree that their soldiers shall give no quarter to the British or Hanoverian troops. His Royal Highness anticipates the indignation and horror which has naturally arisen in the minds of the brave troops whom he addresses, on receiving this information. He desires however to remind them that mercy to the vanquished is the brightest gem in a soldier's character, and exhorts them not to suffer their resentment to lead them to any precipitate act of cruelty on their part which may sully the reputation they have acquired in the world. The British and Hanoverian troops will not believe that the French nation, even under their present infatuation, can so far forget

Our soldiers would not pay obedience to this decree. A sergeant, having taken some English prisoners, brought them to an officer. "Why hast thou taken them?" asked the officer. "Because it was saving so many shot," replied the sergeant. "True," rejoined the officer, "but the representatives will oblige us to shoot them."—"It is not we," retorted the sergeant, "who will shoot them. Send them to the representatives, and if they are barbarous enough, why then let them e'en kill and eat them, if they like."

Thus our armies, which acted at first upon the enemy's centre, but which was found too strong, had divided themselves into two wings, which had marched, the one along the Lys, the other along the Sambre. Pichegru had first beaten Clairfayt at Moucroen and at Courtray, then Coburg and the Duke of York at Turcoing, and lastly, had defeated Clairfayt again at Hooglede. After several times crossing the Sambre, but being as often driven back, Jourdan, brought by a happy idea of Carnot's upon the Sambre, had decided the successes of our right wing at Fleurus. From that moment the allies, attacked on both wings, had abandoned the Netherlands to us. Such was the campaign. Our astonishing successes were everywhere extolled. The victory of Fleurus, the occupation of Charleroi, Ypres, Tournay, Oudenarde, Ostend, Bruges, Ghent, and Brussels, and lastly, the junction of our armies in that capital were vaunted as prodigies. These advantages were anything but gratifying to Robespierre, who saw the reputation of the committee increasing, and that of Carnot in particular, to whom, it must be confessed, the success of the campaign was too much attributed. All the good done by the committee and all the glory gained by them in the absence of Robespierre could not but rise up against him and constitute his condemnation. One defeat, on the contrary, would have revived the revolutionary fury for his benefit, furnished him with an opportunity for accusing the committees of want of energy or treason, justified his secession for the last four decades, excited an extraordinary idea of his foresight, and raised his power to the highest pitch. He had, therefore, placed himself in the most melancholy position, that of wishing for defeats; and every circumstance proved that he did wish for them. It did not become him either to give utterance to this wish or to suffer it to be perceived; but it was manifested in spite of himself in his speeches. He strove, in his addresses to the Jacobins, to diminish the enthusiasm excited by the successes of the republic; he insinuated that the allies were retiring before us as they had done before Dumouriez, only to return very soon; that, in quitting our frontiers for a time, they meant only to consign us to the passions developed by prosperity. He added that, at any rate, "victory over the enemy's armies was not that to which they ought most ardently to aspire. The genuine victory," said he, "is that which the friends of liberty gain over factions; it is this victory that restores to nations peace, justice, and prosperity. A nation does not acquire glory by overthrowing tyrants or subjugating other nations. It was the lot of the Romans and of some other people: our destiny, far more sublime, is to found upon earth the empire of wisdom, justice, and virtue."*

Robespierre had absented himself from the committee ever since the last days of Prairial. It was now the commencement of Thermidor. It was

their character as soldiers, as to pay any attention to a decree as injurious to themselves as it is disgraceful to their government."—*Annual Register*. E.

* Speech at the Jacobins, the 21st of Messidor (July 9).

nearly forty days since he had seceded from his colleagues. It was high time to adopt some resolution. His creatures declared openly that another 31st of May was wanted: the Dumases, the Henriots, the Payens,* urged him to give the signal for it. He had not the same fondness for violent means as they had, and could not share their brutal impatience. Accustomed to accomplish everything by words, and having more respect for the laws, he preferred trying the effect of a speech denouncing the committees and demanding their renewal. If he succeeded by this gentler method, he would become absolute master, without danger and without commotion. If he did not succeed, this pacific course would not exclude violent means: on the contrary it was right that it should precede them. The 31st of May had been preceded by repeated speeches, by respectful applications, and it was not till after soliciting without obtaining their wishes, that people had concluded with demanding them. He resolved, therefore, to employ the same means as on the 31st of May, to cause in the first place a petition to be presented by the Jacobins, to deliver in the next a flaming speech, and lastly, to make St. Just come forward with a report. If all these means proved insufficient, he had with him the Jacobins, the commune, and the armed force of Paris. But he hoped at any rate not to have occasion to renew the scene of the 2d of June. He was not bold enough, and had still too much respect for the Convention to desire it.

For some time he had been preparing a voluminous speech, in which he laboured to expose the abuses of the government and to throw all the evils which were imputed to it upon his colleagues. He wrote to St. Just, desiring him to come back from the army. He detained his brother, who ought to have set out for the frontiers of Italy; he attended daily at the Jacobins, and made every arrangement for the attack. As it always happens in extreme situations, various accidents happened to increase the general agitation. A person, named Magenthies, presented a ridiculous petition praying for the punishment of death against all who should use oaths in which the name of God was introduced. A revolutionary committee ordered some labouring men who had got drunk to be imprisoned as suspected persons. These two circumstances gave rise to many sarcastic observations against Robespierre. It was said that his Supreme Being was likely to prove a greater oppressor than Christ, and that the Inquisition would probably be soon re-established in favour of deism! Sensible of the danger of such accusations, he lost no time in denouncing Magenthies at the Jacobins, as an aristocrat paid by foreigners to throw discredit on the creed adopted by the Convention; he even caused him to be delivered up to the revolutionary tribunal. Setting to work his office of police, he had all the members of the revolutionary committee of the Indivisibilité apprehended.

The crisis approached, and it appears that the members of the committee of public welfare, and Barrère in particular, would have been glad to make peace with their formidable colleague; but he had become so greedy that it

* The following letter, urging him to adopt decisive measures, was written to Robespierre at this period by Payen, his zealous adherent in the municipality of Paris: "Would you strike to the earth the refractory deputies, and obtain great victories in the interior; bring forward a report which may strike at once all the disaffected; pass salutary decrees to restrain the journals; render all the public functionaries responsible to you alone; let them be continually occupied in centralizing public opinion; hitherto your efforts have been confined to the centralizing of the physical government. I repeat it; you require a vast report, which may embrace at once all the conspirators, and blend them all together. Commence the great work."—*History of the Convention*. E.

was impossible to come to any arrangement with him. Barrère, returning home one evening with one of his confidants, threw himself into a chair, saying, "That Robespierre is insatiable. Let him demand Tallien, Bourdon of the Oise, Thuriot, Guffroy, Rovère, Lecointre, Panis, Barras, Fréron, Legendre, Monestier, Dubois-Crancé, Fouché, Cambon, and the whole Dantonist tail—well and good: but Duval, Audouin, Leonard Bourdon, Vadier, Vouland—it is impossible to consent to that." We see that Robespierre required even the sacrifice of some members of the committee of general safety, and thenceforward peace was wholly out of the question. They could not do other than break with him, and run the risks of the struggle. None of Robespierre's adversaries, however, would have dared to strike the first blow; the members of the committee waited to be denounced; the proscribed Mountaineers waited till their heads should be demanded; all meant to suffer themselves to be attacked before they defended themselves—and they acted wisely. It was much better to let Robespierre commence the engagement, and compromise himself in the eyes of the Convention by the demand of new proscriptions. They would then occupy the position of men defending their lives and even those of others; for it was impossible to foresee any end to the immolations if any fresh ones were allowed.

Every preparation was made, and the first movements commenced on the 3rd of Thermidor at the Jacobins. Among the creatures of Robespierre was one named Sijas, assistant to the commission of movement of the armies. A grudge was borne against this commission for having ordered the successive departure of a great number of companies of artillery, and for having thus diminished the armed force of Paris. Still no one had ventured to prefer any direct charge against it. Sijas began by complaining of the secrecy observed by Pyle, the chief of the commission, and all the reproaches which people durst not address either to Carnot or to the committee of public welfare were levelled at this chief of the commission. Sijas pretended that there was but one way left, namely, to address the Convention, and to denounce Pyle. Another Jacobin denounced one of the agents of the committee of general safety. Couthon then spoke, and said that it was necessary to go still farther, and to present to the National Convention an address on all the machinations which again threatened liberty. "I exhort you," said he, "to submit to it your reflections. It is pure; it will not suffer itself to be swayed by four or five villains. For my part, I declare that they shall never control me." Couthon's suggestion was forthwith adopted. The petition was drawn up, approved on the 5th of Thermidor, and presented on the 7th to the Convention.

The style of this petition was, as usual, respectful in manner, but impatient in matter. It said that the Jacobins came to pour forth the anxieties of the people into the bosom of the Convention. It repeated the accustomed declamations against foreigners and their accomplices, against the system of indulgences, against the alarm excited for the purpose of dividing the national representation, against the efforts that were made to render the worship of God ridiculous, &c. It drew no precise conclusions, but said, in a general manner, "You will strike terror into traitors, villains, intriguers; you will cheer the good; you will maintain that union which constitutes your strength; you will preserve in all its purity that sublime religion of which every citizen is the minister, of which virtue is the only practice; and the people, trusting in you, will place its duty and its glory in respecting and defending its representatives to the last extremity." This was saying very plainly, You must do what Robespierre dictates, or you will not be

either respected or defended. While this petition was read, a dead silence prevailed. No answer was given to it. No sooner was it finished than Dubois-Crancé mounted the tribune, and, without alluding to the petition or to the Jacobins, complained of the mortifications to which, for the last six months, he had been subjected, of the injustice with which his services had been repaid, and desired that the committee of public welfare might be directed to make a report on his conduct, though, he said, there were in that committee two of his accusers, and that this report should be presented in three days. The Assembly assented to his demand, without adding a single observation, and maintaining the same silence as before. Barrère succeeded him in the tribune. He came to submit a long report on the comparative state of France in July, 1793, and in July, 1794. It is certain that the difference was immense, and that, if people compared France, torn in pieces at once by the royalists, the federalists, and the foreign enemy, with France, victorious on all the frontiers, and mistress of the Netherlands, they could not refrain from thanksgiving to the government which had effected such a change in one year. This eulogy of the committee was the only way in which Barrère durst attack Robespierre; nay, he even praised him expressly in his report. With reference to the vague agitations which prevailed, and the impudent cries of certain disturbers, who demanded another 31st of May, he said that "a representative who enjoyed a patriotic reputation, earned by five years of toil and by his unshaken principles of independence and liberty, had warmly refuted this counter-revolutionary language." The Convention listened to this report, and broke up in expectation of some important event. Each looked at the other in silence, and durst neither question nor explain.

On the next day, the 8th of Thermidor, Robespierre resolved to deliver his famous speech. All his agents were prepared, and St. Just arrived in the course of the day. The Convention, seeing him in that tribune where he appeared so seldom,* expected a decisive scene. "Citizens," said he, "let others draw flattering pictures for you, I come to tell you useful truths. I come not to realize the ridiculous terrors excited by perfidy; but I wish to extinguish, if possible, the torch of discord by the mere force of truth. I come to defend before you your outraged authority and violated liberty. I shall defend myself: you will not be surprised at that; you are not like the tyrants whom you are combating. The cries of outraged innocence annoy not your ears, neither are you ignorant that this cause is not foreign to you." Robespierre then expatiated on the agitations which had prevailed for some time, the fears which had been propagated, the designs imputed to the committee and to him against the Convention. "We," exclaimed he, "attack the Convention! and what are we without it? Who defended it at the peril of his life? Who devoted himself to rescue it from the hands of the factions?" To these questions Robespierre replied that it was he; and he called his having torn from the bosom of the Convention Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Petion, Barbaroux, Danton, Camille-Desmoulins, &c., defending it against

* "About this time Robespierre received a deputation from the department of Aisne, which came to him to complain of the operations of government, lamenting also that he had been a stranger to them for upwards of a month, having seldom or never attended the public sittings during that period. 'The Convention,' replied Robespierre, 'gangrened as it is by corruption, has no longer the power to save the republic. Both will perish. The proscription of the patriots is the order of the day. For myself, I have already one foot in the grave; in a few days I shall have the other there. The rest is in the hands of Providence.' He was a little unwell at this time, and he designedly exaggerated his own discouragement and fears, and the danger of the republic, in order to inflame the patriots, and to connect the destiny of the Revolution with his own."—*Mignet*. E.

factions. He expressed his astonishment that, after the proofs of devotedness which he had given, sinister rumours should be circulated concerning him. "Is it true," said he, "that odious lists have been handed about, marking out for victims a certain number of members of the Convention, which lists were alleged to be the work of the committee of public welfare, and afterwards mine? Is it true that people have dared to suppose meetings of the committee, rigorous resolutions which never existed, and arrests equally chimerical? Is it true that pains have been taken to persuade a certain number of irreproachable representatives that their destruction was resolved upon?—all those who, by some error, had paid an inevitable tribute to the fatality of circumstances and to human frailty, that they were doomed to the fate of conspirators? Is it true that imposture has been propagated with such art and audacity, that a great number of members ceased to sleep at their own homes? Yes, the facts are certain, and the proofs of them are before the committee of public welfare!"

He then complained that the accusation preferred *en masse* against the committees came at length to be levelled at him alone. He represented that his name had been given to all the evil that had been done in the government; that, if patriots were imprisoned instead of aristocrats, it was said, *It is Robespierre who desires it*; that if some patriots had fallen, it was said, *It is Robespierre who ordered it*; that if numerous agents of the committee of general safety practised everywhere their extortion and their rapine, it was said, *It is Robespierre who sends them*; that if a new law robbed the stockholders, it was said, *It is Robespierre who ruins them*. He then said that he was represented as the author of all sorts of evils for the purpose of ruining him, that he had been called a tyrant, and that, on the festival in honour of the Supreme Being—that day when the Convention struck to the earth atheism and priestly despotism at one blow, when it attached all generous hearts to the Revolution—that day, in short, of happiness and pure intoxication—the president of the National Convention, while addressing the assembled people, was insulted by guilty men, and that those men were representatives! He had been called a tyrant! and why? because he had acquired some influence by speaking the language of truth. "And what do ye pretend to," he exclaimed, "ye, who wish truth to be powerless in the mouths of the representatives of the French people? Truth assuredly has her power, her anger, her despotism; she has her touching and her terrible accents, which vibrate with force in pure hearts as well as in guilty consciences, and which it is not given to falsehood to imitate, any more than to Salmoneus to imitate the lightning of heaven. But blame the nation for this, blame the people, who feel and who love it.—Who am I—I, who am accused?—a slave of liberty, a living martyr of the republic, the victim as much as the enemy of crime. Every scoundrel abuses me. The most indifferent, the most legitimate actions on the part of others are crimes in me. A man is slandered as soon as it is known that he is acquainted with me: others are forgiven their misdeeds; as for me, my zeal is made a crime. Take from me my conscience, and I am the most miserable of men; I do not even enjoy the rights of citizen; nay, I am not even allowed to fulfil the duties of a representative of the people."

Robespierre thus defended himself by subtle and diffuse declamations, and for the first time he found the Convention sullen, silent, and seemingly weary of the length of his speech. At last he came to the pith of the question—he proceeded to accuse others. Surveying all the departments of the government, he first censured with iniquitous malice the financial system. Author of the law of the 22d of Prairial, he expatiated with profound pity

on the law concerning life annuities; there was nothing even to the *maximum* but what he seemed to condemn, saying that intriguers had hurried the Convention into violent measures. "In whose hands are the finances?" he exclaimed. "In the hands of Feuillans, of known rogues, of the Cambons, the Mallarmés, the Ramels." He then passed to the war department, spoke with disdain of those victories, which had just been described with *academic levity*, as though they had not cost either blood or toil. "Keep an eye," cried he, "keep a vigilant eye on victory; keep a vigilant eye on Belgium. Your enemies are retiring and leaving you to your intestine divisions; think of the end of the campaign. Division has been sown among the generals; the military aristocracy is protected; the faithful generals are persecuted; the military administration wraps itself up in a suspicious authority. These truths are certainly as valuable as epigrams." He said no more of Carnot and of Barrère, leaving to St. Just* the task of censuring Carnot's plans. We see that this wretched man flung over everything the poison that was consuming him. He next expatiated on the committee of general safety, on the multitude of its agents, on their cruelties, their rapine; he denounced Amar and Jagot as having seized the police, and doing everything to discredit the revolutionary government. He complained of the sneers uttered in the tribune respecting Catharine Theot, and asserted that men encouraged the belief of feigned conspiracies in order to conceal real ones. He described the two committees as addicted to intrigues and engaged, in some measure, in the designs of the anti-national faction. In the whole existing system he found nothing good but the *revolutionary government*, and in that only the principle, not the execution. The principle was his; it was he who caused that government to be instituted, but it was his adversaries who spoiled it.

Such is the substance of Robespierre's voluminous declamations. At length he concluded with this summary: "We assert that there exists a conspiracy against the public liberty; that it owes its strength to a criminal coalition, which intrigues in the very bosom of the Convention; that this coalition has accomplices in the committee of general safety, and in the bureaux of that committee which they govern; that the enemies of the republic have opposed this committee to the committee of public welfare and thus constituted two governments; that members of the committee of public welfare are engaged in this plot; that the coalition thus formed is striving to ruin the patriots and the country. What is the remedy for this evil? To punish the traitors, to renew the bureaux of the committee of general safety, to purify that committee itself and to render it subordinate to the committee of public welfare, to purify even the committee of public welfare, to constitute the government under the supreme authority of the National Convention, which is the centre and the judge, and thus to crush all the factions with the weight of the national authority, in order to raise upon their ruins the power of justice and liberty. Such are the principles. If it is impossible to claim them without passing for an ambitious man, I shall conclude that principles are proscribed and that tyranny reigns among us; but I shall not, on that account, be silent;—for what can be objected to a man who is in the right, and who is ready to die for his country? I am made to combat crime—not to govern it. The time is not yet arrived when good men can serve their country with impunity."

* "St. Just, who had just arrived from the army, was no sooner apprized by Robespierre of the state of affairs, than he perceived that no time was to be lost, and urged Robespierre to act. His maxim was to strike quietly and strongly. 'Dare!' said he, 'that is the secret of revolutions.'"—*Mignet*. E.

In silence Robespierre began his speech, in silence he concluded it.* In all parts of the hall the members continued mute, with their eyes fixed on him. Those deputies, once such warm admirers, were turned to ice. They expressed nothing, and seemed to have the courage to remain cold, since the tyrants, divided among themselves, took them for judges. All faces had become impenetrable. A faint murmur gradually arose in the Assembly, but for some time no one durst speak. Lecointre of Versailles, one of the most energetic of Robespierre's enemies, was the first to address the assembly, but it was to move that his speech should be printed—such was still the hesitation, even of the boldest, to commence the attack. Bourdon of the Oise ventured to oppose the motion for printing, saying that the speech involved questions too serious, and he proposed that it should be referred to the two committees. Barrère, always prudent, supported the motion for printing, alleging that in a free country everything ought to be printed. Couthon rushed to the tribune, indignant at witnessing a discussion instead of a burst of enthusiasm, and insisted that the speech should not only be printed, but be sent to all the communes and all the armies. He could not forbear, he said, to pour forth the feelings of his wounded heart, since, for some time past, the deputies most faithful to the cause of the people had been loaded with abuse; they were accused of shedding blood, and of desiring to shed more; and yet, if he believed that he had contributed to the destruction of one innocent person, he should die of grief. The speech of Couthon awakened all the submission that was left in the Assembly. It voted that the speech should be printed and sent to all the municipalities.

The adversaries of Robespierre seemed likely to have the disadvantage: but Vadier, Cambon, Billaud-Varennes, Panis, Amar, desired to be heard in reply to Robespierre. Courage revived with the danger, and the conflict commenced. All wanted to speak at once. The turn of each was fixed. Vadier was first permitted to explain. He justified the committee of general safety, and maintained that the report concerning Catherine Theot had for its object to reveal a real, a deep conspiracy, and he added, in a significant tone, that he possessed documents proving its importance and its danger. Cambon justified his financial laws and his integrity, which was universally known and admired, in a post which offered such strong temptations. He spoke with his usual impetuosity: he proved that none but stockjobbers could be hurt by his financial measures, and then, throwing off the reserve which had been kept up thus far, "It is high time," he exclaimed, "to tell the whole truth. Is it I who deserve to be accused of having made myself master in any way? The man who had made himself master of everything, the man who paralyzed your will, is the man who has just spoken—is Robespierre!" This vehemence disconcerted Robespierre. As if he had been accused of having played the tyrant in financial matters, he declared that he had never meddled with finances, that of course he could never control the Convention in this matter, and that, at any rate, in attacking Cambon's plans, he meant not to attack his intentions. He had nevertheless called him a rogue. Billaud-Varennes, a no less formidable antagonist,† said

* "The speech which Robespierre addressed to the Convention was as menacing as the first distant rustle of the hurricane, and dark and lurid as the eclipse which announces its approach. The haughty and sullen dictator saw in the open slight which was put upon his measures and opinions, the sure mark of his approaching fall."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† "Billaud-Varennes was the most formidable of Robespierre's antagonists. Both were ambitious of reigning over the ruins and the tombs with which they had covered France. But Robespierre had reached the point where his ambition could no longer be concealed

that it was high time to bring forward all truths in evidence. He spoke of the absence of Robespierre from the committees, of the removal of the companies of artillery, only fifteen of which had been sent away, though the law allowed twenty-four to be despatched. He added that he was determined to tear off all masks, and he had rather that his dead body should serve for a footstool to an ambitious man, than authorize his proceedings by his silence. He demanded the report of the decree which ordered the printing of the speech. Panis complained of the continual calumnies of Robespierre, who wished to make him pass for the author of the massacres of September; and he challenged him and Couthon to speak out respecting the five or six deputies, the sacrifice of whom they had been for a month past incessantly demanding at the Jacobins. On all sides this explanation was called for. Robespierre replied with hesitation that he had come to unveil abuses, and had not undertaken to justify or accuse this or the other person. "Name, name the individuals!" was the cry. Robespierre still shuffled and said, that "after he had had the courage to communicate to the Convention counsels which he deemed useful, he did not think—" He was again interrupted. "You who pretend to have the courage of virtue," cried Charlier, "have that of truth. Name, name the individuals!" The confusion increased. The question of printing was resumed. Amar insisted on referring the speech to the committee. Barrère, perceiving the advantage of siding with those who were referring to the committees, made a sort of apology for having proposed a different course. At last the Convention revoked its decision, and declared that Robespierre's speech, instead of being printed, should be referred to the consideration of the two committees.

This sitting was a truly extraordinary event. All the deputies, habitually so submissive, had again taken courage. As for Robespierre, who never had anything but superciliousness without daring, he was surprised, vexed, and dejected. He had need to recruit himself; he hurried to his trusty Jacobins, to meet his friends and to borrow courage from them. They were already apprized of the event. He was impatiently expected. No sooner did he appear than he was greeted with applause. Couthon followed him, and shared the acclamations. He was requested to read the speech. Robespierre took up two full hours in repeating it to them. They interrupted him every moment by frenzied shouts and plaudits. As soon as he had finished, he added a few words of mortification and grief. "This speech which you have just heard," said he, "is my last will and testament. This I perceived to-day. The league of the wicked is so strong that I cannot hope to escape it. I fall without regret; I leave you my memory; it will be dear to you, and you will defend it." At these words, his friends cried out that it was not time to give way to fear and despair, that on the contrary they would avenge the father of the country on all the wicked united. Henriot, Dumas, Coffinhal, and Payen, surrounded him and declared that they were quite ready to act. Henriot said that he still knew the way to the Convention. "Separate the wicked from the weak;" said Robespierre to them, "deliver the Convention from the villains who oppress it: render it the service which it expects of you, as on the 31st of May and the 2d of June. March, and once more save liberty. If, in spite of all these efforts, we must fall, why then

Billaud was still able to dissemble his. The tyrant was as lugubrious as death, which ever attended him in all his steps, such, and perhaps more gloomy still, was Billaud; but he enveloped his projects in deeper obscurity, and prepared his blows with greater art."—*Lacretelle*. E.

my friends you shall see me drink hemlock with composure.”—“Robespierre,” exclaimed a deputy, “I will drink it with thee!”*

Couthon proposed to the society a new purificatory scrutiny, and insisted on the instant expulsion of the deputies who had voted against Robespierre; he had a list of them which he immediately furnished. His motion was carried amidst frightful uproar. Collot-d’Herbois came forward to make some observations, but was received with yells. He spoke of his services, of his dangers, of the attempt of Admiral. He was sneered at, abused, and driven from the tribune. All the deputies present, and pointed out by Couthon, were expelled, some of them even with blows. Collot escaped from amidst the knives pointed against him. The society was reinforced on that day by all the acting men, who in moments of disturbance gained admission either with false tickets or without any. They added violence to words, and they were even quite ready to add murder. Payen, the national agent, who was a man of execution, proposed a bold plan. He said that all the conspirators were in the two committees, that they were at that moment assembled, and that they ought to go and secure them; the struggle might thus be terminated without combat by a *coup-de-main*. Robespierre opposed this scheme; he disliked such prompt actions; he thought that it would be better to pursue the same course as on the 31st of May. A solemn petition had already been presented; he had made a speech; St. Just, who had lately arrived from the army, was to make a report next morning; he, Robespierre, would again speak, and if they were unsuccessful, the magistrates of the people, meanwhile assembled at the commune and supported by the armed force of the sections, would declare that the people had resumed its sovereignty, and would proceed to deliver the Convention from the villains who misled it.

The plan was thus fixed by precedents. The meeting broke up, promising for the next day, Robespierre to be at the Convention, the Jacobins in their hall, the municipal magistrates at the commune, and Henriot at the head of the sections. They reckoned, moreover, upon the youths in the school of Mars, the commandant of which, Labretèche, was devoted to the cause of the commune.

Such were the proceedings on this 8th of Thermidor, the last day of the sanguinary tyranny which had afflicted France; but on that day too the horrible revolutionary machine did not cease acting. The tribunal had sat; victims had been conveyed to the scaffold. In their number were two eminent poets, Roucher, author of *Les Mers*, and André Chenier, who left admirable compositions, and whom France will regret as much as all the young men of genius, orators, writers, generals, devoured by the scaffold and by the war.† These two sons of the Muses cheered one another when in

* “The artist, David, caught Robespierre by the hand as he closed, exclaiming, in rapture at his elocution, ‘I will drink the cup with thee!’ This distinguished painter has been reproached as having, on the subsequent day, declined the pledge which he seemed so eagerly to embrace. But there were many of his original opinion at the time he expressed it so boldly; and, had Robespierre possessed either military talents or even decided courage, there was nothing to have prevented him from placing himself that very night at the head of a desperate insurrection of the Jacobins and their followers.”—*Scott’s Life of Napoleon*. E.

† “The son of Buffon, the daughter of Vernet, perished without regard to the illustrious names they bore. Roucher, an amiable poet, a few hours before his death, sent his miniature to his children, accompanied by some touching lines. Chenier, a young man, whose eloquent writings pointed him out as the future historian of the Revolution, and Champfort, one of its earliest and able supporters, were executed at the same time. A few weeks longer would have swept off the whole literary talent as well as dignified names of France”—*Alison*. E.

the fatal cart by reciting verses of Racine's. Young André, on mounting the scaffold, uttered the cry of genius stopped short in its career. "To die so young!" he exclaimed, striking his forehead; "there was something there!"*

During the night which followed, there was agitation in all quarters, and every one thought of collecting his strength. The two committees had met, and were deliberating on the important events of the day and on those likely to arise on the morrow. What had passed at the Jacobins proved that the

* "Another celebrated victim of party violence, who fell about this time, though not by the guillotine, was Condorcet. Having attached himself to the party of Brissot he was involved in its ruin. At the period of the arrest of the members of that party, he escaped the search of the victors, and secreted himself. He was received in Paris by a woman who only knew him from reputation, and generously afforded him an asylum. There he remained till the domiciliary visits in 1794, when, in order as it is believed not to expose his hostess to danger, he quitted his retreat, and succeeded in getting out of Paris without a civic card, and with a white cap on his head. He had wandered about for several days in the environs of Clamart and of Fontenay de Roses, and in the woods of Verrière, two or three leagues from Paris. M. Suard, who had been his intimate friend, in whose house he had lodged, but who had ceased to see him after the death of the King, had a house at Fontenay, consisting of two *corps de logis*, one of which was let to M. de Monville, councillor to the parliament. Condorcet knocked one morning at M. de Monville's door, conceiving that it was that of M. Suard. It was opened by the footman. The unfortunate fugitive looked like a pauper, having a long beard, a shabby dress, being lame from a hurt in one foot, and ready to die of hunger after passing several days in the woods. 'Good God, sir!' said the servant, 'how sorry I am to see you in this condition.'—'How do you know who I am?'—'O! sir; I have waited on you many a time at M. Trudaine's.'—'Can you admit me?'—'Alas! no, sir; my master is no friend of yours.'—'Is not this M. Suard's?'—'No, sir; that is his door.' Condorcet accordingly went to the house of Suard and met with him. Suard sent his maid-servant out of the way, and Condorcet acquainted him with his situation. He set bread, cheese, and wine before him. Condorcet told him that in the retreat which he had just left in Paris, he had written an 'Historical Sketch of the Progress of the Human Mind,' which he had committed to safe hands, and which was intended for publication. He talked with much feeling of his daughter, and likewise of his wife, but with indifference; and yet he would have given him a sum of 600 livres for her. Suard durst not take it; but he offered to go immediately to Paris and strive to obtain for him an invalid's pass, which might supply the place of a civic ticket; and they agreed that Condorcet should call next day for this sort of safe-conduct. He asked for a Horace and some snuff, of which he had felt very urgent want. Some snuff was put up in a paper for him, but unluckily he went away without it. Suard hastened to Paris, and obtained a sort of old invalid's pass, such as used to be given to soldiers leaving the hospital to enable them to go from one department to another. Suard returned with this informal passport, and waited for Condorcet, who was to be with him at eight o'clock in the evening of the following day; but he did not come, and it was not till the night of the third day that he heard that a man had been apprehended at Clamart, whom he supposed to be Condorcet; and so it actually turned out. On leaving Suard's, taking with him a piece of bread, he had returned to the woods of Verrière, where he had passed the night. Next morning, he had gone to Clamart, and was greedily eating an omelette at a public-house, when his long beard, his squalid appearance, and his restless manner, attracted the notice of one of those voluntary spies who then infested all France. This man inquired who he was, whence he came, whither he was going, and where was his ticket of citizen. Condorcet, at all times embarrassed to speak and give a direct answer, said at first that he was servant to a councillor of the Court of Aids, concerning whom he could give true particulars on account of his intimacy with him. But his answers not appearing sufficient, the spy took him to Bourg la Reine, the seat of the district, where, as he could not give a satisfactory account of himself, he was thrown into prison. Next morning he was found dead; having taken stramonium combined with opium, which he always carried about him. Hence it was that on parting from Suard he had said, 'If I have but one night before me, I do not fear them' but I will not be taken to Paris.' The poison which he took seemed to have operated gently without causing pain or convulsion. The surgeon employed to ascertain the cause of death, declared in the *procès verbal* that this man, whose real name was not known, had died of apoplexy. The blood was still issuing from his nose."—*Memoirs of the Abbé Morellet.* E

mayor and Henriot were for the triumvirs, and that on the next day they should have to combat the whole force of the communes. To cause these two principal leaders to be apprehended would have been the most prudent course, but the committees still hesitated; they would and they would not; they seemed to feel a sort of regret that they had begun the struggle. They were aware that, if the Convention were strong enough to vanquish Robespierre, it would recover all its powers, and that they should be rescued from the strokes of their rival, but dispossessed of the dictatorship. It would no doubt have been much better to have come to terms with him; but it was now too late for that. Robespierre had taken good care not to go near them, after the sitting at the Jacobins. St. Just, who had arrived from the army a short time before, was watching them. He was silent; he had announced the report which he had been directed to draw up at the time of the last interview. He was asked for it; the committees wished to hear it read; he replied that he had it not with him, but had given it to one of his colleagues to read. He was requested to state the conclusion; he refused that also. At this moment Collot entered, incensed at the treatment which he had experienced at the Jacobins. "What are they doing at the Jacobins?" said St. Just to him. "Canst thou ask?" replied Collot angrily; "art thou not the accomplice of Robespierre? have you not concerted your plans together? I see clearly that you have formed an infamous triumvirate, and that you design to murder us; but if we fall you will not long enjoy the fruit of your crimes." Then, going up to St. Just with vehemence, "Thou intendest," said he, "to denounce us to-morrow morning; thou hast thy pocket full of notes against us—produce them." St. Just emptied his pockets, and assured Collot that he had nothing of the kind. Collot was appeased, and St. Just was desired to come at eleven the following day to communicate his report before he read it to the Assembly. The committees, before they separated, agreed to solicit the Convention to remove Henriot, and to summon the mayor and the national agent to the bar.

St. Just hastened away to prepare his report, which was not yet written, and denounced, with greater brevity and force than Robespierre had done, the conduct of the committees towards their colleagues, their seizure of all affairs, the pride of Billaud-Varennes, and the false manœuvres of Carnot, who had transported Pichegru's army to the coasts of Flanders, and had meant to take sixteen thousand men from Jourdan. This report was as perfidious and as clever, though in a very different way, as that of Robespierre. St. Just resolved to read it to the Convention without communicating it to the committees.

While the conspirators were concerting together, the Mountaineers, who had hitherto gone no further than to communicate their apprehensions to one another, but had formed no plot, ran to each other's houses, and agreed to attack Robespierre in a more formal manner on the following day, and to obtain a decree against him if possible. For this they should need the concurrence of the deputies of the Plain, whom they had frequently threatened, and whom Robespierre, affecting the character of moderator, had formerly defended. They had therefore but slight claims to their favour. They called upon Boissy-d'Anglais, Durand-Maillane, and Palasne-Champeaux, who were all three Constituents, and whose example was likely to decide the others. They told them that they would be accountable for all the blood that Robespierre might yet spill, if they did not agree to vote against him. Repulsed at first, they returned three times to the charge, and at length obtained the desired promise. They ran about the whole of the morning of the

9th; Tallien promised to make the first attack, and only desired that others would have the courage to follow him.

Every one hastened to his post. Fleuriot, the mayor, and Payen, the national agent, were at the commune. Henriot was on horseback with his aides-de-camp, riding through the streets of Paris. The Jacobins had commenced a permanent sitting. The deputies, astir early in the morning, had gone to the Convention before the usual hour. They paced the passages tumultuously, and the Mountaineers addressed them with vehemence to decide them in their favour. It was half-past eleven o'clock. Tallien was speaking to some of his colleagues at one of the doors of the hall, when he saw St. Just enter and ascend the tribune. "This is the moment!" he exclaimed; "let us go in." They followed him; the benches filled; and the Assembly awaited in silence the opening of that scene, one of the grandest in our stormy revolution.

St. Just, who had broken the promise given to his colleagues, and not gone to read his report to them, was in the tribune. The two Robespierres, Lebas, and Couthon, were seated beside one another.* Collot-d'Herbois occupied the chair. St. Just said that he was commissioned by the committees to make a report, and was permitted to speak. He set out with asserting that he was of no faction, and that he belonged only to truth; that the tribune might prove the Tarpeian rock to him as to many others, but that he should nevertheless give his opinion without reserve concerning the dissensions which had broken out. He had scarcely finished these preliminary sentences, when Tallien asked leave to speak on a motion of order, and obtained it. "The republic," said he, "is in the most unfortunate condition, and no good citizen can help shedding tears over it. Yesterday a member of the government separated himself and denounced his colleagues; another is doing the same to-day. This is only aggravating our calamities. I desire that at length the veil may be entirely torn off." Scarcely were these words uttered when applause burst forth. It was prolonged and renewed again and again. This was the premonitory signal of the fall of the triumvirs. Billaud-Varennes, who took possession of the tribune after Tallien, said that the Jacobins had the preceding evening held a seditious sitting, which was attended by hired murderers, who avowed a design of slaughtering the Convention. General indignation was manifested. "I see," added Billaud-Varennes, "I see in the tribunes one of the men who yesterday threatened the faithful deputies. Let him be secured." He was immediately seized and given into the custody of the gendarmes. Billaud then maintained that St. Just had no right to speak in the name of the committees, because he had not communicated his report to them; that this was the moment for the Assembly to be firm, for it must perish if it showed any weakness. "No, no," cried the deputies, waving their hats; "it will not be weak; it shall not perish." Lebas insisted on speaking before Billaud had finished; and made a great noise to carry his point. At the desire of all the deputies, he was called to order. He renewed his demand to be heard. "To the Abbaye with the seditious fellow!" cried several voices of the Mountain. Billaud continued, and, throwing off all reserve, said that Robespierre had always sought to control the committees; that he seceded, when they resisted the law of the 22d of Prairial and the use which he purposed to make of it;

* "When St. Just mounted the tribune, Robespierre took his station on the bench directly opposite, to intimidate his adversaries by his look. His knees trembled; the colour fled from his lips as he ascended to his seat; the hostile appearance of the Assembly already gave him an anticipation of his fate."—*Alison*. E.

that he was for retaining the noble Lavalette, a conspirator at Lille, in the national guard; that he prevented the arrest of Henriot, an accomplice of Hebert's, in order to make him his creature; that he moreover opposed the apprehension of a secretary of the committee, who had embezzled one hundred and fourteen thousand francs; that he had caused the best revolutionary committee of Paris to be closed by means of his office of police; that he always had done just what he pleased, and designed to make himself absolute master. Billaud added that he could adduce many other facts, but it would be sufficient to say that, on the preceding day, Robespierre's agents at the Jacobins, the Dumases and the Cofinhals, promised to decimate the National Convention.

While Billaud was enumerating these grievances, bursts of indignation at times escaped the Assembly. Robespierre, livid with rage, had left his seat and ascended the steps of the tribune. Posted behind Billaud, he demanded of the president with extreme violence permission to speak. He seized the moment when Billaud had finished, to renew his demand with still greater vehemence. "Down with the tyrant! Down with the tyrant!" was shouted in all parts of the hall. Twice was this accusing cry raised, and it proclaimed that the Assembly dared at length to give him the name which he deserved. While he was persisting, Tallien, who had darted to the tribune, claimed permission to speak, and obtained it before him. "Just now," said he, "I desired that the veil might be entirely torn off; I now perceive that it is. The conspirators are unmasked. I knew that my life was threatened, and hitherto I have kept silence; but yesterday I attended the sitting of the Jacobins, I saw the army of the new Cromwell formed, I trembled for my country, and I armed myself with a dagger, resolved to plunge it into his bosom, if the Convention had not the courage to pass a decree of accusation." As he finished these words, Tallien exhibited his dagger, and the Assembly covered him with applause. He then proposed the arrest of Henriot, the chief of the conspirators. Billaud proposed to add that of Dumas, the president, and of a man named Boulanger, who had been the day before one of the most violent agitators at the Jacobins. The apprehension of those three culprits was immediately decreed.

At this moment Barrère entered to submit to the Assembly the propositions upon which the committee had deliberated in the night, before it broke up. Robespierre, who had not quitted the tribune, took advantage of this interval again to demand leave to speak. His adversaries were determined to refuse it, lest any lurking relic of fear or servility should be awakened by his voice. Placed, all of them, at the summit of the Mountain, they raised fresh clamours, and, while Robespierre was turning first to the president, then to the Assembly, shouted with voices of thunder, "Down! down with the tyrant!" At length Barrère was allowed to speak before Robespierre. It is said that this man, who, out of vanity, was desirous of playing a part, and now trembled from weakness at having given himself one, had two speeches in his pocket, one in favour of Robespierre, the other for the committees.* He developed the proposition adopted the night before, namely, to abolish the post of commandant-general, to re-establish that old law of the Legislative Assembly, by which each chief of a legion commanded in turn the armed force of Paris, and lastly to summon to the bar the mayor and the national

* "Barrère was a sort of Belial in the Convention, the meanest, yet not the least able, amongst those fallen spirits, who, with great adroitness and ingenuity, as well as wit and eloquence, caught opportunities as they arose, and was eminently dexterous in being always strong upon the strongest and safe upon the safest side."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

agent, to answer there for the tranquillity of the capital. This decree was forthwith passed, and a messenger went to communicate it to the commune amidst the greatest dangers.

When the decree proposed by Barrère had been adopted, the enumeration of Robespierre's misdeeds was resumed. Each came in turn to prefer his charge. Vadier, who fancied that he had discovered an important conspiracy in seizing Catherine Theot, stated what he had not done the preceding day, that Dom Gerle* had a certificate of civism signed by Robespierre, and that in Catherine's mattress had been found a letter in which she called Robespierre her beloved son. He then expatiated on the *espionnage* with which the committees were surrounded, with the prolixity of age and a slowness unsuited to the agitation of the moment. Tallien, impatient, reascended the tribune and again addressed the Assembly, saying that the question ought to be brought back to its real drift. A decree had, in fact, been passed against Henriot, Dumas, and Boulanger, and Robespierre had been called a tyrant, but no decisive resolution had been taken. Tallien observed that it was not a few circumstances in the life of that man, called a tyrant, on which they ought to fasten, but that the whole of it ought to be taken together. He then commenced an energetic picture of the conduct of that cowardly, supercilious, and bloodthirsty orator. Robespierre, choked with rage, interrupted him with cries of fury. "Let us put an end to this," said Louchet; "arrest against Robespierre!"—"Accusation against the denunciator!" added Lousseau. "Arrest! Accusation!" shouted a great number of deputies. Louchet rose, and looking around him, asked if he was seconded. "Yes, yes," replied a hundred voices. Robespierre the younger said from his place: "I share the crimes of my brother; let me share his fate." This devotedness was scarcely noticed. "The arrest! The arrest!" was still shouted. At this moment Robespierre, who had not ceased to pass from his place to the bureau and from the bureau to his place, again went up to the president and demanded leave to speak. But Thuriot, who had succeeded Collet-d'Herbois in the chair, answered him only by ringing the bell. Robespierre then turned towards the Mountain, where he observed only cold friends or furious enemies. He next turned his eyes towards the Plain. "To you," said he, "pure men, virtuous men, I address myself, and not to ruffians." They turned away their faces or used threatening gestures. Once more he addressed the president. "For the last time," he exclaimed, "president of assassins, I desire to be heard."† He uttered the concluding words in a

* "Catherine Theot died in the prison of the Conciergerie at the age of seventy; Dom Gerle, who was also imprisoned there, was afterwards liberated, and employed, during the reign of Napoleon, in the office of the home department."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† "While the vaults of the hall echoed with exclamations from those who had hitherto been the accomplices, the flatterers, the followers, the timid and overawed assentators to the dethroned demagogue—he himself, breathless, foaming, exhausted, like the hunter of classical antiquity when on the point of being torn to pieces by his own dogs, tried in vain to raise those screeching notes by which the Convention had formerly been terrified and put to silence. We have been told that Robespierre's last audible words, contending against the exclamations of hundreds and the bell which the president was ringing incessantly, and uttered in the highest tones which despair could give to a voice naturally shrill and discordant, dwelt long on the memory, and haunted the dreams, of many who heard him."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

"Dispirited by so many repulses, Robespierre returned to his place, and sunk back in his seat, exhausted with passion and fatigue. His mouth foamed—his voice grew thick. He was arrested amid shouts of joy, and, as he went out, said, in the hollow accents of despair, 'The republic is lost, the brigands triumph!'"—*Mignet*. E.

faint and stifled voice. "The blood of Danton chokes thee!"* said Garnier of the Aube. Impatient of this struggle, Duval rose and said, "President, is this man to be master of the Convention any longer?"—"Ah!" added Fréron, "how hard a tyrant is to beat down!"—"To the vote! To the vote!" cried Laiseau. The arrest so generally called for was put to the vote, and decreed amidst tremendous uproar. No sooner was the decree passed, than the members in all parts of the hall rose, shouting, "Liberty forever! The republic forever! The tyrants are no more!"

A great number of members rose and said, that they meant to vote for the arrest of Robespierre's accomplices, St. Just and Couthon. They were immediately included in the decree. Lebas desired to be associated with them. His wish was granted, as well as that of the younger Robespierre. These men still excited such apprehension, that the ushers of the hall had not dared to come forward to take them to the bar. On seeing them retain their seats, some of the members asked why they did not go down to the place of the accused. The president replied that the ushers had not been able to carry the order into execution. "To the bar! To the bar!" was the general cry. The five accused went down, Robespierre furious, St. Just calm and contemptuous, the others thunderstruck at this humiliation so new to them. They were at length at that place to which they had sent Vergniaud, Brissot, Petion, Camille-Desmoulins, Danton, and so many others of their colleagues, full of virtue, genius, or courage!

It was now five o'clock. The Assembly had declared its sitting permanent. But at that moment, worn out with fatigue, it took the dangerous resolution to suspend the sitting till seven, for the purpose of refreshment. The deputies then separated, leaving to the commune, if it had possessed any boldness, the opportunity of closing the place of its sittings, and seizing the control of Paris. The five accused were conducted to the committee of general safety to be examined by their colleagues before they were conveyed to prison.

While these important events were occurring in the Convention, the commune had remained in suspense. Courvol, the messenger, had gone to communicate to it the decree which placed Henriot under arrest and summoned the mayor and the national agent to the bar. He had been very unfavourably received. He asked for a receipt, but the mayor replied, "On such a day as this we give no receipts. Go to the Convention, say that we shall find means to uphold it: and tell Robespierre not to be afraid, for we are here." The mayor had afterwards expressed himself before the general council in the most mysterious manner respecting the motive of the meeting; he had spoken to it only of the decree ordering the commune to provide for the tranquillity of Paris; he had reminded it of the epochs when that commune had displayed great courage, and had alluded very plainly to the 31st of May. Payen, the national agent, speaking after the mayor, had proposed to send two members of the council to the Place de la Commune, where there was an immense crowd, to harangue the people, and to invite them to *join the magistrates in order to save the country*. An address had been drawn up, in which it was said that villains were oppressing "Robespierre,

* "In the height of the terrible conflict, when Robespierre seemed deprived by rage of the power of articulation, a voice cried out, 'It is Danton's blood that is choking you!' Robespierre, indignant, recovered his voice and his courage to exclaim, 'Danton! Is it then Danton you regret? Cowards! why did not you defend him?' There was spirit, truth, and even dignity in this bitter retort—the last words that Robespierre ever spoke in public."—*Quarterly Review*. E.

that virtuous citizen, who caused the cheering worship of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul to be decreed; St. Just, that apostle of virtue, who put an end to treason at the Rhine and in the North; Couthon, that virtuous citizen, whose body and head alone were alive, but burning with patriotism.* Immediately afterwards, it was resolved that the sections should be convoked; and that the presidents and the commandants of the armed force should be summoned to the commune to receive its orders. A deputation had been sent to the Jacobins, to invite them to come and fraternize with the commune, and to send to the general council the most energetic of their members, and a good number of *citizens and citizenesses of the tribunes*. Without yet mentioning insurrection, the commune took all the requisite steps, and evidently had that object in view. It was not aware of the arrest of the five deputies, and on this account it still maintained some reserve.

Meanwhile Henriot had mounted his horse, and was riding through the streets of Paris. Hearing, by the way, of the arrest of five representatives, he strove to excite the people to rise, crying out that villains were oppressing the faithful deputies, and that they had arrested Couthon, St. Just, and Robespierre. This wretch was half-drunk; he rocked upon his horse, and flourished his sword like a maniac. He first proceeded to the fauxbourg St. Antoine, to rouse the working people of that fauxbourg, who scarcely comprehended what he meant, and who had besides begun to pity the victims whom they daily saw passing to the scaffold. By an unlucky chance, Henriot met the carts. These were surrounded as soon as the arrest of Robespierre was known; and, as Robespierre was considered as the author of all the murders, it was conceived that, he being apprehended, the executions would cease. The people would have made them turn back with the condemned. Henriot, who came up at this moment, opposed this intention, and caused this last execution to be consummated. He then returned, still at full gallop to the Luxembourg, and ordered the gendarmerie to assemble in the Place of the communal house. Taking with him a detachment, he then went along the quays, intending to proceed to the Place du Carrousel, and to deliver the prisoners who were before the committee of general safety. As he was galloping upon the quays with his aids-de-camp, he threw down several persons. A man, who had his wife on his arm, turned towards the gendarmes and cried, "Gendarmes, arrest that ruffian! he is no longer your general." An aide-de-camp replied by a cut with his sword. Henriot proceeded, dashing through the Rue St. Honoré, and, on reaching the Place of the Palais-Egalité (Palais-Royal), perceiving Merlin of Thionville, he made up to him shouting, "Arrest that scoundrel! he is one of those who persecute the faithful representatives." Merlin was seized, maltreated, and taken to the nearest guard-house. Henriot continued his course and arrived at the courts of the National Palace. Here he made his companions alight, and endeavoured to penetrate into the building. The grenadiers refused him admittance, and crossed their bayonets. At this moment, a messenger advanced and said, "Gendarmes, arrest that rebel! a decree of the Convention orders you to do so." Henriot was immediately surrounded and armed, together with several of his aids-de-camp: they were pinioned and conducted

* The following was the proclamation issued from the Hotel de Ville: "Brothers and friends, the country is in imminent danger! The wicked have mastered the Convention, where they hold in chains the virtuous Robespierre. To arms! To arms! Let us not lose the fruits of the 18th of August and the 2d of June. Death to the traitors!"—*History of the Convention*. E

to the hall of the committee of general safety, and placed beside Robespierre, Couthon, St. Just, and Lebas.

Thus far all went on well for the Convention. Its decrees, boldly passed, were successfully executed; but the commune and the Jacobins, which had not openly proclaimed the insurrection, were now ready to break forth, and to realize their plan for another 2d of June. Fortunately, while the Convention imprudently suspended its sitting, the commune did the same, and thus the time was lost by both sides.

The council did not meet again till six o'clock. At this resumption of the sitting, the arrest of the five deputies and of Henriot was known. The council could no longer abstain from acting, and declared itself in insurrection against the oppressors of the people, who were bent on the destruction of its defenders. It ordered the tocsin to be rung at the Hôtel de Ville and in all the sections. It sent one of its members to each of them, to excite them to insurrection, and to decide them to send their battalions to the commune. It despatched gendarmes to close the barriers, and ordered all the keepers of the prisons not to admit any prisoners who should be brought to them. Lastly, it appointed a commission of twelve members, among whom were Payen and Coffinhal, to direct the insurrection, and to exercise all the sovereign powers of the people. At this moment, some battalions of the sections, several companies of artillery, and great part of the gendarmerie, had already been collected in the Place de la Commune. The oath was begun to be administered to the commandants of the battalions assembled. Coffinhal was then ordered to repair, with a few hundred men, to the Convention, to liberate the prisoners.

Robespierre the elder had already been conveyed to the Luxembourg, his brother to the house of Lazare, Couthon to Port-Libre, St. Just to the Ecos-sais, and Lebas to the house of justice of the department. The order issued by the commune to the keepers had been executed, and they refused to admit the prisoners. The administrators of police had taken charge of them and conveyed them in carriages to the *mairie*. When Robespierre appeared,* people embraced him, loaded him with demonstrations of attachment, and swore to die in his defence and that of the faithful deputies. Meanwhile Henriot was left alone at the committee of general safety. Coffinhal, vice-president of the Jacobins, arrived there sword in hand, with some companies of the sections, took possession of the rooms of the committee, expelled the members, and released Henriot and his aids-de-camp. Henriot, as soon as he was liberated, hastened to the Place du Carrousel, where he found his horses still waiting, leaped upon one of them, and with great presence of mind, told the companies of the sections and the artillery about him that the committee had just declared him innocent, and reinstated him in the command. The men rallied around him, and, followed by a considerable force, he began to give orders against the Convention, and to prepare for besieging the hall.

It was now seven o'clock in the evening. The Convention was only just reassembling; and during the interval the commune had gained great advantages. It had, as we have seen, proclaimed the insurrection, collected around it many companies of artillery and gendarmes, and released the prisoners. It might, with boldness, march promptly upon the Convention, and

* "Robespierre now appeared altogether confounded and overwhelmed with what had passed and was passing around him; and not one of all the victims of the Reign of Terror felt its disabling influence so completely as he—the despot—who had so long directed its sway."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

force it to revoke its decrees. It reckoned, moreover, upon the School of Mars, the commandant of which, Labretèche, was wholly devoted to it.

The deputies assembled tumultuously, and communicated to each other with consternation the news of the evening. The members of the committees, alarmed and undecided, had met in a room next the president's bureau. There they were deliberating, undecided what course to pursue. Several deputies successively occupied the tribune, and related what was passing in Paris. It was stated that the prisoners were liberated, that the commune had met at the Jacobins, that it had already a considerable force at its disposal, and that the Convention would soon be besieged. Bourdon proposed to go out in a body and show themselves to the people, in order to bring them over to their side. Legendre strove to infuse confidence into the Assembly saying that it would everywhere find only pure and faithful Mountaineers ready to defend it; and in this danger he displayed a courage which he had not shown against Robespierre. Billaud mounted the tribune, and intimated that Henriot was in the Place du Carrousel, that he had won the artillery, caused the guns to be turned against the hall of the Convention, and was about to commence the attack. Collot-d'Herbois then went up to the chair, which, from the arrangements of the hall, must have received the first balls, and said, as he seated himself in it, "Representatives! the moment is come for dying at our post. Villains have made themselves masters of the National Palace." At these words, all the deputies, some of whom were standing, others strolling about in the hall, took their places, and remained seated in majestic silence. All the citizens of the tribunal fled with a tremendous uproar, leaving behind them a cloud of dust. The Convention, abandoned to itself, felt convinced that it was about to be slaughtered, but it was resolved to perish rather than endure a Cromwell. Who can help admiring on this occasion the influence of circumstances over courage? The very same men, so long submissive to the orator who harangued them, now defied, with a sublime resignation, the cannon which he had caused to be pointed against them. Members of the Assembly were seen constantly going out and returning, bringing tidings of what was passing at the Carrousel. Henriot was still issuing orders there. "Outlaw him! Outlaw the ruffian!" was the cry in the hall. A decree of outlawry was immediately passed, and some of the deputies went to publish it before the National Palace.

At this moment Henriot, who had misled the gunners, and induced them to turn their pieces against the hall, ordered them to fire; but they hesitated to obey him. Some of the deputies cried out, "Gunners! will you disgrace yourselves? that ruffian is outlawed." The gunners then refused to obey Henriot. Abandoned by his men, he had but time to turn his horse's head and to seek refuge at the commune.

The danger over, the Convention outlawed the deputies who had withdrawn themselves from its decrees, and all the members of the commune who were engaged in the insurrection. But this was not enough. If Henriot was no longer in the Place du Carrousel, the insurgents were yet at the commune with all their forces, and they had still the resource of a *coup-de-main*. It was incumbent on the Assembly to obviate this great danger. It deliberated without acting. In the room behind the bureau, where the committees had been joined by many of the representatives, it was proposed to appoint a commandant of the armed force taken from the bosom of the Assembly. "Who shall it be?" was the question. "Barras," replied a voice; "he will have the courage to accept the appointment." Vouland

immediately hurried to the tribune and proposed that Barras, the representative, should be appointed to direct the armed force. The suggestion was adopted; Barras was appointed, and seven other deputies were associated with him to command under his orders: Fréron, Ferrand, Rovère, Delmas, Bolet, Leonard Bourdon, and Bourdon of the Oise. To this proposal a member added another which was not less important, namely, to appoint representatives to go and enlighten the sections, and to demand the assistance of their battalions. This last measure was the most important of all, for it was essential to decide the wavering or misguided sections.

Barras hastened to the battalions already assembled, to acquaint them with his powers, and to post them around the Convention.* The deputies despatched to the sections went to harangue them. At this moment most of them were undecided; very few were in favour of the commune and of Robespierre. Every one had a horror of that atrocious system which was imputed to Robespierre, and desired an event that should deliver France from it. Fear, nevertheless, still paralyzed all the citizens. They durst not decide, nor give belief to the reports that were circulated. The commune, which the sections were accustomed to obey, had summoned them, and some, not daring to resist, had sent commissioners not to adhere to the plan of insurrection, but to inform themselves of what was passing. Paris was in a state of uncertainty and anxiety. The relatives of the prisoners, their friends, and all who were suffering from that cruel system, sallied from their houses, approached nearer and nearer to the places where the uproar prevailed, and strove to gain some intelligence. The unfortunate prisoners, having from their barred windows perceived a great bustle, and heard a great noise, expected that something was about to happen, but trembled lest this new event should only aggravate their lot. The dejection of the gaolers, words whispered to the list-makers, and the consternation which succeeded, had tended, however, to diminish doubts. It was soon known, from expressions which were dropped, that Robespierre was in danger. Relatives had approached, placed themselves under the windows of the prisons, and indicated by signs what was passing; the prisoners had then collected and given way to the wildest joy. The base informers, trembling in their turn, had taken some of the suspected aside, endeavoured to justify themselves, and to convince them that they were not the authors of the lists of proscription. Some of them, admitting the fact, said that they had withdrawn names from them. One had given but forty names instead of two hundred, which were required of him; another had destroyed entire lists. In their fright, these wretches reciprocally accused, and devoted one another to infamy.

The deputies dispersed among the sections had no difficulty in getting the better of the obscure envoys of the commune. Those who had sent off their battalions to the Hôtel de Ville recalled them; the others directed theirs towards the National Palace. That building was already surrounded by a sufficient force. Barras went to apprise the Assembly of this circumstance,

* "Barras did not choose to wait till all his succours should arrive. He would not lose the opportunity of the first onset with men who had always been suffered to begin the attack. As soon as he had formed four or five battalions, 'My friends,' he cried, 'the Convention is disposed to reward your alacrity in coming first.' Applauses ensued—they marched. Barras arrived with his battalions. He had so distributed them as to command every outlet from the seat of the commune. Night concealed their small number. The victory, than which none more essential to nations was ever obtained, was not even disputed. Of so many assassins, not one sought the honour of perishing in battle. Robespierre had not even appeared in the midst of his revolutionary bands."—*Lacretelle*. E.

and then hastened to the plain of Sablons to supersede Labretèche who was dismissed, and to bring the School of Mars to the aid of the Convention.

The national representation was now safe from a *coup-de-main*. This was the moment for marching against the commune and taking the offensive, which it neglected to do. It was immediately resolved to march upon the Hôtel de Ville, and to surround it.* Leonard Bourdon, who was at the head of a great number of battalions, set out for the purpose. When he intimated that he was just starting to attack the rebels, "Go," said Tallien, who occupied the president's chair, "and let the sun, when he rises, find no conspirators alive." Leonard Bourdon debouched by the quays, and arrived at the Place of the Hôtel de Ville. A great number of gendarmes, artillerymen, and armed citizens of the sections, were still there. An agent of the committee of public welfare, named Dulac, had the courage to slip into their ranks, and to read to them the decree of the Convention which outlawed the commune. The respect which people had contracted for that assembly, in whose name everything had been done for two years past, respect for the words law and republic, triumphed. The battalions separated: some returned to their own homes, others joined Leonard Bourdon, and the Place de la Commune was deserted. Those who guarded, and those who came to attack it, drew up in the neighbouring streets, in order to close all the outlets.

People had such an idea of the resolution of the conspirators, and were so astonished to find them almost motionless in the Hôtel de Ville, that they were fearful of approaching. Leonard Bourdon was apprehensive that they had undermined the Hôtel de Ville. This, however was not the case. They were deliberating tumultuously, and proposing to write to the armies and to the provinces, but they knew not in whose name to write, and durst not take any decisive step. Had Robespierre been a man of decision, had he ventured to show himself and to march against the Convention, he would have placed it in a dangerous predicament. But he was a mere talker, and, besides, he perceived, as did all his partisans along with him, that public opinion was forsaking them. The end of that frightful system had arrived. The Convention was everywhere obeyed, and the outlawries produced a magical effect. Had he been endowed with greater energy, he must have been discouraged by these circumstances, superior to any individual force. The decree of outlawry struck all with stupor, when it was communicated from the Place de la Commune to the Hôtel de Ville. Payen, to whom it was delivered, read it aloud, and, with great presence of mind, added to the list of the persons outlawed, *the people in the tribunes*, which was not in the

* "The battalions of the national guards from all quarters now marched towards the Convention, and defiled through the hall in the midst of the most enthusiastic applause. At midnight above three thousand men had arrived. 'The moments are precious,' said Fréron; 'the time for action has come. Let us instantly march against the rebels.' The order was promptly obeyed. The night was dark; a feeble moonlight only shone through the gloom; but the forced illumination of the houses supplied a vivid light, which shone on the troops, who, in profound silence, marched from the Tuileries towards the Place de Grève, the headquarters of the insurgents. There were about two thousand men stationed in the Place de Grève with a powerful train of artillery, when the light of the torches showed the heads of the columns of the national guard appearing in all the avenues which led to the square. The moment was terrible. Ten pieces of the artillery of the Convention were placed in battery, while the cannoneers of the municipality, with their lighted matches in their hands, stood beside their guns on the opposite side. But the authority of the law prevailed. The decree of the legislature was read by torchlight, and the insurgent troops refused to resist it!" *Alison. E.*

decree. Contrary to his expectation, the people in the tribunes hurried off in alarm to avoid sharing in the anathema hurled by the Convention. The greatest dismay then seized the conspirators. Henriot went down to the Place to harangue the gunners, but he found not a single man. "What!" cried he, swearing, "do these rascally gunners, who saved me a few hours since, desert me now?" He then went back furious to carry this new intelligence to the council. Despair overwhelmed the conspirators. They found themselves abandoned by their troops and surrounded on all sides by those of the Convention; and mutually accused each other of being the cause of their unfortunate situation. Coffinhal, an energetic man, who had been ill-seconded, enraged against Henriot, said to him, "It is thy cowardice, villain, that has undone us!" Rushing upon him and seizing him round the waist, he threw him out of a window. The wretched Henriot fell upon a heap of filth, which broke the fall, and prevented it from proving mortal. Lebas put an end to his life with a pistol; the younger Robespierre* threw himself out of a window; St. Just continued calm and immoveable, holding a weapon in his hand, but without using it; Robespierre at length decided to terminate his career, and attempted to commit suicide. He clapped a pistol to his head, but, the ball entering above the lip, merely pierced his cheek, and inflicted a wound that was not dangerous.†

At this moment a few bold men, Dulac, Meda the gendarme, and several others, leaving Bourdon with his battalions in the Place de la Commune, went up, armed with swords and pistols, and entered the hall of the council, at the very instant when the two reports of fire-arms were heard. The municipal officers were going to take off their scarfs, but Dulac threatened to plunge his sword into the first who should attempt to divest himself of that distinguishing mark. Every one remained motionless: all the municipal officers, Payen, Fleuriot, Dumas, Coffinhal, &c., were secured; the wounded were carried away on handbarrows; and the prisoners were conducted in triumph to the Convention. It was now three o'clock in the morning. Shouts of victory rang around the hall, and penetrated into it. Cries of "Liberty for ever! The Constitution for ever! Down with the tyrants!" then arose from all parts. "Representatives," said the president, "Robespierre and his accomplices are at the door of your hall: will you have them brought before you?"—"No, no," was replied from all sides; "to execution with the conspirators!"

Robespierre was taken with his partisans to the hall of the committee of public welfare. He was laid upon a table, and some pieces of pasteboard were placed under his head. He had retained his presence of mind, and appeared unconcerned. He had on a blue coat, the same that he wore at the

* "The younger Robespierre had only just returned from the army of Italy, whither he had been sent by the Convention on a mission. He earnestly pressed Bonaparte to accompany him to Paris. 'Had I followed young Robespierre,' said Napoleon, 'how different might have been my career! On what trivial circumstances does human fate depend!'—*Las Cases*. E.

† "When the national guard rushed into the room where the leaders of the revolt were assembled, they found Robespierre sitting with his elbow on his knees, and his head resting on his hand. St. Just implored Lebas to put an end to his life. 'Coward! follow my example, said he, and blew out his brains. Couthon was seized under a table, feebly attempting to strike with a knife, which he wanted the courage to plunge in his heart. Robespierre and Couthon being supposed to be dead, were dragged by the heels to the Quai Pelletier, where it was proposed to throw them into the river; but it being discovered that they still breathed, they were stretched on a board, and conveyed to the committee of general safety.'

Alison. E.

festival of the Supreme Being, nankeen breeches, and white stockings, which, amidst the tumult, had dropped down to his heels. The blood oozed from his wound, and he was stanching it with the sheath of a pistol. Some persons around him handed to him from time to time bits of paper to wipe his face. In this state he remained several hours exposed to the curiosity and the abuse of a crowd of people. When the surgeon came to dress his wound, he raised himself up, got down from the table, and seated himself in an arm-chair. He underwent a painful dressing without a murmur. With the insensibility and sullenness of humbled pride, he made no reply to any observation. He was then conveyed, with St. Just, Couthon, and the others, to the Conciergerie. His brother and Henriot had been picked up, half dead, in the streets close to the Hôtel de Ville.

The outlawry rendered a trial superfluous; it was sufficient to prove the identity. On the morning of the following day, the 10th of Thermidor, the culprits, to the number of twenty-one, were brought before the tribunal to which they had sent so many victims. Fouquier-Tinville produced evidence of identity, and, at four in the afternoon, he caused them to be conveyed to execution. The populace which had long forsaken scenes of this kind, hastened with extreme eagerness to witness the execution on this day.

The scaffold had been erected in the Place de la Révolution. An immense crowd filled the Rue St. Honoré, the Tuileries, and the spacious Place. Numerous relatives of the victims followed the carts, pouring forth imprecations upon them; many went up to them desiring to see Robespierre: the gendarmes pointed him out to them with their swords. When the culprits had reached the scaffold, the executioners showed Robespierre to the populace; they took off the bandage fastened round his jaw, and extorted from him the first cry that he had uttered. He suffered with the insensibility which he had displayed for the last twenty-four hours.* St. Just died with the courage which he had always exhibited. Couthon was dejected; Henriot and the younger Robespierre were nearly dead from the effects of their wounds. Applause accompanied every descent of the fatal blade, and the multitude manifested extraordinary joy. General rejoicing prevailed throughout Paris. The prisons rang with songs; people embraced one another in a species of intoxication, and paid as much as thirty francs for the newspapers containing an account of the events which had just happened. Though the Convention had not declared that it abolished the system of terror, though the victors themselves were either the authors or the apostles

* "When Robespierre ascended the fatal car his head was enveloped in a bloody cloth, his colour was livid, and his eyes sunk. When the procession came opposite his house, it stopped, and a group of women danced round the bier of him whose chariot-wheels they would have dragged the day before over a thousand victims. Robespierre mounted the scaffold last, and the moment his head fell the applause was tremendous. In some cases the event was announced to the prisoners by the waving of handkerchiefs from the tops of houses."—*Hazlitt*. E.

"Robespierre was executed on the spot where Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette had suffered. He shut his eyes, but could not close his ears against the imprecations of the multitude. A woman, breaking from the crowd, exclaimed, 'Murderer of all my kindred' your agony fills me with joy. Descend to hell, covered with the curses of every mother in France!' When he ascended the scaffold, the executioner tore the bandage from his face; the lower jaw fell on his breast, and he uttered a yell which froze every heart with horror. For some minutes the frightful figure was held up to the multitude; he was then placed under the axe. 'Yes, Robespierre, there is a God!' said a poor man, as he approached the lifeless body of one so lately the object of dread."—*Alison*. E.

of that system, it was considered as finished with Robespierre, to such a degree had he assumed to himself all its horrors.*

Such was that happy catastrophe, which terminated the ascending march of the Revolution and commenced its retrograde march. The Revolution had, on the 14th of July, 1789, overthrown the ancient feudal constitution; it had on the 5th and 6th of October snatched the King from his court to make sure of his person; it had then framed a constitution for itself, and had committed it to his keeping in 1791, as if by way of experiment. It soon regretted having made this experiment, and despairing of ever conciliating the court with liberty, it had stormed the Tuileries on the 10th of August, and placed Louis XVI. in confinement. Austria and Prussia advanced to destroy it, when, to use its own terrible language, it threw down, as the gage of battle, the head of a king and the lives of six thousand prisoners; it entered in an irrevocable manner into that struggle, and repulsed the allies by a first effort. Its rage redoubled the number of its enemies; the increase of its enemies and of its danger redoubled its rage and changed it into fury. It dragged forth violently from the temple of the laws sincere republicans, but who, not comprehending these extremities, sought to moderate it. Then it had to combat one half of France, La Vendée, and Europe. By the effect of this continual action and reaction of obstacles upon its will, and of its will upon obstacles, it arrived at the last degree of danger and exasperation. It erected scaffolds and sent a million of men to the frontiers. Then, sublime and atrocious at the same time, it was seen destroying with a blind fury,† and

* "On the very day of Robespierre's arrest, his adherent, Dumas, who was executed with him, had signed the warrant for putting sixty persons to death. In the confusion, no person thought of arresting the guillotine. They all suffered."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† Prudhomme has given the following appalling account of the victims of the Revolution

Nobles	1,278	
Noble women	750	
Wives of labourers and artisans	1,467	
Religieuses	350	
Priests	1,135	
Common persons, not noble	13,623	
Guillotined by sentence of the Revolutionary tribunal	18,603	18,603
Women died of premature child-birth		3,400
In child-birth from grief		348
Women killed in La Vendée		15,000
Children killed in La Vendée		22,000
Men slain in La Vendée		900,000
Victims under Carrier at Nantes		32,000
Children shot	500	
Children drowned	1,500	
Women shot	264	
Women drowned	500	
Priests shot	300	
Priests drowned	460	
Nobles drowned	1,400	
Artisans drowned	5,300	
Victims at Lyons		31,000
Total		1,022,351

In this enumeration are not comprehended the massacres at Versailles, at the Abbaye, the Carmelites, or other prisons, on September 2d, the victims of the Glaciere of Avignon, those shot at Toulon and Marseilles, or the persons slain in the little town of Bedoin, the whole population of which perished. E.

directing the national energies with promptness and profound prudence. Changed by the necessity for energetic action from a turbulent democracy to an absolute dictatorship, it became regular, silent, and formidable. During the whole latter part of 1793, till the beginning of 1794, it moved onward united by the imminence of the danger which surrounded it. But when victory had crowned its efforts, at the end of 1793, a disagreement arose; for strong and generous hearts, calmed by success, cried, "Mercy to the vanquished!" But all hearts were not yet calmed; the salvation of the Revolution was not evident to all; the pity of some excited the fury of others, and there were extravagant spirits who wished to supersede all government by a tribunal of death. The dictatorship struck down the two new parties which impeded its march. Hebert, Ronsin, and Vincent, perished with Danton and Camille-Desmoulins. The Revolution thus continued its career, covered itself with glory from the commencement of 1794, vanquished all Europe, and overwhelmed it with confusion. The moment had at length arrived when pity was to triumph over rage. But then happened what always happens in such cases: out of the incident of a day the heads of the government wanted to form a system. They had systematized violence and cruelty, and when the dangers and excitements were past, they still wished to continue the work of slaughter. But public horror was everywhere roused. To this opposition they would have replied by the accustomed expedient—death. One and the same cry then arose from their rivals in power and from their threatened colleagues, and this cry was the signal for a general insurrection. It required a few moments to shake off the stupor of fear; the effort soon proved successful, and the system of terror was overthrown.

It may be asked what would have happened if Robespierre had been victorious. The forsaken condition in which he found himself proves that this was impossible.* But had he been conqueror, he must either have yielded to the general sentiment, or have fallen. Like usurpers, he would have been forced to adopt a calm and mild system instead of the horrors of factions. But it was not given to him to be that usurper. Our Revolution was too vast for the same man, deputy to the Constituent Assembly in 1789, to be proclaimed emperor or protector in 1804 in the church of Notre-Dame. In a country less advanced and less extensive as England was, where the same person might be tribune and general, and combine the two functions, a Cromwell might be both a party man at the beginning, and a usurping soldier at the conclusion. But in a revolution so extensive as ours, in which the war was so terrible and so predominant, in which the same individual could not occupy at one and the same time the tribune and the camp, party men first destroyed one another; after them came the military men; and a soldier was finally left master.

Robespierre then could not perform among us the part of a usurper. Why was it his fate to survive all those famous revolutionists, who were so superior to him in genius and in energy—Danton, for example? Robespierre

* "In my opinion Robespierre's destruction was inevitable. He had no organized force; his partisans, although numerous, were not enlisted and incorporated; he possessed only the great power derived from public opinion and the principle of terror; so that, not being able to surprise his enemies by violence like Cromwell, he endeavoured to frighten them. Fear not succeeding, he tried insurrection. But as the support of the committees gave courage to the Convention, so the sections, relying for support on the strength of the Convention, naturally declared themselves against the insurgents. By attacking the government Robespierre roused the Assembly, by rousing the Assembly he let loose the people: and this coalition necessarily ruined him."—*Acinet*. E.

was a man of integrity, and a good reputation is requisite for captivating the crowd. He was without pity, which ruins those who have it in revolutions. He had an obstinate and persevering pride, and this is the only means of keeping oneself constantly present to people's minds. It was this that caused him to survive all his rivals. But he was of the worst species of men. A devotee without passions, without the vices to which they lead, but yet without the courage, the greatness, and the sensibility which usually accompany them—a devotee living only by his pride and his creed, hiding himself in the day of danger, coming forth to claim adoration after the victory won by others—is one of the most odious beings that ever ruled over men, and one would say the very vilest, if he had not possessed a strong conviction and acknowledged integrity.*

* "Napoleon was of opinion that Robespierre had neither talent, force, nor system; that he was the true emissary of the Revolution, who was sacrificed the moment he attempted to arrest its course—the fate of all those who had before himself engaged in the attempt; but that he was by no means the monster that was commonly believed. 'Robespierre,' said he, 'was at last desirous to stop the public executions. Cambacérés, who is to be regarded as an authority for that epoch, said to me, in relation to the condemnation of Robespierre—Sire, that was a case in which judgment was pronounced without hearing the accused.—You may add to that, that his intentions were different from what is generally supposed. His plan was, after having overturned the furious factions which it was requisite for him to combat, to return to a system of order and moderation.'"—*Las Cases*. E.

"The dictator, Robespierre, perished just at the very moment when he was preparing to return to a system of justice and humanity."—*Levasseur de la Sarthe*. E.

"Robespierre had been a studious youth and a respectable man, and his character contributed not a little to the ascendancy which he obtained over his rivals. In the year 1785 he wrote an essay against the Punishment of Death, which gained the prize awarded by the royal society of Metz!"—*Quarterly Review*. E.

M. Dumont in his "Recollections of Mirabeau" gives the following interesting account of the first public speech delivered by Robespierre in the year 1789: "The clergy, for the purpose of surprising the *tiers-état* into an union of the Orders, sent a deputation to invite the *tiers* to a conference on the distresses of the poor. The *tiers* saw through the design, and, not wishing to acknowledge the clergy as a separate body, yet afraid to reject so popular a proposition, knew not what answer to make, when one of the deputies rose, and thus addressed the ecclesiastical deputation: 'Go, tell your colleagues, if they are so anxious to relieve the people, to hasten and unite themselves in this hall with the friends of the people. Tell them no longer to try to carry their point by such stratagems as this. Rather let them, as ministers of religion, renounce the splendour which surrounds them, sell their gaudy equipages, and convert their superfluities into food for the poor.' At this speech, which expressed so well the passions of the moment, there arose a loud murmur of approbation. Every one asked, who was the speaker; he was not known; but in a few minutes his name passed from mouth to mouth; it was one which afterwards made all France tremble—it was Robespierre."—E.

"When Robespierre first appeared in the world he prefixed the aristocratical particle *de* to his name. He was entered at college as de Robespierre; he was elected to the States-general as de Robespierre; but, after the abolition of all feudal distinctions, he rejected the *de*, and called himself Robespierre."—*Quarterly Review*. E.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE NINTH OF THERMIDOR—RELEASE OF THE SUSPECTED—MODIFICATIONS MADE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT — MOUNTAINEERS AND THERMIDORIANS — GENERAL STATE OF THE FINANCES, AGRICULTURE, AND COMMERCE, AFTER THE REIGN OF TERROR.

THE events of the 9th and 10th of Thermidor had produced a joy which continued undiminished for several days. The excitement was universal. A great number of persons who had left the country to conceal themselves in Paris hurried to the public vehicles, to carry to their homes the tidings of the general deliverance. People stopped them in all the places through which they passed, to learn the particulars. As soon as they were apprized of the happy events, some returned to their dwellings which they had long since quitted; others, buried in subterraneous hiding-places, ventured forth again into the light of day. The inmates of the numerous prisons in France began to hope for liberty, or at least they ceased to dread the scaffold.*

People did not yet investigate the nature of the Revolution which had just taken place; they did not inquire how far the surviving members of the committee of public welfare were disposed to persist in the revolutionary system, or how far the Convention was disposed to enter into their views: they saw, they comprehended only one thing—the death of Robespierre. It was he who had been the head of the government. It was he to whom were imputed the imprisonments, the executions, indeed all the acts of the late tyranny. It seemed that with Robespierre's death everything must be changed, and take a new direction.†

* "One day, while I was standing with Madame d'Aiguillon at the prison window, I perceived a poor woman who knew us, and was making a number of signs, which at first I could not understand. She constantly held up her gown (*robe*), and, seeing that she had some object in view, I called out '*Robe*,' to which she answered, 'Yes.' She then lifted up a stone and put it in her lap, which she lifted up a second time. I then called out '*Pierre*,' whereupon she evinced the greatest joy at perceiving that her signs were understood. Joining then the stone to her robe, she eagerly imitated the motion of cutting off the head, and immediately began to dance and evince the most extraordinary joy. This singular pantomime awakened in our minds a vague hope that possibly Robespierre might be no more. At this moment, while we were fluttering with hope and fear, we heard a great noise in the corridor, and the terrible voice of our gaoler, who said to his dog, giving him at the same time a kick, 'Get on, you cursed Robespierre.' That coarse phrase at once taught us that we had nothing to fear, and that France was saved."—*Memoirs of Josephine*. E.

† "Men looked hopelessly towards the Convention, rather like the corpse of a legislative assembly, actuated, during its apparent activity, like the supposed vampire, by an infernal spirit not its own, which urged it to go forth and drink blood, but which, deserted by the animating demon, must sink to the ground in helpless incapacity. But, in spite of these discouraging circumstances, the feelings of humanity and a spirit of self-protection, dictating

After any important event, the public expectation eagerly demands to be satisfied as to its results. After two days spent in receiving congratulations; in listening to addresses, in each of which were repeated the words, *Catiline is no more, the Republic is saved*; in rewarding acts of courage; in voting monuments to perpetuate the memory of the great events of the 9th—the Convention at length directed its attention to the measures which its situation required.

The popular commissions instituted for the trial of prisoners, the revolutionary tribunal composed by Robespierre, the bar of Fouquier-Tinville, still retained their functions, and needed but a sign of encouragement to continue their terrible operations. In the very sitting of the 11th, the purification of the popular commissions was proposed and decreed. Elie Lacoste called the attention to the revolutionary tribunal, and proposed its suspension until it should be reorganized upon different principles, and composed of other persons. Lacoste's suggestion was adopted, and, in order not to delay the trial of Robespierre's accomplices, it was agreed to appoint, before the Assembly broke up, a temporary commission to supersede the revolutionary tribunal. In the evening sitting, Barrère, who continued to officiate as reporter, communicated another victory, the entrance of the French into Liege, and he then addressed the Assembly on the subject of the committees which had been mutilated on several different occasions, and reduced by the scaffold or by missions to a small number of members. Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon had expired on the preceding day. Héault-Sechelles had shared the fate of Danton. Jean-Bon-St.-André and Prieur of La Marne were absent on missions. There remained only Carnot who was wholly occupied with the war department, Prieur of the Côte d'Or with the furnishing arms and ammunition, Robert Lindet with supplies of provision and commerce, Billaud-Varennes, and Collot-d'Herbois with the correspondence and the administrative bodies; lastly, Barrère with the reports. Thus there were only six out of twelve. The committee of general welfare was more complete, and it was quite adequate to the business that it had to transact. Barrère proposed to appoint three members in the place of those three who had expired on the preceding day on the scaffold, until the general renewal of the committees, which was fixed for the 20th of every month, but which had been discontinued ever since the tacit consent given to the dictatorship. This was starting important questions. Were they to change not only men but things, to modify the form of the committees, to take precautions against their too great influence, to limit their powers—in short, to operate a complete revolution in the administration? Such were the questions raised by Barrère's proposition. In the first place, fault was found with that hasty and

a determined resistance to the renovation of the horrid system under which the country had so long suffered, began to show itself both within the Convention, and without doors."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

* We find the following anecdote of this modern Catiline in the "Annual Register" of 1794. It is of so atrocious a character that we can with difficulty bring ourselves to give credence to it: "A lady of the name of St. Amarante, thinking to secure the safety of her family by polite attentions to Robespierre, invited him to dine with her and some friends. Robespierre accepted the invitation, and was accompanied by one of his greatest intimates. Next day, his friend told him that he (Robespierre), having drunk more freely than ordinary at dinner, had let drop some things which it would have been better to conceal. Having paused a little, Robespierre required a list of the names of all who were of the company, and also of the servants who waited at table. A list was immediately sent to him. In four-and-twenty hours Madame St. Amarante, her family, friends, and domestics, all perished on the scaffold!" E.

dictatorial mode of proceeding which consisted in proposing and appointing the members of the committees in the same sitting. A motion was made for the printing of the list and the adjournment of the nomination. Dubois-Crancé went still farther, and inveighed against the prolonged absence of the members of the committees. If, he argued, they had appointed a successor to Herault-Sechelles, and had not suffered Prieur of La Marne and Jean-Bon-St.-André to be continually absent on missions, they would have been more certain of having a majority, and not have hesitated so long about attacking the triumvirs. He then asserted that men became wearied out by power, and contracted dangerous tastes from the possession of it. He proposed, in consequence, to decree that thenceforward no member of the committees should be authorized to go on mission, and that one-fourth of the members of each committee should be renewed every month. Cambon, carrying the discussion still farther, said that the entire government ought to be reorganized. The committee of public welfare had, in his opinion, usurped everything; the consequence was that its members, were they even to labour night and day, could not perform their task, and that the committees of finance, of legislation, and of general safety, were reduced to mere ciphers. It was necessary to make a new distribution of powers, so as to prevent the committee of public welfare from being overloaded, and the others from being annulled.

The discussion being once commenced, a disposition was manifested to lay hands on all the departments of the revolutionary government. Bourdon of the Oise, whose opposition to Robespierre's system was well known, since he was to have been one of its first victims, checked this inconsiderate movement. He said that they had hitherto been an able and vigorous government; that they were indebted to it for the salvation of France and for glorious victories; that they ought to hesitate before they laid imprudent hands on its organization; that all the hopes of the aristocrats were likely to revive; and that, while guarding against a new tyranny, they ought to modify, but with caution, an institution to which they owed such important results. Tallien, the hero of the 9th, was nevertheless desirous that certain questions at least should be taken up, and perceived no danger in deciding them immediately. Wherefore, for instance, not decree at the moment that one-fourth of the committees should be renewed every month? This proposition of Dubois-Crancé's, supported by Tallien, was received with enthusiasm, and adopted amidst shouts of *The Republic forever!* To this measure Delmas was desirous of adding another. "You have just dried up the source of ambition," said he to the assembly: "to complete your decree, I propose that you decide that no member shall be eligible to serve in a committee, till he has been out of it a month." This proposition, which was received with the same favour as the other, was immediately adopted. These principles being admitted, it was agreed that a commission should present a new plan for the organization of the committees of government.

On the following day, six members were chosen to fill the places of the dead or absent members of the committee of public welfare. On this occasion, the presentation made by Tallien was not confirmed. The Assembly nominated Tallien to reward him for his courage, Bréard, Thuriot, Treilhard, members of the first committee of public welfare, lastly, the two deputies Laloi and Echassériaux senior, the latter of whom was well versed in matters of finance and political economy. The committee of general safety also underwent changes. Severe censures were thrown out in all quarters against David, who was said to be a creature of Robespierre's, and against

Jagot and Lavicomterie, who were accused of having been atrocious inquisitors. A great number of voices demanded their removal. It was decreed. Several of the champions who had distinguished themselves on the 9th were appointed to succeed to them, and, to complete the committee of general safety, Legendre, Merlin of Thionville, Goupilleau of Fontenai, André Dumont,* Jean Débry, and Bernard of Saintes. The law of the 22d of Prairial was then unanimously repealed. Members inveighed with indignation against the decree which permitted a deputy to be imprisoned before he had been first heard by the Convention—a pernicious decree which had consigned to death illustrious victims present to the recollection of all, Danton, Camille-Desmoulins, Herault-Sechelles, &c. The decree was repealed. It was not sufficient to change things only: there were men whom the public resentment could not forgive. “All Paris,” exclaimed Legendre, “demands of you the justly merited punishment of Fouquier-Tinville.”† This suggestion was instantly followed, and Fouquier-Tinville was placed under accusation. “It is impossible to sit any longer beside Lebon,” cried another voice; and all eyes were fixed on the proconsul who had drenched the city of Arras with blood, and whose excesses had provoked complaints even in the time of Robespierre.‡ Lebon was immediately decreed to be under arrest. The Assembly resumed the consideration of the case of David, whom it had at first merely excluded from the committee of general safety, and he too was put under arrest. The same measure was adopted in regard to Heron, the principal agent of the police instituted by Robespierre; to General Rossignol, already well known; and to Hermann, president of the revolutionary tribunal before Dumas, and who had become, through Robespierre’s influence, the chief of the commission of the tribunals.

Thus the revolutionary tribunal was suspended, the law of the 22d of Prairial was repealed, the committees of public welfare and general safety were in part recomposed, and the principal agents of the late dictatorship were arrested and prosecuted. The character of the late revolution was pronounced. Scope was given to hopes and to complaints of all kinds. The persons under confinement, who filled the prisons, and their families, fondly imagined that they were at length about to enjoy the results of the event of the 9th. Before that happy moment, the relatives of the suspected durst not remonstrate even for the purpose of urging the most legitimate reasons, either for fear of awakening the attention of Fouquier-Tinville, or from apprehension of being imprisoned themselves for having solicited in behalf of aristo-

* “André Dumont, deputy to the Convention, voted for the King’s death without appeal. He persecuted the Girondins with the utmost severity. Being sent to the department of the Somme, he caused two hundred persons, sixty-four of whom were priests, to be thrown into the river. In 1794 he declared violently against Robespierre, and was afterwards president of the Convention, and member of the committee of public safety. In the December of 1794, he proposed that the punishment of death should no longer be inflicted, except on royalists. In the year 1796 he was elected to the council of Five Hundred, and, after the 18th of Brumaire, was appointed sub-prefect of Abbeville.”—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† “At this so-dreaded name a general murmur burst from the Assembly. Fréron, making himself the organ of the common indignation, exclaimed, ‘I demand that the earth may be at length freed from this monster, and that Fouquier, now drunk with the blood which he has spilled, may be sent to hell, to sleep himself sober.’”—*Mignet*. E.

‡ “Lebon was accused before the Convention by a deputation from Cambray. On his trial, the monster acknowledged that, an aristocrat being condemned to the guillotine, he had kept him lying in the usual posture on his back, with his eyes turned up to the axe, which was suspended above his throat—in short, in all the agonies which can agitate the human mind—until he had read to him at length the Gazette, which had just arrived, giving an account of a victory gained by the republican armies.”—*Scott’s Life of Napoleon*. E.

crats. The Reign of Terror was past. People again met in the sections. Abandoned before to *sans-culottes*, who were paid forty sous per day, they were immediately filled by persons who had just made their appearance again in public, by relatives of the prisoners, by fathers, brothers, or sons, of victims sacrificed by the revolutionary tribunal. A desire to deliver their kinsmen animated some, revenge actuated others. In all the sections, the liberation of the prisoners was demanded, and deputations repaired to the Convention to obtain it from that assembly. These demands were referred to the committee of general safety, which was directed to verify the application of the law relative to suspected persons. Though it still comprehended the greater number of the individuals who had signed the orders of arrest, yet the force of circumstances and the junction of new members could not fail to incline it to clemency. It began, in fact, with pronouncing a multitude of liberations. Some of its members, Legendre, Merlin, and others, went through the prisons, to receive petitions, and diffused joy there by their presence and their words; others, sitting night and day, received the petitions of relatives who thronged to apply for releases. The committee was directed to inquire whether the persons called suspected had been imprisoned on the motives of the law of the 17th of September, and if those motives were specified in the warrants of arrest. This was only returning to a more precise execution of the law of the 17th of September;* still it was sufficient to empty the prisons almost entirely. Such, in fact, had been the precipitation of the revolutionary agents that they had arrested without stating motives, and without demanding the communication of them to the prisoners. These were released, as they had been confined, that is, *en masse*. Joy, less turbulent, then became more real: it was diffused among families, which recovered a father, a brother, or a son, of whom they had long been deprived, and whom they had even regarded as doomed to the scaffold. Men whose lukewarmness or whose connexions had rendered them suspected by a jealous authority, and those for whose opposition even an attested patriotism could not obtain forgiveness, were seen coming forth from the prisons. That youthful general, who, uniting the two armies of the Moselle and the Rhine on one of the sides of the Vosges, had raised the blockade of Landau by a movement worthy of the greatest commanders—Hoche—imprisoned for his resistance to the committee of public welfare, was liberated and restored to his family and to the army, which he was destined to lead again to victory. Kilmaine, who had saved the army of the North by breaking up from Cæsar's Camp in August, 1793, who had been thrown into confinement for that admirable retreat, was also set at liberty. That young and beautiful female, who had acquired such empire over Tallien, and who, from the recesses of her prison, had not ceased to stimulate his courage, was delivered by him, and became his wife. Though releases were multiplied every day, still applications poured in upon the committee in undiminished numbers. "Victory," said Barrère, "has just marked an epoch when the country can be indulgent without danger, and consider uncivic faults as atoned for by an imprisonment for some time. The committees are incessantly engaged in deciding upon the releases demanded; they are continually engaged in repairing individual errors or acts of injustice. Very soon all traces of private revenge will be effaced from the soil of the republic; but the concourse of persons of both sexes about the doors of the committee of general safety only

* "In the space of eight or ten days after the fall of Robespierre, out of ten thousand suspected persons, not one remained in the prisons of Paris."—*Lacretelle*. E.

serves to retard labours so beneficial to the citizens. We make due allowance for the very natural anxiety of families ; but why retard, by solicitations reflecting upon the legislators, and by too numerous assemblages, the rapid march which national justice ought to take at this period ?”

The committee of general safety was, in fact, beset with solicitations of all kinds. The women, in particular, exerted their influence to obtain acts of clemency, even in behalf of known enemies of the revolution. More than one deception was practised upon the committee. The dukes of Aumont and Valentinois were liberated under fictitious names, and a great many others escaped by means of the same subterfuge. In this there was but little harm ; for, as Barrère had observed, victory had marked the epoch when the republic could become mild and indulgent. But the rumour which was circulated that the committee was setting at liberty a great number of aristocrats was likely to revive revolutionary distrust, and to break the sort of unanimity with which measures of clemency and peace were welcomed.

The sections were agitated, and became tumultuous. It was not possible, in fact, that the relatives of prisoners or of victims, that the suspected persons recently liberated, that all those, in short, to whom freedom of speech was restored, should limit their demands to the reparation of old severities, and that they should not demand vengeance also. Almost all were furious against the revolutionary committees, and complained loudly of them. They were for recomposing, nay, even for suppressing them, and these discussions produced some disturbances in Paris. The section of Montreuil came to denounce the arbitrary acts of its revolutionary committee ; that of the French Pantheon declared that its committee had lost its confidence ; that of the Social Contract likewise took severe measures in regard to its committee, and appointed a commission to examine its registers.

This was only a natural reaction of the moderate class, long reduced to silence and to terror by the inquisitors of the revolutionary committees. These movements could not fail to strike the attention of the Mountain.

That terrible Mountain had not perished with Robespierre. It had survived him. Some of its members had remained convinced of the uprightness, of the integrity of Robespierre's intentions, and did not believe that he ever meant to usurp. They looked upon him as the victim of Danton's friends, and of the corrupt party whose remains he had not been able to destroy ; but it was a very small number who held this opinion. The great majority of the Mountaineers, stanch, enthusiastic republicans, regarding with horror every scheme of usurpation, had lent their assistance to the 9th of Thermidor, not so much with a view to overthrow a sanguinary system as to strike a nascent Cromwell. No doubt they looked upon revolutionary justice, such as Robespierre, St. Just, Couthon, Fouquier, and Dumas had made it, as iniquitous ; but they had no intention to diminish in the least the energy of the government, or to give any quarter to what were called the aristocrats. They were mostly known to be pure and rigid men, who had no hand in the dictatorship and its acts, and were in no way interested in supporting it ; but, at the same time, jealous revolutionists, who would not suffer the 9th of Thermidor to be converted into a reaction, and turned to the advantage of a party. Among those of their colleagues who had united to overthrow the dictatorship, they saw with distrust men who had the character of rogues, of speculators, friends of Chabot's and Fabre-d'Eglantine's, members, in short, of the rapacious, stockjobbing, and corrupt party. They had seconded them against Robespierre, but they were ready to combat them, if they perceived in them any tendency either to enervate the revolutionary energy, or to turn

the late events to the advantage of any faction whatever. Danton had been accused of corruption, of federalism, of Orleanism, and of royalism. It is not surprising that suspicions of the like nature should spring up against his victorious friends. No attack was yet made; but the numerous releases, and the general excitement against the revolutionary system, began to awaken apprehensions.

The real authors of the 9th of Thermidor, to the number of fifteen or twenty, the principal of whom were Legendre, Fréron, Tallien, Merlin of Thionville, Barras, Thuriot, Bourdon of the Oise, Dubois-Crancé, and Lecointre of Versailles, were not more favourably disposed than their colleagues to royalism and counter-revolution; but, excited by danger and by the struggle, they spoke out more decidedly against the revolutionary laws. They had, moreover, much of that tendency to leniency which had ruined their friends, Danton and Desmoulins. Surrounded, applauded, and solicited, they were hurried away more than their colleagues of the Mountain into the system of clemency. Many of them possibly sacrificed their own opinions to their new position. To render services to distressed families, to receive testimonies of the warmest gratitude, to efface the remembrance of old severities, was a part which could not fail to tempt them. Already those who distrusted their complaisance, as well as those who confided in it, gave them a particular application: they called them the *Thermidorians*.

Warm discussions frequently took place on the subject of the release of prisoners. On the recommendation of a deputy, who said that he knew one of them, an individual of his department, the committee ordered his liberation. Another deputy of the same department immediately complained of this release, and declared that an aristocrat had been set at liberty. These disputes, and the appearance of a multitude of well-known enemies of the revolution, who boldly showed their joyous faces, provoked a measure which was adopted, but to which no great importance was at first attached. It was decided that a list of all the persons released by order of the committee of general safety should be printed, and that beside the name of each individual so released should be printed the names of the persons who had petitioned in his behalf and who answered for his principles.

This measure produced a most unpleasant sensation. Suffering from the recent oppression which they had undergone, many of the citizens were afraid to see their names entered in a list which might be employed for the exercise of fresh severities, if the system of terror should ever be re-established. Many of those who had already solicited and obtained releases were sorry for it, and many others would not apply for more. Bitter complaints were made in the sections of this return to measures which disturbed the public joy and confidence, and their repeal was demanded.

On the 26th of Thermidor the attention of the Assembly was occupied by the agitation prevailing in the sections of Paris. The section of Montreuil had come to denounce its revolutionary committee. It had been answered that it ought to address itself to the committee of general safety. Duhem, deputy of Lille, who had no hand in the acts of the late dictatorship, but was a friend of Billaud's, sharing all his opinions, and convinced that it was not expedient for the revolutionary authority to relax its severity, violently inveighed against the aristocracy and moderatism, which, he said, already lifted their audacious heads, and imagined that the 9th of Thermidor had been brought about for their benefit. Baudot and Taillefer, who had shown a courageous opposition under the rule of Robespierre, but who were as staunch Mountaineers as Duhem, and Vadier, a distinguished member of

the old committee of general safety, asserted also that the aristocracy was stirring, and that although the government ought certainly to be just, it ought at the same time to be inflexible. Granet, deputy of Marseilles, who sat with the Mountain, made a proposition which increased the agitation of the Assembly. He insisted that the prisoners already released, if the persons who answered for them did not come forward to give their names, should be immediately re-incarcerated. This proposition excited a great tumult. Bourdon, Lecointre, and Merlin of Thionville, opposed it with all their might. The discussion, as it almost always happens on such occasions, extended from the lists to the political state of the country, and the parties briskly attacked one another on account of the intentions already imputed by each to the other. "It is high time," exclaimed Merlin of Thionville, "that all the factions should renounce the use of the steps of Robespierre's throne. Nothing ought to be done by halves, and it must be confessed that, in the affair of the 9th of Thermidor, the Convention has done many things by halves. If it has left tyrants here, they ought at least to hold their tongues." General applause succeeded these words of Merlin's, addressed particularly to Vadier, one of those who had spoken against the movements of the sections. Legendre spoke after Merlin. "The committee," said he, "is well aware that it has been tricked into the release of some aristocrats; but their number is not great, and they will soon be imprisoned again. Why should we accuse one another, why look upon each other as enemies, when our intentions are the same? Let us calm our passions, if we would insure and accelerate the success of the Revolution. Citizens, I demand of you the repeal of the law of the 23d, which orders the printing of the lists of the citizens who have been set at liberty. That law has dispelled the public joy and frozen all hearts." Tallien followed Legendre, and was listened to with the greatest attention, as the principal of the Thermidorians. "For some days past," said he, "all good citizens have seen with pain that attempts are making to divide you, and to revive those animosities which ought to be buried in the grave of Robespierre. On entering this place a note was put into my hands, which intimates that several members were to be attacked in this sitting. No doubt it is by the enemies of the republic that such rumours are circulated: let us beware of seconding them by our divisions." Plaudits interrupted Tallien; he resumed: "Ye who would play the part of Robespierre," he exclaimed, "hope not for success: the Convention is determined to perish, rather than endure a new tyranny. The Convention wills an inflexible but a just government. It is possible that some patriots have been mistaken respecting certain prisoners; we are no believers in the infallibility of men. But let the persons improperly released be denounced, and they shall be again incarcerated. For my own part, I can sincerely declare that I had rather see twenty aristocrats released to-day, who may again be apprehended to-morrow, than a single patriot left in confinement. What! can the republic, with its twelve hundred thousand armed citizens, be afraid of a few aristocrats! No; it is too great; it will find means to discover and to chastise its enemies!"

Tallien, although frequently interrupted by applause in the course of his speech, was still more tumultuously cheered on concluding it. After these general explanations, the Assembly returned to the consideration of the law of the 23d, and to the new clause, which Granet wished to add to it. The partisans of the law maintained that the people ought not to be afraid of showing themselves while performing a patriotic act, such as that of claiming the release of a citizen unjustly detained. Its adversaries replied that

nothing could be more dangerous than the lists; that those of the twenty thousand and of the eight thousand had been the cause of continual disturbance; that those whose names were inscribed in them had lived in dread; and that, were there no longer any tyranny to fear, the persons included in the new lists would have no more rest. At length a compromise took place. Bourdon proposed to print the names of the prisoners released, without adding the names of those who answered for them and solicited their liberation. This suggestion was favourably received, and it was decided that the names of the released persons only should be printed. Tallien, who was not pleased with this middle course, immediately ascended the tribune. "Since you have decreed," said he, "to print the list of the citizens restored to liberty, you cannot refuse to publish that of the citizens at whose instigation they were imprisoned. It is but just that the public should know those who denounced and caused good patriots to be incarcerated." The Assembly, taken by surprise, at first deemed Tallien's proposition just, and forthwith decreed it. Scarcely had it come to this decision, before several members of the Assembly changed their opinion. "Here is a list," said one, "which will be opposed to the preceding: *it is civil war*." This expression was soon repeated throughout the hall, and several voices exclaimed: *It is civil war!*—"Yes," rejoined Tallien, who had again mounted the tribune, "yes, *it is civil war*. I am of your opinion. Your two decrees will array against one another two classes of men who never can forgive each other. But, in proposing the second decree, I wished to make you sensible of the inconveniences of the first. Now I propose to you to repeal both." There was a cry from all quarters of "Yes, yes, the repeal of the two decrees!" Amar himself joined in it, and the two decrees were repealed. The printing of any list was therefore set aside, thanks to the clever and bold surprise which Tallien had practised upon the Assembly.

This sitting restored a feeling of security to a great number of persons who began to lose it, but it proved that all excitement was not extinguished—that all struggles were not yet terminated. The parties had all been struck in their turn: the royalists on several occasions, the Girondins on the 31st of May, the Dantonists in Germinal; the ultra-Mountaineers on the 9th of Thermidor. But, if the most illustrious leaders had perished, their parties survived, for parties are not cut off at a single blow, and their remains bestir themselves long afterwards. These parties were again about to dispute by turns the direction of the Revolution, and to recommence an arduous and bloodstained career. It was, in fact, expedient that minds which had arrived through the excitement of the danger at the highest degree of exasperation, should return progressively to the point from which they had started. During this return, power was destined to pass from hand to hand, and the same conflicts of passions, systems, and authority, were to take place.

After having thus bestowed its first attention on the ameliorating of many severities, the Convention had to return to the organization of the committees and of the provisional government, which was, as we know, to rule France till the general peace. A first discussion had arisen, as we have just seen, concerning the committee of public welfare, and the question had been referred to a commission charged to present a new plan. It was of urgent necessity to attend to this matter; and the Assembly did so very early in Fructidor. It was placed between two opposite systems and rocks; the fear of weakening the authority charged with the salvation of the Revolution, and the fear of reconstituting tyranny. It is usual among men to be afraid of dangers when they are past, and to take precautions against what cannot occur again.

The tyranny of the late committee of public welfare had originated in the necessity for duly performing an extraordinary task, amidst obstacles of all kinds. A few men had stepped forward to do what an assembly could not—durst not—do itself; and, amidst the prodigious toils to which they had submitted for fifteen months, they had not been able either to explain the motives of their operations, or to render an account of them to the Assembly, unless in a very general manner. They had not even time to deliberate together, but each performed, as absolute master, the duty that had devolved upon him. They had thus become so many compulsory dictators, whom circumstances, rather than ambition, had rendered all-powerful. Now that the task was almost finished, that the extreme dangers which they had had to encounter were past, such a power was no longer to be dreaded, because there was no further occasion for its existence. It was puerile to take such precautions against a danger which had become impossible; nay, this prudence was even attended with a serious inconvenience, that of enervating authority and of robbing it of all its energy. Twelve hundred thousand men had been raised, fed, armed, and sent to the frontiers; but it was necessary to provide for their maintenance, for their direction, and this was again a task that required great application, extraordinary capacity, and very extensive powers.

The principal of renewal at the rate of one-fourth every month had been already decreed; and it had been moreover decided that the members going out could not obtain readmission before the expiration of a month. These two conditions, while they prevented a new dictatorship, prevented also any good administration. It was impossible that there could be any sequence, any constant application, any secrecy, in a ministry thus continually renewed. No sooner had a member gained an insight into business than he was forced to leave it; and if a decided capacity was manifested, like that of Carnot for war,* of Prieur of the Côte-d'Or and Robert Lindet for administration, and of Cambon for the finances, it could not be secured for the state, and its services would be lost at the appointed term. An absence, even compulsory, of a month, rendered the advantages of the ulterior re-election absolutely null.

But a reaction was not to be avoided. An extreme concentration of power was to be succeeded by a dissemination equally extreme and dangerous, but in a different way. The old committee, invested with the supreme power in regard to everything that concerned the welfare of the state, had a right to summon the other committees and to require an account of their operations; it had thus taken into its own hands all that was essential in the duties of each of them. To prevent in future such inconveniences, the new organization separated the functions of the committees, and rendered them independent of one another. There were established sixteen:

1. The Committee of public welfare;
2. The Committee of general safety;

* "For Carnot I feel great respect. In some points he is the greatest man of this century. When he invents a new system of tactics to oppose the old armies of Europe, hastens to the army, teaches how to be victorious with them, and returns to Paris, he appears great indeed. However I differ from his political views, there is a republican greatness about him which commands respect. Had I nothing in the wide world but a piece of bread left, I should be proud of sharing it with Carnot. Carnot invented new tactics; he had an innate capacity for war, and showed how to fight and conquer. While he was engaged in making giant plans for the five armies, he wrote a mathematical work of the highest character, and composed at the same time some very agreeable little poems. He was a mighty genius indeed."
—*Niebuhr*. E.

3. The Committee of finances ;
4. The Committee of legislation ;
5. The Committee of public instruction ;
6. The Committee of agriculture and the arts ;
7. The Committee of commerce and provisions ;
8. The Committee of public works ;
9. The Committee of conveyance by post ;
10. The Military Committee ;
11. The Committee of the navy and the colonies ;
12. The Committee of public succour ;
13. The Committee of division ;
14. The Committee of minutes and archives ;
15. The Committee of petitions, correspondence, and despatches ;
16. The Committee of the inspectors of the National Palace.

The Committee of public welfare was composed of twelve members ; it had still the direction of the military and diplomatic operations ; it was charged with the levy and equipment of armies, the selection of generals, the plans of campaign, &c., but it was limited to these duties. The committee of general safety, composed of sixteen members, had the direction of the police ; that of the finances, composed of forty-eight members, had the superintendence of the revenue, the exchequer, the mint, the assignats, &c. The committees were authorized to meet frequently, for the consideration of such matters as concerned them generally. Thus the absolute authority of the former committee of public welfare was divided among a number of rival authorities, liable to embarrass and to jostle one another in their progress.

Such was the new organization of the government. There were other reforms which were deemed not less urgent. The revolutionary committees established in the smallest villages, and empowered to exercise inquisition there, were the most vexatious and the most abhorred of the creations attributed to Robespierre's party. To render their action less extensive and less annoying, their number was reduced to one for each district. There was, however, to be one in every commune of eight thousand souls, whether the chief town of a district or not. In Paris, the number was reduced from forty-eight to twelve. These committees were to be composed of twelve members ; it was required that three of these members, at least, should sign a summons to appear, and that seven should sign a warrant of arrest. Like the committees of government, they were to be renewed by one-fourth every month. To all these arrangements the Convention added others not less important, by deciding that the sections should in future meet but once in each decade, on the Decadi days, and that the citizens present should cease to be paid forty sous for each meeting. To render the popular assemblies less frequent, and above all to cease paying the lower classes for attending them, was confining the demagogue spirit within narrow limits. It was also cutting off an abuse which had been carried to excess in Paris. In each section, twelve hundred members were paid as present, though scarcely three hundred actually attended. The present answered for the absent, and they alternately rendered each other this service. Thus this operative soldiery, so devoted to Robespierre, was dismissed, and sent back to its proper occupations.

The most important measure adopted by the Convention was the purification of all the local authorities, revolutionary committees, municipalities, &c. It was into these bodies that, as we have observed, the most hot-headed revolutionists had insinuated themselves. They had become in each locality

what Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon were in Paris, and they had exercised their powers with all the brutality of inferior authorities. The decree of the revolutionary government, in suspending the constitution till the peace, had prohibited elections of all kinds, in order to obviate disturbances and to concentrate authority in the same hands. The Convention, from absolutely similar motives, namely, to prevent conflicts between the Jacobins and the aristocrats, maintained the provisions of the decree, and committed to the representatives on mission the task of purifying the institutions throughout all France. This was the right way to secure to itself the choice and the direction of the local authorities, and to prevent collisions of the two factions. Lastly, the revolutionary tribunal, recently suspended, was again put in activity. The judges and juries were not yet all appointed: those which had already met were to enter upon their functions immediately, and to try agreeably to the laws existing before that of the 22d of Prairial. These laws were still very rigorous; but the persons selected to administer them, and the docility with which extraordinary courts follow the direction of the government which institutes them, were a guarantee against fresh cruelties.

All these reforms were carried into effect between the 1st and the 15th of Fructidor. One more important institution still remained to be re-established, namely, the liberty of the press.* No law marked its boundaries; it was even sanctioned in an unlimited manner in the declaration of rights; but it had nevertheless been proscribed, in fact, under the system of terror. When a single imprudent word was sufficient to compromise the lives of citizens, how could they have dared to write? The fate of the unfortunate Camille-Desmoulins had clearly proved the state of the press at that period. Durand-Maillane, an ex-constituent, and one of those timid spirits who had become mere ciphers during the storms of the Convention, desired that the liberty of the press should be formally guaranteed anew. "We have never been able," said that excellent man to his colleagues, "to express our sentiments in this place, without rendering ourselves liable to insults and threats. If you wish for our opinion in the discussions that shall in future arise, if you wish us to contribute by our intelligence to the general work, you must give new securities to those who may feel disposed either to speak or to write."

Some days afterwards, Fréron, who had been the friend and colleague of Barras in his mission to Toulon, the associate of Danton and Camille-Desmoulins, and since their death the most vehement enemy of the committee of public welfare, joining his voice to that of Durand-Maillane, demanded the unshackled liberty of the press. Those who had lived in constraint during the late dictatorship, and who now wished to give their opinions on all subjects with freedom, those who felt disposed resolutely to promote a reaction against the Revolution, demanded a formal declaration guaranteeing the liberty of speech and writing. The Mountaineers, who anticipated the use that was intended to be made of this liberty, who saw a torrent of accusations preparing against all who had exercised any functions during the reign of terror, nay even many who, without entertaining any personal fear,

* "The restrictions of the press were now removed, and men of talent and literature, silenced during the reign of Robespierre, were once more admitted to exercise their natural influence in favour of civil order and religion. Marmontel, Laharpe, and others, who in their youth had been enrolled in the list of Voltaire's disciples, and among the infidels of the *Encyclopédie*, now made amends for their youthful errors, by exerting themselves in the cause of good morals and of a regulated government."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

appreciated the dangerous instrument that would thus be put into the hands of the counter-revolutionists, who were already swarming everywhere, opposed an express declaration. They assigned as a reason that the declaration of rights established the liberty of the press, that to sanction it anew was superfluous, since it was only proclaiming an already acknowledged right, and that, if any one proposed to render it unlimited, he committed an imprudence. "You would then," said Bourdon of the Oise, and Cambon, "permit royalism to lift its head and to print whatever it pleases against the institution of the republic." All these propositions were referred to the competent committees, to examine if it were expedient to make a new declaration.

Thus the provisional government destined to direct the Revolution till the peace, was entirely modified, agreeably to the new dispositions of clemency and generosity which manifested themselves since the 9th of Thermidor. Committees of government, the revolutionary tribunal, local administrations, were reorganized and purified; the liberty of the press was declared, and every arrangement was made for a new career.

The effects which these reforms could not fail to produce were soon felt. Hitherto, the party of the violent revolutionists had occupied a place in the government itself; it composed the committees and ruled the Convention; it predominated at the Jacobins; it filled the municipal institutions and the revolutionary committees with which all France was covered: now, being displaced, it found itself out of the government, and was about to form a hostile party against it.

The assembling of the Jacobins had been suspended on the night between the 9th and 10th of Thermidor. Legendre had locked up their hall, and laid the keys of it on the bureau of the Convention. The keys were returned, and the society was permitted to reassemble, on condition of purifying itself. Fifteen of the oldest members were chosen to investigate the conduct of all the others during the night between the 9th and 10th. They were to admit such only as on that memorable night had been at their posts as citizens, instead of repairing to the commune to conspire against the Convention. During this scrutiny, the old members were admitted into the hall as provisional members. The investigation commenced. An inquiry concerning each of them would have been difficult. It was deemed sufficient to question them, and they were judged by their answers. It is easy to conceive how indulgent such an examination must have been, since it was the Jacobins sitting in judgment on themselves. In a few days, more than six hundred members were reinstalled, on the mere declaration that during the memorable night they had been at the post assigned to them by their duties. The society was soon recomposed as it had been before, and comprehended all those who had been devoted to Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon, and who regretted them as martyrs of liberty and victims of counter-revolution. Besides the parent society, there still existed that notorious electoral club, to which those retired who had proposals to make that could not be entertained at the Jacobins, and where all the great events of the revolution were planned. It still met at the Evêché, and was composed of old Cordeliers, the most determined Jacobins, and men most compromised during the system of terror. The Jacobins and this club might naturally be expected to become the asylum of those placemen whom the new purification was about to drive from their posts. What was thus foreseen actually happened. The judges and juries of the revolutionary tribunal, the members of the forty-eight revolutionary committees of Paris, amounting to about four hundred,

the agents of the secret police of St. Just and Robespierre, the messengers of the committees who formed the band of the notorious Heron, the clerks of the different administrations, in short all who had held employments of any kind, and been removed from them, joined the Jacobins and the electoral club, as being already members of them, or obtaining admission for the first time. There they vented their complaints and their resentment. They were alarmed for their safety, and dreaded the vengeance of those whom they had persecuted. They regretted, moreover, the lucrative offices which they had lost, especially such of them as, being members of the revolutionary committees, had opportunities of adding peculations of all kinds to their salaries. These could not fail to compose a violent and an obstinate party, to the natural impetuosity of whose opinions was now added the irritation of injured interest. The same thing that happened in Paris was occurring throughout all France. The members of the municipalities, of the revolutionary committees, of the directories of districts, met in the affiliated societies attached to the parent society, and deposited in their bosom their apprehensions and their animosities. They had on their side the populace, also divested of its functions, since it was no longer paid forty sous for attending the sectional assemblies.

Out of hatred to this party, and for the purpose of opposing it, another was formed, or properly speaking, revived. It comprised all those who had suffered or kept silence during the rule of terror, and who thought that the moment had arrived for rousing themselves and for directing in their turn the march of the Revolution. We have seen that, in consequence of the liberation of suspected persons, the relatives of the detained persons or of the victims again made their appearance in the sections, and bestirred themselves, either to cause the prisons to be thrown open, or to denounce and punish the revolutionary committees. The new march of the Convention, those reforms already begun, increased the hopes and the courage of these first opponents. They belonged to all those classes that had suffered, whatever might be their rank, but particularly to commerce, to the *bourgeoisie*, to that industrious, opulent, and moderate third estate, which, monarchical and constitutional with the Constituents, and republican with the Girondins, had been swept away since the 31st of May, and exposed to persecutions of all sorts. In its ranks were concealed the now very rare relics of the nobility which durst not yet complain of its abasement, but which complained of the rights of humanity violated as respected its order, and some partisans of royalty, creatures or agents of the old court, who had not ceased to raise obstacles to the Revolution, by engaging in all the nascent oppositions, whatever might be their system and character. It was, as usual, the young men of these different classes who spoke out with the greatest warmth and energy, for youth is always the first to rise against an oppressive rule.* A

* "Those who composed this new and irregular militia belonged chiefly to the middle and wealthy classes of society, and adopted a singular costume. Instead of the short jacket of the Jacobins, they wore a square and open-breasted coat; their shoes were very low in the instep, and their hair hanging down on each side, was bound up behind in tresses; they were armed with short sticks leaded like bludgeons. A portion of these young people and of the sectionists, were royalists; the rest followed the impulse of the moment which was anti-revolutionary. The latter acted without design and without ambition, and declared for the strongest party, especially when that party, by its triumph, promised the return of order, the desire for which was very general. The former contended under the Thermidorians against the old committees, as the Thermidorians had contended in the old committees against Robespierre; it waited for the moment to act on its own account, and an opportunity occurred after the complete fall of the revolutionary party."—*Mignet*. E.

multitude of them filled the sections, the Palais Royal, the public places, and expressed their opinion against the Terrorists, as they were called, in the most emphatic manner. They alleged the noblest motives. Some of them had seen their families persecuted, others were afraid lest they should some day see their own persecuted, if the Reign of Terror were re-established, and they swore to oppose it with all their might. But the secret of the opposition of many of them was the military requisition. Some had escaped it by concealing themselves; others had left the armies on hearing of the 9th of Thermidor. These were reinforced by the writers, who were persecuted of late, and were always as prompt as the young to join in any opposition; they already filled the newspapers and pamphlets with violent diatribes against the system of terror.

The two parties spoke out in the warmest and most hostile manner, on the subject of the modifications introduced by the Convention into the revolutionary system. The Jacobins and the clubbists raised an outcry against the aristocracy. They complained of the committee of general safety which released the counter-revolutionists,* and of the Press of which a cruel use was already made against those who had saved France. The measure which offended them most was the general purification of all the authorities. They could not precisely find fault with the renewal of the persons composing those authorities, for that would have been avowing motives too personal, but they inveighed against the mode of re-election. They asserted that the people ought to be reinstated in the right of electing its magistrates, that to authorize the deputies on mission to nominate the members of the municipalities, of the districts, of the revolutionary committees, was a usurpation; that to reduce the sections to one sitting per decade was a violation of the right of the citizens to assemble for the purpose of deliberating on public affairs. These complaints were in contradiction to the principle of the revolutionary government, which forbade any elections till the peace; but parties care not about contradictions when their interest is at stake; the revolutionists knew that a popular election would have brought them back to their posts.

The tradesmen in the sections, the young men at the Palais Royal and in the public places, and the writers in the newspapers, loudly demanded the unlimited freedom of the press, complained of still observing in the existing committees and in the administration too many agents of the late dictatorship; they ventured already to present petitions against the representatives who had fulfilled certain missions; they depreciated all the services which had been rendered, and began to abuse the Convention itself. Tallien, who, in his quality of principal Thermidorian, considered himself as peculiarly responsible for the new direction given to affairs, wished their march to be vigorous and steady, without swerving to one side or to the other. In a speech full of subtle distinctions between the rule of terror and the revolu-

* "The Jacobins raised great complaints against the liberation of the prisoners, whom they styled aristocrats and counter-revolutionists. The dreadful details of the massacres, however, which were transmitted to the Convention from all parts of France, bore down their opposition. Among the rest, one fact related by Merlin excited particular attention. It was an order signed by a wretch named Lefevre, an adjutant-general, addressed to, and executed by a Captain Macé, to drown at Paimbœuf forty-one persons, of whom one was an old blind man; twelve women of different ages; twelve girls under twenty years, fifteen children, and five still at the breast. The order was expressed in these terms, and rigidly executed: 'It is ordered to Peter Macé, captain of the brig Destiny, to put ashore the woman Bidet; and the remainder of the preceding list shall be taken off Pierre Noire, and thrown into the sea as rebels to the law.'"—*History of the Convention*. E.

tionary government, the drift of which was to assert that without employing systematic cruelty it was nevertheless necessary to retain sufficient energy—Tallien proposed to declare that the revolutionary government was maintained, that consequently the primary assemblies ought not to be convoked for the purpose of new elections; he also proposed that all the means of terror were proscribed, and that proceedings directed against such writers as had freely expressed their opinions should be considered as means of terror.

These propositions which involved no precise measure, and which were merely a profession of faith of the Thermidorians, made with a view to place themselves between the two parties without favouring either, were referred to the three committees of public welfare, general safety, and legislation, to which everything that bore upon those questions was referred.

These means, however, were not sufficient to calm the irritation of the parties. They continued to inveigh against one another with the same violence; and what especially contributed to increase the general uneasiness, and to multiply the subjects of complaint and accusation, was the financial situation of France, which was more deplorable perhaps than it had ever yet been at the most calamitous epochs of the Revolution.

In spite of the victories of the republic, the assignats had experienced a rapid fall, and were not worth in commerce more than a sixth or an eighth of their nominal value; which produced a frightful confusion in all kinds of business, and rendered the *maximum* more impracticable and more vexatious than ever. It was evidently no longer the want of confidence that depreciated the assignats, for no apprehensions could now be felt for the existence of the republic; but it was their excessive issue, which kept regularly increasing in proportion to their fall. The taxes, collected with difficulty and paid in paper, furnished scarcely a fourth or a fifth of what the republic required monthly for the extraordinary expenses of the war, and the government was obliged to supply the deficiency by fresh issues. Thus, since the preceding year, the quantity of assignats in circulation, the reduction of which by various combinations to the extent of two thousand millions had been hoped, had risen to four thousand six hundred millions.

With this excessive accumulation of paper money, and its consequent depreciation, were combined all the calamities resulting either from the war, or from the unprecedented measures which had become necessary in consequence. The reader will recollect that, in order to establish a forced relation between the nominal value of the assignats and merchandise, the law of the *maximum* had been devised; that this law fixed the prices of all commodities, and did not allow the dealers to raise them in proportion to the depreciation of the paper; he will recollect that to these measures had been joined *requisitions*, which empowered the representatives of the agents of the administration to demand all the commodities necessary for the armies and for the great communes, and to pay for them in assignats at the rate fixed by the *maximum*. These measures had saved France, but had introduced extraordinary confusion into business and the circulation.

We have already seen what were the principal inconveniences resulting from the *maximum*—two markets, the one public, in which the dealers exposed only their worst goods and in the least possible quantity; the other clandestine, in which they sold all their best commodities for money and at a free price; a general hoarding of goods, which the farmers contrived to withdraw notwithstanding the utmost vigilance of the agents authorized to make requisitions; lastly, derangement and stagnation in manufactures, because the makers were not indemnified by the price fixed upon their pro-

ductions for the mere cost of fabrication. All these inconveniences of a double commerce, of the hoarding of articles of subsistence, of the stagnation of manufactures, had kept constantly increasing. In every trade two sorts of traffic were established; the one public and insufficient, the other secret and usurious. There were two qualities of bread, two qualities of meat, two qualities of everything; one for the rich, who could pay in money or afford a higher price than the *maximum*; the other for the poor, the artisan, and the annuitant, who could only give the nominal value of the assignat. The farmers had become daily more and more ingenious in saving their commodities. They made false declarations; they did not thrash their corn, alleging the want of hands, a want that was really felt, for the war had absorbed more than fifteen hundred thousand men;* they insisted on the shortness of the harvest, which had not turned out so favourable as it had been expected to prove in the early part of the year, when, at the festival of the Supreme Being, thanks had been offered up to Heaven, for the victories of the republic and the abundance of the crops. As for the manufacturers, they had entirely suspended their operations. We have seen that, in the preceding year, the law, to avoid being unjust to the shopkeepers, had been obliged to go back to the makers, and to fix the prices of goods on the spot where they were manufactured, adding to these prices the cost of carriage. But this law had in its turn become unjust. The raw material and workmanship having risen like everything else, the manufacturers could no longer find means to defray their expenses, and had suspended their business. The merchants had done the same. The freight of India goods, for example, had risen from 150 to 400 francs per ton; insurances from 5 and 6 per cent. to 50 and 60; of course, they could no longer sell commodities brought into the ports at the price fixed by the *maximum*, and they declined importing together. As we have had occasion to remark elsewhere, if one price was forced, all ought to have been forced, and that was impossible.

Time had disclosed other inconveniences peculiar to the *maximum*. The price of corn had been fixed in a uniform manner throughout all France. But, the production of corn, being unequally costly and abundant in the different provinces, the rate bore no proportion to the localities. The power left to the municipalities to fix the prices of all merchandise produced another kind of disorder. When commodities were scarce in one commune, the authorities raised their prices; goods were then brought thither to the prejudice of the neighbouring communes, so that there was sometimes a glut in one place and dearth in another, at the pleasure of the regulator of the tariff; and the movements of commerce, instead of being regular and natural were capricious, unequal, and convulsive.

The results of the requisitions were still more mischievous. Requisitions were resorted to for the purpose of subsisting the armies, of furnishing the great manufactories of arms and the arsenals with what they needed, of provisioning the great communes, and sometimes of supplying manufacturers with such materials as they were in want of. It was the representatives, the commissioners to the armies, the agents of the commission of commerce and provisions, who were empowered to make requisitions. In the pressing moment of danger, requisitions were made with precipitation and confusion.

* "The republic maintained fourteen different armies. The troops paid were estimated at upwards of fifteen hundred thousand men; but there was no regularity either in the military or in any of the financial departments. The National Convention, in the midst of the revolutionary whirlwind, had no system of finance, and could not possibly have any."—*Ramellet's History of the Finances.*

It was frequently the case that persons received more than one requisition for the same objects, and knew not which to comply with. The requisitions were almost always unlimited. Sometimes the whole of a commodity in a commune or a department was laid under requisition. In this case, the farmers or the dealers could not sell to any but the agents of the republic. Commerce was interrupted, the article required lay for a long time without being taken away or paid for, and the circulation was stopped. In the confusion resulting from the emergency, the agents took no account of distances, and laid requisitions upon departments the most remote from the commune or the army which they meant to supply. In this manner, transports had been multiplied. Many rivers and canals were deprived of water by an extraordinary drought. Wheel carriages were the only means of conveyance left, and agriculture was robbed of its horses to draw them. This extraordinary employment, together with a forced levy of forty-five thousand horses for the army, had made them very scarce, and almost exhausted the means of transport. In consequence of these ill-calculated and frequently useless movements, enormous quantities of articles of subsistence or other commodities were accumulated in the public magazines, heaped together without care, and exposed to all sorts of speculation. The cattle obtained for the republic were badly fed; they arrived in a lean state at the slaughter-houses, and hence arose a scarcity of fatty substances, suet, tallow, &c. To useless transports were therefore added waste, and frequently the most culpable abuses. Unfaithful agents secretly sold at the highest rates commodities which they had obtained at the *maximum* by means of requisitions. When it was not unfaithful agents who committed this fraud, it was dealers or manufacturers, who had solicited an order of requisition for the purpose of supplying themselves, and who secretly sold at the current price what they had obtained at the *maximum*.

These causes, added to the continental and maritime war, had reduced commerce to a deplorable state. There was no longer any communication with the colonies, which were rendered nearly inaccessible by the English cruisers, and almost all of them ravaged by war. The principal, St. Domingo, was devastated with fire and blood by the different parties who disputed the possession of it. Besides this almost utter impossibility of external communications, another measure had contributed to interdict them entirely. This was the sequestration directed against the property of foreigners with whom France was at war. It will be recollected that the Convention, in ordering this sequestration, had meant to stop the jobbing in foreign paper, and to prevent capital from abandoning the assignats, and being converted into bills of exchange on Frankfort, Amsterdam, London, and other places. In seizing the paper drawn by the Spaniards, the Germans, the Dutch, and the English, upon France, the government of the latter had provoked a similar measure, and all circulation of bills between France and Europe had ceased. It had no intercourse but with the neutral countries, the Levant, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and the United States; but these communications with neutral countries the commission of commerce and supplies had exclusively appropriated to itself, for the purpose of procuring corn, iron, and various articles necessary for the navy. To this end, it had put all the paper under requisition; it gave the French bankers the amount in assignats, and made use of it in Switzerland, in Sweden, in Denmark, and in America, to pay for the corn and the other commodities which it purchased.

The whole commerce of France was therefore reduced to the supplies

which the government obtained in foreign countries by means of paper forcibly required from the French bankers. Scarcely any merchandise brought by free trade reached the French ports; and, when it did, it was immediately laid under requisition, which, as we have just seen, utterly discouraged the merchants, who had paid at an enormous rate for freight and insurance, and were obliged to sell at the *maximum*. The only goods that were at all plentiful in the ports were those taken in prizes from the enemy. But some were withdrawn from circulation by requisitions, others by the prohibitions issued against the productions of hostile nations. Nantes and Bordeaux already ravaged by civil war, were reduced by this state of commerce to absolute inactivity and to extreme distress. Marseilles, which formerly subsisted by its intercourse with the Levant, saw its port blockaded by the English, its principal merchants dispersed by the system of terror, its soap-manufacture destroyed or transferred to Italy; so that all its trade now consisted in a few disadvantageous exchanges with the Genoese. The cities in the interior were in a no less deplorable state. The manufacture of Nîmes had ceased to produce its silks, which it formerly exported to the amount of twenty millions. The opulent city of Lyons, demolished by bombs and mines now lay in ruins, and no longer furnished those rich stuffs with which it formerly supplied commerce to the amount of more than sixty millions. A decree, which stopped goods destined for the rebel communes, had detained around Lyons a quantity of merchandise, which was either to remain in that city, or only to pass through it on its way to the numerous points to which the southern road leads. The towns of Châlons, Maçon, and Valence had availed themselves of this decree to stop the goods travelling along that much frequented road. The manufacture of Sedan had been obliged to give up the fabrication of fine cloths, and to employ itself in making cloth for the troops; and its principal manufacturers were moreover prosecuted as accomplices of the movement planned by Lafayette after the 10th of August. The departments of the North, Pas-de-Calais, the Somme, and the Aisne, so rich by the cultivation of flax and hemp, had been entirely ravaged by the war. Towards the west, in the unfortunate La Vendée, more than six hundred square leagues had been wholly laid waste with fire and sword.* The lands were partly forsaken, and numbers of cattle roved about at random, without pasture, and without shelter. Lastly, wherever particular disasters had not aggravated the general calamities, the war had exceedingly thinned the number of hands, while a considerable quantity of industrious citizens had been withdrawn from or disgusted with labour, some by terror, and others by political pursuits. To their workshops and their fields they greatly preferred the clubs, the municipal councils, the sections, where they received forty sous for making a stir and a commotion.

Thus disorder in all the markets; scarcity of articles of subsistence; interruption in manufactures, owing to the *maximum*, injudicious removals, useless accumulations, and waste of commodities; exhaustion of the means of conveyance, owing to the requisitions; interruption of communication

* "It is my plan to carry off from that accursed country, La Vendée, all manner of subsistence or provisions for man or beast: all forage,—in a word, everything—give all the buildings to the flames, and exterminate the inhabitants. Oppose their being relieved by a single grain of corn for their subsistence. I give you the most positive—the most imperious orders. You are answerable for the execution from this moment. In a word, leave nothing in that proscribed country—let the means of subsistence, provisions, forage, everything—positively everything, be removed to Nantes."—*Extract from Carrier's Letter to General Haxo.* E

with all the neighbouring nations, in consequence of the war, the maritime blockade, and the sequestration; devastation of manufacturing towns and of several agricultural districts by civil war; want of hands, occasioned by the requisition; idleness owing to the liking contracted for political life—such is the picture presented by France, saved from the sword of foreigners, but exhausted for a moment by the unprecedented efforts that had been required of her.*

Let the reader figure to himself two parties arrayed against each other after the 9th of Thermidor: one clinging to revolutionary means, as indispensable, and endeavouring to prolong what could be but temporary; the other irritated at the inevitable evils of an extraordinary organization, forgetting the services rendered by that organization, and striving to abolish it as atrocious;—let him figure to himself two parties of this nature arrayed against each other, and he will readily conceive how many subjects of reciprocal accusation they would find in the state of France. The Jacobins complained that all the laws were relaxed; that the *maximum* was continually violated by the farmers, the shopkeepers, and the rich merchants; that the laws against stockjobbing were not enforced; and that the depreciation of the assignats had resumed its course; they therefore renewed the outcry of the Hebertists against the rich, the forestallers, and the stockjobbers. Their adversaries, on the contrary, venturing for the first time to attack the revolutionary measures, inveighed against the excessive issue of assignats, against the injustice of the *maximum*, against the tyranny of the requisitions, against the disasters of Lyons, Sedan, Nantes, Bordeaux, and lastly, against the prohibitions and shackles of all kinds which paralyzed and ruined commerce. These were, together with the liberty of the press and the mode of nomination of the public functionaries, the usual subjects of the petitions of the clubs or of the sections. All remonstrances of this nature were referred to the committees of public welfare, of finances, and of commerce, to report and present their ideas upon them.

Two parties were thus opposed to each other, seeking and finding in what had been done, and in what was yet doing, continual subjects of attack and recrimination. All that had taken place, whether good or evil, was imputed to the members of the old committees, and they were the butt of all the attacks of the authors of the reaction. Though they had contributed to overthrow Robespierre, it was alleged that they had quarrelled with him only from ambition, and for the sake of a share in the tyranny, but that at bottom they held the same opinions, the same principles, and meant to continue the same system for their own advantage. Among the Thermidorians was Lecointre of Versailles, a man of violent and indiscreet spirit, who expressed himself with an imprudence that was disapproved by his colleagues. He had formed the design of denouncing Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, and Barrère, of the old committee of public welfare; and David, Vadier, Amar, and Vouland, of the committee of general safety, as accomplices and con-

* "It is impossible not to be struck with the novel and imposing spectacle which France exhibited during the sway of the Convention—of a country ruled by ephemeral governments, each struggling to maintain itself by every art which fraud could suggest to violence; convulsed to the centre by profligate factions; deluged with native blood; with every atom of society out of its proper place; in a state of absolute bankruptcy; with no regular system of finance; with a paper currency incalculable in amount, and at the last ebb of depreciation; yet still maintaining, with unexampled success, a war which cost more blood and treasure than any ever known in modern times, and finally triumphing over all her continental neighbours."—*Edinburgh Review*. E.

tinuators of Robespierre. He could not, and durst, prefer the same charge against Carnot, Prieur of the Côte-d'Or, and Robert Lindet, whom public opinion separated entirely from their colleagues, and who had the reputation of being exclusively occupied in labours to which France owed her salvation. Neither durst he attack all the members of the committee of general safety, because they were not all accused alike by the public opinion. He communicated his design to Tallien and Legendre, who dissuaded him from it. He nevertheless persisted in executing it, and, in the sitting of the 12th of Fructidor (August 29th), he presented twenty-six articles of accusation against the members of the former committees. The purport of these twenty-six articles was to accuse them of being accomplices in the system of terror with which Robespierre had oppressed the Convention and France; of having contributed to the arbitrary acts of the two committees; of having signed the orders of proscription; of having turned a deaf ear to all the remonstrances of citizens unjustly prosecuted; of having greatly contributed to the death of Danton; of having defended the law of the 22d of Prairial; of having left the Convention in ignorance that this law was not the work of the committee; of not having denounced Robespierre when he seceded from the committee of public welfare; lastly, of not having done anything on the 8th, 9th, and 10th of Thermidor, to screen the Convention from the designs of the conspirators.

As soon as Lecointre had finished reading these twenty-six articles, Goujon, deputy of the Ain, a young, sincere, fervent republican, and a disinterested Mountaineer, for he had taken no part in the acts for which the late government was reproached—rose and addressed the Assembly with all the appearance of profound grief. "I am deeply afflicted," said he, "when I see with what cold tranquillity men come hither to sow the seeds of dissension, and to propose the ruin of the country. Sometimes you are solicited to brand, by the appellation of the system of terror, all that has been done for a year past; at others it is proposed to you to accuse men who have rendered great services to the Revolution. They may be guilty for aught I know. I was with the armies, and therefore I am incapable of judging; but if I had possessed documents criminating members of the Convention, I would not have produced them, or I should not have brought them forward here without deep pain. With what coolness, on the contrary, some can plunge the dagger into the bosom of men valuable to the country for their important services! Observe, too, that the Convention itself is involved in the charges preferred against them. Yes, it is the Convention that is accused. It is the French people who are brought to trial, since both submitted to the tyranny of the infamous Robespierre. Jean Debry told you just now that it is the aristocrats who bring forward or suggest all these propositions."—"And the robbers," added some voices. "I move," resumed Goujon, "that the discussion instantly cease." Many deputies opposed this motion. Billaud-Varennes hastened to the tribune, and urgently insisted that the discussion should be continued. "Most assuredly," said he, "if the facts alleged be proved, we are great culprits, and our heads ought to fall. But we defy Lecointre to prove them.* Since the fall of the tyrant

* "If the crimes with which Lecointre reproaches us," said Billaud-Varennes, "were as real as they are absurd and chimerical, there is not one of us, doubtless, here present, whose blood ought not to stain the scaffold. What do they want, those men who call us the successors of Robespierre? I will tell you, citizens. They want to sacrifice—I repeat it, to sacrifice liberty on the tomb of the tyrant."—*Mignet*. E.

we are exposed to the attacks of all the intriguers, and we declare that life is of no value to us, if they are to get the better." Billaud proceeded, and stated that they had long contemplated the 9th of Thermidor; that, if they deferred it, they were obliged by circumstances to do so; that they were the first to denounce Robespierre, and to tear from him the mask with which he covered himself; that, if the death of Danton was to be imputed to them as a crime, he would charge himself first and foremost with the guilt of it; that Danton was an accomplice of Robespierre's, the rallying-point of all the counter-revolutionists, and, if he had continued to live, liberty would have been undone. For some time past," exclaimed Billaud, "we have seen intriguers bestirring themselves, robbers"—"The word is uttered," cried Bourdon, interrupting him; "it remains to be proved."—"I undertake to prove it for one," said Duhem. "We will prove it for others," added several voices of the Mountain. This was the charge which the Mountain-eers were always ready to prefer against the friends of Danton, who had almost all become Thermidorians. Billaud, who, amidst this tumult and these interruptions had not left the tribune, demanded the institution of proceedings, that the guilty might be known. Cambon succeeded him, and said that the Convention ought to avoid the snare laid for it; that the aristocrats wished to force it to dishonour itself by dishonouring some of its members; that if the committees were guilty, it was guilty too; "And the whole nation along with it," added Bourdon of the Oise. Amidst this tumult, Vadier appeared in the tribune with a pistol in his hand, saying that he would not survive the calumny, if he were not allowed to justify himself. Several members surrounded him, and obliged him to descend. Thuriot, the president, declared that he would break up the sitting if the tumult were not appeased. Duhem and Amar wished the discussion to be continued, because it was due to the inculpated members. Thuriot, who had been one of the warmest Thermidorians, but who was a stanch Mountaineer, saw with concern that such questions were agitated. He addressed the Assembly from his chair. "On one hand," said he, "the public interest requires that such a discussion should finish immediately; on the other, the interest of the inculpated persons requires that it should continue. Let us conciliate the two by passing to the order of the day on Lecointre's proposition, and declaring that the Assembly has received it with profound indignation." The Assembly eagerly adopted the suggestion of Thuriot, and passed to the order of the day, at the same time marking Lecointre's proposition with censure.

All the men sincerely attached to their country had witnessed this discussion with the deepest concern. How, in fact, was it possible to revert to the past, to distinguish the evil from the good, and to discern to whom belonged the tyranny which they had undergone? How ascertain the part of Robespierre and of the committees who had shared the supreme power, that of the Convention which had endured them, and, lastly, that of the nation, which had endured both the Convention, and the committees, and Robespierre? How, besides, was that tyranny to be estimated? Was it a crime of ambition, or the energetic and inconsiderate action of men bent on saving their cause at any price, and shutting their eyes to the means which they employed? How distinguish, in this confused action, the share of cruelty, of ambition, of mistaken zeal, of sincere and energetic patriotism? To enlighten so many obscurities, to judge so many human hearts, was impossible. It was necessary to forget the past, to receive France as she was, saved from the hands of those who had just been excluded from power, to

regulate disorderly movements, to soften too cruel laws, and to consider that in politics it behoves men to repair evils and never to revenge them.

Such were the sentiments of discreet men. The enemies of the Revolution exulted in the procedure of Lecointre, and, when they saw the discussion closed, they reported that the Convention was afraid, and durst not grapple with questions too dangerous to itself. The Jacobins, on the contrary, and the Mountaineers, still full of their fanaticism, being in no wise disposed to disavow the system of terror, did not shrink from the discussion, and were enraged at its being closed. The very next day, the 13th of Fructidor, a great number of the Mountaineers rose, saying that the president had, on the preceding day, taken the Assembly by surprise when instigating it to close the discussion; that he had expressed his sentiments without quitting the chair; that, as president, he had no right to give an opinion; that the closing of the discussion was an injustice; that it was a duty owing to the inculpated members, to the Convention itself, and to the Revolution, to give full scope to a discussion which the patriots had no reason to dread. To no purpose did the Thermidorians, Legendre, Tallien, and others, who were accused of having prompted Lecointre, strive to prevent the discussion. The Assembly, which was not yet weaned from the habit of fearing and giving way to the Mountain, consented to rescind its decision of the preceding day and to begin afresh. Lecointre was called to the tribune to read his twenty-six articles, and to support them by documents.

Lecointre had not been able to collect documents in support of this singular procedure, for it would have been necessary to procure evidence of what had passed in the committees, to judge how far the accused members had participated in what was called the tyranny of Robespierre. On each article Lecointre could only appeal to public notoriety, to speeches delivered at the Jacobins or in the Assembly, to the originals of some orders of arrest, which proved nothing. At every new charge the furious Mountaineers cried, *The documents! the documents!* and they were unwilling to let him speak without producing written proofs. Lecointre, in most cases unable to produce any, appealed to the recollection of the Assembly, asking if it had not always deemed Billaud, Collot-d'Herbois, and Barrère, to have acted in unison with Robespierre. But this proof, the only possible one, showed the impossibility of such a trial. With such proofs it would have been demonstrated that the Convention was the accomplice of the committee, and France of the Convention. The Mountaineers would not suffer Lecointre to finish. "Thou art a calumniator," said they, and they obliged him to proceed to another charge. Scarcely had he read the next before they again cried, *The documents! the documents!* and, as Lecointre had none to produce, they shouted, *To another!* In this manner he came to the twenty-sixth, without being able to prove what he advanced. He had but one reason to urge, namely, that the trial was a political one, and did not admit of the ordinary form of discussion; to which it might fairly have been replied, that it was impolitic to enter upon such a trial. After a long and stormy sitting, the Convention declared his accusation false and calumnious, and thus justified the old committees.

This scene had given to the Mountain all its former energy, and to the Convention some of its former deference for the Mountain. Billaud-Varennes and Collot-d'Herbois, however, gave in their resignations as members of the committee of public welfare. Barrère went out by lot. Tallien, on his part, voluntarily resigned; and the four were succeeded by Delmas, Merlin of Douai, Cochon, and Fourcroy. Thus the only old members of the

great committee of public welfare left, were Carnot, Prieur of the Côte-d'Or, and Robert Lindet. One-fourth of the committee of general safety was also renewed. Elie Lacoste, Voulard, Vadier, and Moïse Bayle, went out. David, Jagot, and Lavicomterie, had been previously excluded by a decision of the Assembly. These seven members were succeeded by Bourdon of the Oise, Colombelle, Méaulle, Clauzel,* Mathieu, Mon-Mayan, and Lesage-Senault.

An unforeseen and purely accidental event increased the agitation which prevailed. The powder-mills of Grenelle took fire and blew up. This sudden and frightful explosion filled Paris with consternation, and it was believed to be the effect of a new conspiracy. The aristocrats were immediately accused, and the aristocrats accused the Jacobins. New attacks took place in the tribune between the two parties, without leading to any result. This event was followed by another. In the evening of the 23d of Fructidor (September 9th), Tallien was returning home, when a man, muffled up in a great-coat, rushed upon him, saying, "I was waiting for thee—thou shalt not escape me!" At the same moment, being close to him, he fired a pistol, and wounded him in the shoulder. Next day, there was a fresh uproar in Paris: it was said that people could no longer hope for quiet; that two parties, inveterately hostile to each other, had sworn to annoy the republic forever. Some attributed the attempt on the life of Tallien to the Jacobins, others to the aristocrats; while others again went so far as to say that Tallien, following the example of Grange-Neuve before the 10th of August, had got himself wounded in the shoulder that he might accuse the Jacobins of it, and have occasion to demand their dissolution. Legendre, Merlin of Thionville, and other friends of Tallien's rushed with vehemence to the tribune, and maintained that the crime of the preceding night was the work of the Jacobins. "Tallien," said they, "has not deserted the cause of the Revolution, and yet furious men allege that he has gone over to the moderates and to the aristocrats. Of course, it is not these who could have any idea of assassinating him; it can be none but the furious wretches who accuse him, that is to say the Jacobins." Merlin denounced their last sitting, and repeated this expression of Duhem's: "The toads of the Marais are raising their heads; so much the better—they will be the easier to cut off." Merlin demanded, with his accustomed boldness, the dissolution of that celebrated society, which, he said, had rendered the greatest services, which had powerfully contributed to overturn the throne, but which, having no longer any throne to overturn, now wanted to overturn the Convention itself. Merlin's conclusions were not admitted, but, as usual, the facts were referred to the competent committees for them to report upon. References of this kind had already been made upon all the questions which divided the two parties. Reports had been required on the question of the press, on the assignats, on the *maximum*, on the requisitions, on the obstructions of commerce, and, in short, on everything that had become a subject of controversy and of division. It was then desired that all these reports should be blended into one, and the committee of public welfare was directed to present a general report on the state of the

* "Clauzel, the younger, mayor of Velanet, was deputy to the National Convention where he voted for the King's death. In 1794 he became one of the committee of public safety, and laid various crimes to the charge of Billaud, Collot, and Barrère. In the same year he was appointed president, and argued against the suppression of all the revolutionary committees. In 1796 he was elected secretary to the council of Ancients; and afterwards declared warmly in favour of the Directory. He died in the year 1804."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

republic. The drawing up of this report was committed to Robert Lindet, the member best acquainted with the state of things, because he belonged to the old committees, and the most disinterested in those questions, because he had been exclusively engaged in serving his country by undertaking the laborious department of supplies and transport. The fourth sans-culottide of the year II (September 20, 1794) was the day fixed for its being read.

People waited with impatience for his report and the decrees which were to result from it, and kept themselves meanwhile in agitation. The young men coalesced against the Jacobins were accustomed to collect in the garden of the Palais-Royal. There they read the newspapers and pamphlets which appeared in great number against the late revolutionary system, which were sold by the booksellers in the galleries. They frequently formed groups there, and thence they started to disturb the sittings of the Jacobins. On the second sans-culottide, one of these groups had formed: It was composed of those young men who, to distinguish themselves from the Jacobins, dressed well, wore high cravats, and were on that account called *Muscadins*. In one of these groups a person said that, if anything happened, they ought to rally round the Convention, and that the Jacobins were intriguers and villains. A Jacobin would have replied. A quarrel ensued. One party shouted, *The Convention forever! Down with the Jacobins! Down with Robespierre's tail! Down with the aristocrats and the Muscadins!* cried the other. *The Convention and the Jacobins forever!* The tumult soon increased. The Jacobin who attempted to speak, and the small number of those who supported him, were severely handled: the guard hastened to the spot, dispersed the assemblage, which was already very considerable, and prevented a general battle.*

On the day after the next, being that fixed for the presentation of the report of the three committees of public welfare, legislation, and general safety, it was read by Robert Lindet. The picture which he had to draw of France was melancholy. Having traced the successive career of the factions and the progress of Robespierre's power till his fall, he exhibited two parties, the one composed of ardent patriots, apprehensive for the Revolution and for themselves; and the other of disconsolate families, whose relatives had been sacrificed or still languished in prison. "Restless spirits," said Lindet, "imagine that the government is likely to be deficient in energy; they employ all possible means to propagate their opinion and their alarm. They send deputations and addresses to the Convention. These fears are chimerical. In your hands the government will retain all its strength. Can the patriots, can the public functionaries, be afraid lest the services that they have rendered should be forgotten? What courage must they not have possessed, to accept and to perform dangerous duties! But now France recalls them to their labours and their professions, which they have too long forsaken. They know that their functions were temporary; that power retained too long by the same hands becomes a subject of uneasiness; and they ought not to be afraid that France will abandon them to resentment and revenge."

Then, proceeding to consider the situation of the party of those who had

* "These quarrels became every day more animated, and Paris was transformed into a field of battle, on which the fate of parties was abandoned to the decision of arms. This state of disorder and of warfare could not last long; and as those parties had not the discretion to come to an understanding, one of them necessarily obtained a victory over the other. The Thermidorians were making great progress daily, and victory belonged to them."

—Mignet. E.

suffered, Lindet thus continued: "Set at liberty those whom animosities, passions, the mistakes of public functionaries, and the fury of the late conspirators, have caused to be thrown *en masse* into the places of confinement: set at liberty the labourers, the mercantile men, the relatives of the young heroes who are defending the country. The arts have been persecuted; yet it is by them that you have been taught to forge the thunderbolt; it is by them that the art of the Montgolfiers* has served to discover the march of armies; it is by them that the metals are prepared and purified, that hides are tanned and rendered fit for use in a week. Protect them, succour them. Many useful men are still inmates of prisons."

Robert Lindet then drew a sketch of the agricultural and commercial state of France. He exhibited the calamities resulting from the assignats, from the *maximum*, from the requisitions, from the interruption of the communications with foreign countries.† "Labour," said he, "has lost much of its activity, in the first place, because fifteen hundred thousand men have been sent to the frontiers, while a multitude of others have devoted themselves to civil war; and in the next, because the minds of men distracted by political passions, have been diverted from their habitual occupations. There are new lands brought into cultivation, but many also neglected. The corn is not thrashed, the wool is not spun, the cultivators of flax and hemp neither steep the one, nor peel the other. Let us endeavour to repair evils so numerous and so various. Let us restore peace to the great maritime and manufacturing cities. Put an end to the demolition of Lyons. With peace, prudence, and oblivion of what is past, the people of Nantes, of Bordeaux, of Marseilles, of Lyons, will resume their occupations. Let us repeal the laws destructive to commerce; let us restore circulation to merchandise; let us permit exportation, that such commodities as we need may be brought to us. Let the cities, the departments, cease to complain of the government which they say has exhausted their resources in articles of subsistence, which has not observed very accurate proportions, but imposed the burden of requisitions in an unequal manner. O that those who thus complain could cast their eyes on the descriptions, the declarations, the addresses, of their fellow-citizens of other districts! They would there see the same complaints, the same declarations, the same energy, inspired by the feeling of the same wants. Let us recall peace of mind and labour to the country: let us bring back the artisans to their workshops, the cultivators to their fields. But, above all, let us strive to bring back union and confidence among us. Let us cease to reproach one another with our calamities and our faults. Have we always been, could we always be, what we wished to be

* "Jaques Etienne Montgolfier, the inventor of the balloon, was born in 1745, and with his elder brother, who was born in 1740, and died in 1810, devoted himself to the study of mathematics, mechanics, physics, and chemistry. They carried on the manufactory of their father together, and were the first who invented vellum-paper. The elder brother was the inventor of the water-ram which raises water to the height of six hundred feet. Jaques died in the year 1799."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

† "Since France had become republican, every species of evil had accumulated on its devoted head. There were famine, a total cessation of commerce, justice interrupted, the communication with foreign countries cut off, property spoliated, confiscation rendered the order of the day, the scaffold permanently erected, and calumnious denunciations held in high repute. Nothing was wanting to the general desolation; debauchery was encouraged, arbitrary arrests were universally established, revolutionary armies spread over the country like a devouring flame, and disunion was brought into the bosom of domestic families. Never had a country descended so low; never had a people fallen into a similar state of chaos!" *History of the Convention*. E.

in reality? We have all been launched into the same career: some have fought with courage—with judgment; others have dashed themselves, in their headlong ardour, against all the obstacles which they purposed to destroy and overthrow. Who would think of questioning us, and calling us to account for those movements which it is impossible to foresee and to direct! The Revolution is accomplished. It is the work of all. What generals, what soldiers, have never done more in war than what it was right for them to do, and have known how to stop where cool and calm reason would have desired them to stop? Were we not in a state of war with numerous and most formidable enemies? Have not some reverses inflamed our courage—roused our indignation? What has happened to us is but what happens to all men thrown to an infinite distance from the ordinary track of life.”

This report, so judicious, so impartial, and so complete, was received with applause. All approved of the sentiments which it contained, and it had been well if all had been capable of sharing them. Lindet then proposed a series of decrees, which were not less favourably received than his report, and immediately adopted.

By the first decree, the committee of general safety and the representatives on mission were empowered to examine the petitions of traders, labourers, artists, fathers and mothers of citizens in the armies, who were themselves, or had relatives, in prison. By a second, the municipalities and the committees of sections were required to assign the motives of their refusal, when they withheld certificates of civism. This was a satisfaction given to those who were incessantly complaining of the system of terror, and dreading lest they should see it revive. A third decree directed the drawing up of moral instructions, tending to encourage a love of industry and of the laws, and to enlighten the citizens relative to the principal events of the Revolution, and destined to be read to the people on the decadary festivals. A fourth decree ordered the plan of a normal school for training young professors with a view to the diffusion of education and knowledge throughout France.

To these decrees were added several others, enjoining the committees of finances and of commerce to investigate without delay:

1. The advantages of the free exportation of articles of luxury, on condition of importing into France a like value in merchandise of all kinds;

2. The advantages or disadvantages of the free exportation of the surplus commodities of the first necessity, upon the condition of a return and of various formalities;

3. The most advantageous means of throwing into circulation the commodities destined for communes in rebellion, and detained under seal;

4. Lastly, the remonstrances of the merchants who, by virtue of the law of sequestration, were obliged to deposit in the district chests the sums which they owed to the foreigners with whom France was at war.

We see that these decrees were intended to give satisfaction to those who complained of having been persecuted, and that they comprehended some of the measures capable of improving the state of commerce. The Jacobin party alone had not a decree to itself, but there was not any decree to pass for its benefit. It had not been either persecuted or imprisoned; it had merely been deprived of power; there was no reparation to grant to it. All that could be done, was to give it confidence in the intentions of the government, and it was for this special object that Lindet's report was framed and

written. Accordingly, the effect of this report and of the decrees which accompanied it was most favourable upon all the parties.

The public mind appeared to be somewhat calmed. On the following day, the last of the year, and the fifth sans-culottide of the year II (September 21, 1794), the festival which had long been ordered for placing Marat in the Pantheon and excluding Mirabeau from it was celebrated. Already it was no longer in unison with the state of public opinion. Marat was no longer so holy, neither was Mirabeau so guilty, as that so many honours should be decreed to the sanguinary apostle of terror, and so much ignominy inflicted on the greatest orator of the Revolution; but, in order not to alarm the Mountain, and to avoid the appearance of too speedy a reaction, the festival was not countermanded. On the appointed day, the remains of Marat were conveyed with pomp to the Pantheon, and those of Mirabeau were ignominiously carried out at a side door.

Thus power, withdrawn from the Jacobins and the Mountaineers, was now held by the partisans of Danton and of Camille-Desmoulins, in short, by the *indulgents*, who had become Thermidorians. These latter, however, while they strove to repair the evils produced by the Revolution, while they released the suspected and endeavoured to restore some liberty and some security to commerce, still paid great respect to the Mountain which they had ousted, and decreed to Marat the place which they took from Mirabeau.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

RENEWAL OF MILITARY OPERATIONS—SURRENDER OF CONDÉ, VALENCIENNES, LANDRECIES, AND LE QUESNOI—PASSAGE OF THE MEUSE—BATTLE OF THE OURTHE AND OF THE ROER—OCCUPATION OF THE WHOLE LINE OF THE RHINE—SITUATION OF THE ARMIES AT THE ALPS AND AT THE PYRENEES—STATE OF LA VENDÉE—PUISAYE IN BRETAGNE—CORRESPONDENCE OF THE ROYALIST PARTY WITH THE FRENCH PRINCES.

THE activity of military operations was somewhat relaxed about the middle of the summer. The two great French armies of the North and of the Sambre and Meuse, which had entered Brussels in Thermidor (July), and then proceeded, the one upon Antwerp, the other towards the Meuse, had enjoyed a long rest, waiting for the reduction of the fortresses of Landrecies, Le Quesnoi, Valenciennes, and Condé, which had been lost during the preceding campaign. On the Rhine, General Michaud was engaged in re-composing his army, in order to repair the check of Kaiserslautern, and awaited a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men drawn from La Vendée. The armies of the Alps and of Italy, having made themselves masters of the great chain, encamped on the heights of the Alps, while waiting for the approval of a plan of invasion proposed, it was said, by the young officer

who had decided the taking of Toulon and of the lines of Saorgio.* At the eastern Pyrenees, Dugommier, after his success at the Boulou, had stopped for a considerable time to reduce Collioure, and was now blockading Bellegarde. The army of the western Pyrenees was still organizing itself. This long inactivity, which marked the middle of the campaign, and which must be imputed to the important events in the interior and to bad combinations, might have been a drawback upon our successes, had the enemy known how to profit by the occasion. But such indecision prevailed among the allies that our fault was of no benefit to them, and only served to defer a little the extraordinary tide of our successes.

Nothing was worse calculated than our inactivity in Belgium in the environs of Antwerp, and on the banks of the Meuse. The surest means of accelerating the reduction of the four lost fortresses would have been to remove further and further from them the large armies which could have relieved them. By taking advantage of the disorder into which the victory of Fleurus and the retreat consequent upon it had thrown the allies, it would have been easy soon to reach the Rhine. Unfortunately, people were yet ignorant of the art of making the most of victory, the most important and the rarest of all arts, because it presupposes that victory is not the fruit of a successful attack, but the result of vast combinations. To hasten the surrender of the four fortresses, the Convention had issued a formidable decree, in the same spirit as all those which followed one another from Prairial to Thermidor. Arguing that the allies occupied four French fortresses, and that everything is allowable to clear one's own territory of an enemy, it decreed that, if the enemy's garrisons had not surrendered within twenty-four hours after they were summoned, they should be put to the sword. The garrison of Landrecies alone surrendered. The commandant of Condé returned this admirable answer, that *one nation has not a right to decree the dishonour of another*. Le Quesnoi and Valenciennes continued to hold out. The committee, sensible of the injustice of such a decree, resorted to a subtlety for the purpose of evading its execution, and at the same time of sparing the Convention the necessity to rescind it.† It assumed that the decree, not having been notified to the commandants of the three fortresses, was yet unknown to them. Before it was formally signified to them, the committee ordered General Scherer to push the works with sufficient activity to give weight to the summons and to furnish the hostile garrisons with a legitimate excuse for capitulation. Valenciennes accordingly surrendered ‡ on the 12th of Fructidor (August 29th); Condé and Le Quesnoi a few days afterwards. These fortresses, which had cost the allies so much during the preceding campaign, were thus recovered by us without any great efforts, and the enemy retained not a single point of our territory in the Netherlands

* "The councils of the republican leaders on the frontiers of Nice were directed by General Bonaparte, whose extraordinary military abilities had already given him an ascendancy far beyond his rank."—*Alison*. E.

† "The committee of public safety under Carnot's direction, feeling the iniquity of this decree, took advantage of fictitious delays to allow the garrison to capitulate on the usual terms."—*Alison*. E.

‡ "The stores, provisions, and magazines of every species found in Valenciennes were immense, to say nothing of the military chest containing more than six millions of German florins in specie. All these amounted to a heavy loss to the Emperor of Austria, at a time when his revenues were insufficient for his expenses, and the treasures he had accumulated were exhausted by this unpropitious war. A circumstance that rendered the surrender of Valenciennes to France still more vexatious was, that at least a thousand French emigrants fell into the hands of their enraged countrymen."—*Annals Register*. E.

On the other hand we were masters of all Belgium as far as Antwerp and the Meuse.

Moreau had just taken Sluys and returned into line. Scherer had sent Osten's brigade to Pichegru, and rejoined Jourdan with his division. Owing to this junction, the army of the North, under Pichegru, amounted to more than seventy thousand men present under arms, and that of the Meuse, under Jourdan, to one hundred and sixteen thousand. The administration, exhausted by the efforts which it had made for the sudden equipment of these armies, was able to provide but very imperfectly for their supply. amends were made for the deficiency by requisitions, by foraging parties conducted with moderation, and by the highest military virtues. The soldiers contrived to dispense with the most necessary articles. They no longer encamped under tents, but bivouacked beneath branches of trees. The officers, without appointments or paid with assignats, lived like the common soldier, ate the same bread, marched on foot like him, and with the knapsack at their back. Republican enthusiasm and victory supported these armies, the most discreet and the bravest that France ever had.

The allies were in singular disorder. The Dutch, ill-supported by the English, were dismayed. They formed a cordon before their fortresses, that they might have time to put them in a state of defence—an operation which ought to have been long before finished. The Duke of York, as presumptuous as he was ignorant, knew not how to employ his English troops, and took no decisive part. He retired towards the Lower Meuse and the Rhine, extending his wings sometimes towards the Dutch, at others towards the Imperialists. By joining the Dutch, he might nevertheless have still had fifty thousand men at his disposal, and have attempted, on one or other of the armies of the North or of the Meuse, one of those bold movements which General Clairfayt, in the following year, and the Archduke Charles, in 1796, executed so seasonably and with such honour, and of which a great captain has since given so many memorable examples. The Austrians, intrenched along the Meuse, from the mouth of the Roer to that of the Ourthe, were disheartened by their reverses, and in want of necessary supplies. The Prince of Coburg, whose reputation was ruined by his campaign, had given up his command to Clairfayt, of all the Austrian generals the most worthy to hold it. It was not yet too late to draw nearer to the Duke of York, and to act *en masse* against one of the two French armies; but the Austrians thought of nothing but guarding the Meuse. The cabinet of London, alarmed at the course of events, had sent envoys after envoys to kindle the zeal of Prussia, to claim from her the execution of the treaty of the Hague, and to induce Austria by promises of succour to defend with vigour the line which her troops yet occupied. A meeting of English, Dutch, and Austrian ministers and generals took place at Maestricht, and it was agreed upon to defend the banks of the Meuse.

At length, in the middle of Fructidor (very early in September), the French armies were again in motion. Pichegru advanced from Antwerp towards the mouth of the rivers. The Dutch committed the fault of separating themselves from the English. To the number of twenty thousand men they ranged themselves along Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, and Gertruydenberg, backing upon the sea and useless to the fortresses which they meant to cover. The Duke of York, with his English and Hanoverians, retired upon Bois-le-Duc, connecting himself with the Dutch by a chain of posts, which the French army could take the moment it appeared. At Boxtel, on the bank of the Bommel, Pichegru overtook the rear-guard of the Duke of York,

surrounded two battalions, and cut them off. Next day, on the banks of the Aa, he fell in with General Abercromby,* took some prisoners from him also, and continued to push the Duke of York, who hastened to cross the Meuse at Grave, under the guns of the place. In this march, Pichegru had taken fifteen hundred prisoners: he arrived on the banks of the Meuse on the second sans-culottide (the 18th of September).

Meanwhile Jourdan was advancing on his part, and preparing to cross the Meuse. The Meuse has two principal tributaries, the Ourthe, which falls into it near Liege, and the Roer, which joins it near Ruremonde. These streams form two lines, which divide the country between the Meuse and the Rhine, and which must be successively carried in order to reach the latter river. The French, masters of Liege, had crossed the Meuse, and already ranged themselves facing the Ourthe; they bordered the Meuse from Liege to Maestricht, and the Ourthe from Liege to Comblain-au-Pont thus forming an angle of which Liege was the apex. Clairfayt had ranged his left behind the Ourthe, on the heights of Sprimont. These heights are bordered on one side by the Ourthe, on the other by the Aywaille, which falls into the Ourthe. General Latour commanded the Austrians there. Jourdan ordered Scherer to attack the position of Sprimont on the side next to the Aywaille, while General Bonnet was to march upon it, after crossing the Ourthe. On the second sans-culottide (September 18), Scherer divided his corps into three columns, commanded by Generals Marceau, Mayer, and Hacquin, and proceeded to the banks of the Aywaille, which flows in a deep bed between steep banks. The generals themselves set the example, plunged into the water, and led their soldiers to the opposite bank, in spite of a formidable fire of artillery. Latour had continued motionless on the heights of Sprimont, preparing to fall upon the French columns as soon as they should have crossed the river. But no sooner had they climbed the steep bank than they fell upon the position without giving Latour time to anticipate them. They attacked him briskly, while General Hacquin was advancing upon his left flank, and General Bonnet, having crossed the Ourthe, was marching upon his rear. Latour was then obliged to decamp and to fall back upon the imperial army.

This attack, well-conceived and executed with spirit, was equally honourable to the general-in-chief and to his army. It gained us thirty-six pieces of cannon and one hundred baggage-wagons; it occasioned the enemy a loss of fifteen hundred men, killed and wounded, and decided Clairfayt to abandon the line of the Ourthe. That general, on seeing his left beaten, was in fact apprehensive lest his retreat upon Cologne should be cut off. In consequence, he quitted the banks of the Meuse and the Ourthe, and fell back upon Aix-la-Chapelle.

The Austrians had nothing left but the line of the Roer, to prevent their being driven back upon the Rhine. They occupied that river from Dueren

* "Sir Ralph Abercromby, a distinguished British general officer, was born in 1738, in Clackmannanshire. His first commission was that of cornet in the dragoon-guards, in the year 1756, and he became a major-general in 1787. On the commencement of the revolutionary war with France, he was employed in Flanders and Holland, with the local rank of lieutenant-general. In 1795 he received the order of the Bath, and was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in the West Indies. On his return he was made commander-in-chief in Ireland, but was soon afterwards appointed to the corresponding command in Scotland. He next acted under the Duke of York in the attempt upon Holland in 1799. His concluding service was in the expedition to Egypt, of which he was commander-in-chief. He landed, after a severe contest at Aboukir, in 1801, and fought the triumphant battle of Alexandria, in which he was killed."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

and Juliers to the influx of the Roer into the Meuse, that is, to Ruremonde. They had relinquished all that part of the course of the Meuse which is comprised between the Ourthe and the Roer, between Liege and Ruremonde; they had left only that portion between Ruremonde and Grave, the point by which they were connected with the Duke of York.

The Roer was the line which it behoved them to defend stoutly, if they would not lose the left bank of the Rhine. Clairfayt concentrated all his forces on the banks of the Roer, between Dueren, Juliers, and Linnich. He had some time since ordered considerable works to secure his line; he had advanced corps beyond the Roer, on the *plateau* of Aldenhoven, where intrenchments were thrown up; he had then the line of the Roer and its steep banks, and he was placed behind this line with his army and a formidable train of artillery.

On the 10th of Vendemiaire, year III (October 1, 1794), Jourdan was in presence of the enemy with all his forces. He ordered General Scherer, who commanded the right wing, to proceed upon Dueren, crossing the Roer at all the fordable points; General Hatry to cross nearly in the centre of the position at Altorp; Championnet's and Morlot's divisions, supported by cavalry, to take the *plateau* of Aldenhoven, situated in advance of the Roer, to scour the plain, to cross the river, and to mask Juliers, in order to prevent the Austrians from debouching from it; General Lefebvre to make himself master of Linnich, and to cross at all the fords in that neighbourhood; lastly, Kleber, who was near the mouth of the Roer, to ascend the river to Ratem, and to pass it at that ill-defended point, for the purpose of covering the battle on the side towards Ruremonde.

Next day, the 11th of Vendemiaire, the French set themselves in motion along the whole line. One hundred thousand young republicans marched at once with an order and a precision worthy of older troops. They had not yet been seen in such number on the same field of battle. They advanced towards the Roer, the goal of their efforts. Unfortunately, they were still far from that goal, and it was not till near midday that they reached it. The general, in the opinion of military men, had committed but one fault, that of taking a point of departure too distant from the point of attack, and not employing another day in approaching nearer to the enemy's line. General Scherer, commanding the right, directed his brigades upon the different points of the Roer, and ordered General Hacquin to cross just above, at the fort of Winden, with a view to turn the left flank of the enemy. It was eleven o'clock when he made these arrangements. It took Hacquin a long time to make the circuit marked out for him. Scherer waited for him to reach the point indicated before he threw his divisions into the Roer; and thus gave Clairfayt time to prepare all his means along the heights on the opposite bank. It was now three o'clock. Scherer would not wait any longer, and set his divisions in motion. Marceau plunged into the water, with his troops, and crossed at the ford of Mirveiller; Lorges did the same, proceeded upon Dueren, and drove the enemy from that place after a sanguinary combat. The Austrians abandoned Dueren for a moment; but, after falling back, they returned in more considerable force. Marceau immediately threw himself into Dueren, to support Lorges's brigade. Mayer, who had crossed the Roer a little above, at Niederau, and had been received by a galling fire of artillery, fell back also upon Dueren. There all the efforts of both sides were concentrated. The enemy, who as yet brought only his advanced guard into action, was formed in rear of that place, upon the heights, with sixty pieces of cannon. He immediately opened a fire, and

pooured a shower of grape and balls upon the French. Our young soldiers, supported by the generals, stood firm. Hacquin did not yet make his appearance on the left flank of the enemy, a manœuvre which was expected to ensure a victory.

At the same moment, there was fighting at the centre on the advanced *plateau* of Aldenhoven. The French had pushed on thither at the point of the bayonet. Their cavalry had deployed there, and received and withstood several charges. The Austrians, seeing the Roer crossed above and below Allenhoven, had abandoned that *plateau* and retired to Juliers, on the other side of the Roer. Championnet, who had pursued them to the very glacis, cannonaded and was in return cannonaded by the artillery of the place. At Linnich, Lefebvre had repulsed the Austrians and reached the Roer, but had found the bridge burned and was engaged in rebuilding it. At Ratem, Kleber had met with sweeping batteries, and answered them by a brisk fire of artillery.

The decisive action, therefore, was on the right about Dueren, where Marceau, Lorges, and Mayer were crowded together awaiting Hacquin's movements. Jourdan had ordered Hatry, instead of crossing at Altorp, to fall back upon Dueren: but the distance was too great for this column to be of any service at the decisive point. At length, at five in the evening, Hacquin appeared on Latour's left flank. The Austrians, seeing themselves threatened on their left by Hacquin, and having Lorges, Marceau, and Mayer in front, decided upon retreating, and drew back their left wing, which had been engaged at Sprimont. On their extreme right, Kleber threatened them by a bold movement. The bridge, which he had attempted to throw across, being too short, the soldiers had demanded permission to plunge into the river. Kleber, to keep up their ardour, collected all his artillery, and played upon the enemy on the opposite bank. The imperialists were then obliged to retire at this point, and they determined to retire at all the others. They abandoned the Roer, leaving eight hundred prisoners and three thousand men *hors de combat*.

Next day, the French found Juliers evacuated, and they were able to pass the Roer at all points. Such was the important battle that won us the definitive conquest of the left bank of the Rhine.* It is one of those by which General Jourdan best merited the gratitude of his country and the esteem of military men. Critics have, nevertheless, censured him for not having taken a point of departure nearer to the point of attack, and for not directing the bulk of his force upon Mirveiller and Dueren.

Clairfayt took the high road to Cologne. Jourdan pursued him, and took

* "In this important battle which was continued till the 3rd of October, the slaughter on both sides was dreadful and nearly equal. But superiority of numbers and perseverance gave the victory to the French. The principal difficulty they had to overcome was a mountain well fortified, and covered with batteries of heavy metal. It was assaulted four times by the most intrepid of the French troops before it was carried. On the morning of the fifth day of this destructive conflict, a fog arose, which enabled General Clairfayt to conceal the motions which he was now under the necessity of making to mark his retreat. Upwards of ten thousand of his men had fallen; and the remainder of his army was unequal to any further contest. He was followed however so closely by the victors, that no less than three thousand more were added to the slaughter of the day. This was truly an important, a decisive battle. It was considered in that light by all parties; and all hopes of repairing for a long time the losses of the campaign were extinguished. It appeared even more decisive than the battle of Fleurus, which had commenced the ruin of the Austrian armies in the Low Countries whence they were now totally expelled, without any prospect of a return."—*Annuaire Register*. E.

possession of Cologne on the 15th of Vendemiaire (October 6), and of Bonn, on the 29th (October 20). Kleber proceeded with Marescot to besiege Maestricht.

While Jourdan was so valiantly performing his duty, and taking possession of the important line of the Rhine, Pichegru on his part was preparing to cross the Meuse, intending then to proceed towards the mouth of the Wahl, the principal branch of the Rhine. As we have already stated, the Duke of York had crossed the Meuse at Grave, leaving Bois-le-Duc to his own forces. Pichegru, before he attempted the passage of the Meuse, would have to take Bois-le-Duc, which was no easy task, in the state of the season and with an insufficient artillery for a siege. However, the audacity of the French and the discouragement of the enemy rendered everything possible. Fort Crève-cœur, near the Meuse, threatened by a battery seasonably placed on a point where it was not thought possible to establish one, surrendered. The artillery found there served to forward the siege of Bois-le-Duc. Five consecutive attacks daunted the governor, who surrendered the place on the 19th of Vendemiaire. This unhopèd-for success gave the French a solid base and considerable stores for pushing their operations beyond the Meuse and to the bank of the Wahl.

Moreau, who formed the right, had since the victories of the Ourthe and the Roer advanced to Venloo. The Duke of York, alarmed at this movement, had withdrawn all his troops to the other side of the Wahl, and evacuated the whole space between the Meuse and the Wahl, on the Rhine. Seeing, however, that Grave on the Meuse would be left without communications and without support, he recrossed the Wahl, and undertook to defend the space comprised between the two rivers. The ground, as is always the case near the mouths of great rivers, was lower than the bed of the streams. It presented extensive pastures, intersected by canals and causeways, and inundated in certain places. General Hammerstein, placed intermediately between the Meuse and the Wahl, had increased the difficulty of access, by covering the dykes with artillery, and throwing over the canals bridges which his army was to destroy as it retired. The Duke of York, whose advanced guard he formed, was placed in rear, on the banks of the Wahl, in the camp of Nimeguen.

On the 27th and 28th of Vendemiaire (October 18 and 19), Pichegru made two of his divisions cross the Meuse by a bridge of boats. The English, who were under the cannon of Nimeguen, and Hammerstein's advanced guard along the canals and dykes, were too far off to prevent this passage. The rest of the army landed on the other bank, under the protection of these two divisions. On the 28th, Pichegru decided on attacking the works that covered the intermediate space between the Meuse and the Wahl. He pushed forward four columns, forming a mass superior to the enemy, into those pastures overflowed and intersected by canals. The French defied with extraordinary courage the fire of the artillery, then threw themselves into the ditches up to their shoulders in water, while the sharpshooters, from the margins of the ditches, fired over their heads. The enemy, daunted by their hardihood, retired, without thinking of anything but saving his artillery. He sought refuge in the camp of Nimeguen on the banks of the Wahl,* whither the French soon followed and defied him every day.

* "The French now resolved to strike a decisive blow against the Duke of York, and compel him to retire from the defence of the United Provinces. With this view, they crossed the Meuse with thirty thousand men, which were to attack the British posts on the right, while another body of no less strength was advancing to reach them on the left. On the

Thus, towards Holland, as well as towards Luxemburg, the French had at length reached that formidable line of the Rhine, which nature seems to have assigned as a boundary to their fine country, and which they have always felt ambitious to give it for a frontier. Pichegru, indeed, stopped by Nimeguen, was not yet master of the course of the Wahl; and if he thought of conquering Holland, he saw before him numerous streams, fortified places, inundations, and a most unpropitious season; but he was very near the so ardently desired limit, and with another daring act he might enter Nimeguen or the isle of Bommel, and establish himself solidly upon the Wahl. Moreau, called the general of sieges, had by an act of boldness just entered Venloo; Jourdan was strongly established on the Rhine. Along the Moselle and Alsace, the armies had also just reached that great river.

Since the check of Kaiserslautern, the armies of the Moselle and of the Upper Rhine, commanded by Michaud, had been occupied in obtaining reinforcements of detachments from the Alps and from La Vendée. On the 14th of Messidor (July 2), an attack had been attempted along the whole line from the Rhine to the Moselle, on the two slopes of the Vosges. This attack was not successful because it was too divided. A second attempt, planned on better principles, had been made on the 25th of Messidor (July 13). The principal effort had been directed on the centre of the Vosges, with a view to gain possession of the passes, and had caused, as it always did, a general retreat of the allied armies beyond Frankenthal. The committee had then ordered a diversion upon Treves, of which the French took possession; to punish the elector. By this movement, a principal corps was placed *en flèche* between the Imperial armies of the Lower Rhine and the Prussian army of the Vosges; but the enemy never thought of taking advantage of this situation. The Prussians, however, profiting at length by a diminution of our forces towards Kaiserslautern, had attacked us unawares and driven us back beyond the place. Luckily, Jourdan had just been victorious on the Roer, and Clairfayt had recrossed the Rhine at Cologne. The allies had not then the courage to remain in the Vosges; they retired, leaving the whole Palatinate to us, and throwing a strong garrison into Mayence. Luxemburg and Mayence were consequently the only places that they retained on the left bank. The committee immediately ordered them to be blockaded. Kleber was called from Belgium to Mayence, to direct the siege of that place, which he had assisted to defend in 1793, and where he had laid the foundation of his glory. Thus our conquests were extended on all points, and everywhere carried as far as the Rhine.

At the Alps, the former inactivity continued, and the great chain was still ours. The plan of invasion, ably devised by General Bonaparte, and communicated to the committee by the younger Robespierre, who was on a mission to the army of Italy, had been adopted. It consisted in uniting the two armies of the Alps and of Italy in the valley of Sturia, for the purpose of overrunning Piedmont. Orders had been given for marching when news of the 9th of Thermidor arrived. The execution of the plan was then suspended. The commandants of the fortresses, who had been obliged to give

morning of the 19th of October, the several divisions of the Duke's army on the right were assailed by the French, who forcing a post occupied by a body of cavalry, a corps of infantry which was stationed near it was thrown into disorder, and compelled to retreat along the dyke on the banks of the Wahl. Unfortunately, they were followed by a body of the enemy's cavalry, which they mistook for their own; nor did they discover their mistake till the enemy came up and attacked them before they could assume a posture of defence. The whole of that body of infantry was either killed, or made prisoners."—*Annual Register*. E.

up part of their garrisons, the representatives, the municipalities, and all the partisans of reaction, alleged that this plan had for its object to ruin the army, by throwing it into Piedmont, to open Toulon again to the English, and to serve the secret designs of Robespierre. Jean-Bon-St.-André, who had been sent to Toulon to superintend the repairs of the ships of war there, and who cherished schemes of his own relative to the Mediterranean, proved himself one of the greatest enemies to this plan. Young Bonaparte was even accused of being an accomplice of the Robespierres, on account of the confidence with which his talents and his projects had inspired the younger of the two brothers.* The army was brought back in disorder to the great chain, where it resumed its positions. The campaign finished, however, with a brilliant advantage. The Austrians, conjointly with the English, determined to make an attempt on Savona, for the purpose of cutting off the communication with Genoa, which, by its neutrality, rendered great service to the commerce in articles of subsistence. General Colloreto advanced with a corps of from eight to ten thousand men, made no great haste in his march, and gave the French time to prepare themselves. Being attacked amid the mountains by the French, whose movements were directed by General Bonaparte, he lost eight hundred men, and retreated disgracefully, accusing the English, who in their turn accused him. The communication with Genoa was re-established, and the army consolidated in all its positions.

At the Pyrenees, a new series of successes opened upon us. Dugommier was still besieging Bellegarde, with the intention of making himself master of that place, before he descended into Catalonia. La Union made a general attack on the French line for the purpose of proceeding to the succour of the besieged; but, being repulsed at all points, he had withdrawn, and the fortress, more discouraged than ever by this rout of the Spanish army, had surrendered on the 6th of Vendémiaire. Dugommier, having no danger whatever to dread on his rear, prepared to advance into Catalonia. At the western Pyrenees, the French, being roused at length from their torpor, overran the valley of Bastan, took Fontarabia and St. Sebastian, and, favoured by the climate, prepared, as at the eastern Pyrenees, to push their successes in spite of the approach of winter.

In La Vendée the war had continued. It was not brisk and dangerous, but slow and devastating. Stofflet, Sapinaud, and Charette, had at length shared the command among them. Since the death of Laroche-Jacquelin, Stofflet had succeeded him in Anjou and Upper Poitou; Sapinaud had still retained the little division of the centre; Charette, who had distinguished himself by the campaign of the last winter, when, with forces almost destroyed, he had always contrived to elude the pursuit of the republicans, had the command in Lower Vendée; but he aspired to the general command. The chiefs had met at Jallais, and had entered into a treaty dictated by the Abbé Bernier, *curé* of St. Laud, the councillor and friend of Stofflet, and governing the country in his name. This abbé was as ambitious as Charette, and desired to see a combination effected that should furnish him with the

* "Bonaparte set off for Genoa, and fulfilled his mission. The ninth of Thermidor arrived, and the deputies called Terrorists were superseded by Albitte and Salicetti. In the disorder which then prevailed, they were either ignorant of the orders given to General Bonaparte, or persons, envious of the rising glory of the young general of artillery, inspired Albitte and Salicetti with suspicions prejudicial to him. They accordingly drew up a resolution ordering that he should be arrested, and he continued nearly a fortnight under arrest." *Bourrienne*. E.

means of exercising over all the chiefs that influence which he possessed over Stofflet. They agreed to form a supreme council, by the orders of which everything was to be done in future. Stofflet, Sapinaud, and Charette, reciprocally confirmed to each other their respective commands of Anjou, the centre, and Lower Vendée. M. de Marigny, who had survived the great Vendean expedition to Granville, having infringed one of the orders of this council, was seized. Stofflet had the cruelty to order him to be shot upon a report of Charette's.* This act, which was attributed to jealousy, produced a most unfavourable impression on all the royalists.

The war, without any possible result, was now merely a war of devastation. The republicans had formed fourteen intrenched camps, which enclosed the whole insurgent country. From these camps issued incendiary columns, which, under the chief command of General Turreau, executed the formidable decree of the Convention. They burned the woods, the hedges, the copses, frequently the villages themselves, seized the crops and the cattle, and, acting upon the decree which ordered every inhabitant who had not taken part in the rebellion to retire to the distance of twenty leagues from the insurgent country, treated all whom they met with as enemies. The Vendéans, who, to procure the means of subsistence, had not ceased to cultivate their lands amidst these horrid scenes, resisted this kind of warfare in such a way as to render it everlasting. On a signal from their chiefs, they formed sudden assemblages, fell upon the rear of the camps and stormed them, or, allowing the columns to advance, they rushed upon them when they had got into the heart of the country, and, if they succeeded in breaking them, they put to death all, to the very last man. They then secured the arms and ammunition, which were in great request with them; and without having done anything to weaken a very superior enemy, they had merely procured the means of prosecuting this atrocious warfare.

Such was the state of things on the left bank of the Loire. On the right bank, in that part of Bretagne which is situated between the Loire and the Vilaine, a new assemblage had been formed, and composed in a great part of the remains of the Vendean column destroyed at Savenay, and of the peasants inhabiting those plains. M. de Scépeaux was its chief. This corps was nearly of the same force as M. de Sapinaud's and connected La Vendée with Bretagne.

Bretagne had become the theatre of a war very different from that of La Vendée, but not less deplorable. The Chouans, to whom we have already adverted, were smugglers, whom the abolition of the barriers had left without occupation, young men who had refused to comply with the requisition, and some Vendéans, who, like the followers of M. de Scépeaux had escaped from the rout of Savenay. They followed the trade of plunder among the rocks and spacious woods of Bretagne, particularly in the great forest of Pertre. They did not form, like the Vendéans, numerous bodies capa-

* "Charette and Stofflet, jealous of the power of Marigny, convoked a council of war on some frivolous pretext, and condemned him to death for contumacy. His army felt the utmost resentment at this iniquitous sentence, and swore they would defend their general against all his enemies. For himself, he heard of his condemnation with composure. Soon after it was decreed, Stofflet gave orders to some Germans to go and shoot Marigny. The wretches obeyed. The general had only his domestics with him; he could not believe that so infamous an act was intended. When he saw, however, that his death was resolved on, he asked for a confessor, which was rudely denied. On this, passing into his garden, he said to the soldiers, 'It is for me to command you. To your ranks, chasseurs!' He then called out 'Present—fire,' and fell dead."—*Memoirs of the Marchionness de Larochefajacquelein*. E.

ble of keeping the field, but marched in bands of from thirty to fifty ; stopped couriers and the public conveyances ; and murdered the justices of peace, the mayors, the republican functionaries, and, above all, the purchasers of national property. As for those who were not purchasers but farmers of such property, they called on them, and obliged them to pay the rent to them. In general, they were particularly careful to destroy bridges, to break up roads, and to cut off the shafts of carts, to prevent the carriage of articles of consumption to the towns. They addressed terrible threats to those who carried their produce to the markets, and they executed those threats by plundering and burning their property. As they could not occupy the country like a regular military force, their object evidently was to distract it by preventing the citizens from accepting any office under the republic, by punishing the acquisition of national property, and by starving the towns. Less united, and less strong, than the Vendéans, they were nevertheless more formidable, and truly deserved the appellation of banditti.

They had a secret chief, whom we have already mentioned, M. de Puisaye, a member of the Constituent Assembly. He had retired after the 10th of August to Normandy, had engaged, as we have seen, in the federalist insurrection, and, after the defeat of Vernon, had fled to Bretagne, to conceal himself, and to collect there the remains of La Rouarie's conspiracy. With great intelligence, and extraordinary skill in uniting the elements of a party, he combined extreme activity of body and mind, and vast ambition. Puisaye, struck by the peninsular position of Bretagne, with the great extent of its coast, with the peculiar configuration of its soil, covered with forests, mountains, and impenetrable retreats ; struck, above all, by the barbarism of its inhabitants, speaking a foreign language, deprived, consequently, of all communication with the other inhabitants of France, completely under the influence of the priests, and three or four times as numerous as the Vendéans—Puisaye conceived that he should be able to excite in Bretagne an insurrection much more formidable than that which had for its chiefs a Cathelineau, a d'Elbée, a Bonchamp, and a Lescure. The vicinity, moreover, of England, and the convenient intermediate situation of the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, suggested to him the plan of inducing the cabinet of London to concur in his designs. It was not his wish, therefore, that the energy of the country should be wasted in useless pillage, and he laboured to organize it in such a manner as that he might be able to hold it entirely under his sway. Assisted by the priests, he had caused all the men capable of bearing arms to be enrolled in registers opened in the parishes. Each parish formed a company, each canton a division ; the united divisions formed four principal divisions, those of Morbihan, Finistère, Côtes-du-Nord, and Ille-et-Vilaine, all four dependent on a central committee, which represented the supreme authority of the country. Puisaye, as general-in-chief, was president of the central committee, and, by means of this ramification, he circulated his orders throughout the whole province. He recommended to his followers, until his vast projects should be ripe for execution, to commit as few hostilities as possible, that they might not draw too many troops into Bretagne, and to content themselves with collecting warlike stores, and preventing the carriage of provisions to the towns. But the Chouans, by no means calculated for the kind of general war which he meditated, addicted themselves individually to pillage, which was more profitable to them, and more to their taste. Puisaye therefore hastened to put the finishing hand to his work, and purposed, as soon as he should have com-

pleted the organization of his party, to go to London, in order to open a negotiation with the English cabinet and the French princes.

As we have already seen, in the account of the preceding campaign, the Vendéans had not yet had any communication with foreigners. M. de Tinténiac had, indeed, been sent to them to inquire who they were, and what was their number and what was their object, and to offer them arms and assistance if they would make themselves masters of a seaport. It was this offer that had induced them to march to Granville, and to make that attempt, the failure of which we are acquainted with. The squadron of Lord Moira, after cruising to no purpose, had carried to Holland the succours destined for La Vendée. Puisaye hoped to provoke a similar expedition, and to conclude an arrangement with the French princes, who had not yet expressed any gratitude or given any encouragement to, the insurgent royalists in the interior.

The princes, on their side, having little hopes of support from foreign powers, began to cast back their eyes on their partisans in the interior of France. But none of those about them were disposed to turn to account the devotedness of the brave men who were ready to sacrifice themselves for the cause of royalty. Some aged gentlemen, some old friends, had followed Monsieur, who had become regent, and fixed his residence at Verona, since the country near the Rhine was no longer habitable except for military men. The Prince of Condé, a brave man, but of little capacity, continued to collect on the Upper Rhine all who were desirous of attaching themselves to the profession of arms. A number of young nobility followed the Count d'Artois in his travels, and had accompanied him to St. Petersburg. Catherine had given the prince a magnificent reception; she had presented him with a frigate, a million of money, a sword, and the brave Count de Vauban, to induce him to make good use of it.* She had, moreover, promised effective succours, as soon as the prince should have landed in La Vendée. This landing, however, was not attempted: the Count d'Artois had returned to Holland, where he was at the head-quarters of the Duke of York.

The situation of the three French princes was neither brilliant nor prosperous. Austria, Prussia, and England had refused to recognise the regent; for to recognise any other sovereign of France than the one who governed it *de facto*, was to intermeddle with domestic affairs, which none of the powers wished to appear to do. Now, in particular, when they were beaten, all of them affected to say that they had taken up arms merely for the sake of their own security. To recognise the regent would have subjected them to another inconvenience. It would have been equivalent to pledging themselves not to make peace till after the destruction of the republic, an event on which they began to give up reckoning. Meanwhile the powers tolerated the agents of the princes, but did not acknowledge them under any public character. The Duke d'Harcourt in London, the Duke d'Havré at Madrid, the Duke de Polignac at Vienna, transmitted notes that were scarcely read

* "Catherine behaved with marked cordiality to the emigrant French princes, and was one of the most strenuous opponents of the Revolution. The Jacobin emissaries, it seems, were making some progress among the lower orders of the people in St. Petersburg; on which, says Sir John Carr, Catherine had them all seized one evening, and carried to the lunatic asylum, where they were properly shaved, blistered, starved, and physicked. After fourteen days of this wholesome regimen, they were restored to the public view, and universally shunned as insane. Had this harmless experiment failed, she had another mode of treatment in store, and prepared for its adoption by quickly building a state-prison."—*Edinburgh Review*. E.

and seldom listened to, and were rather the intermediate dispensers of the very scanty succours granted to the emigrants, than the organs of an avowed power. Hence great dissatisfaction with the foreign powers prevailed in the three courts where the emigrants resided. They began to discover that the generous zeal of the coalition for royalty had been merely a disguise of the most violent enmity to France. Austria, by hoisting her flag at Valenciennes and Condé, had, in the opinion of the emigrants, provoked the outburst of French patriotism. Prussia, of whose pacific dispositions they were already aware, had, they said, failed in all her engagements. Pitt, who was the most positive and the most supercilious towards them, was also the most hateful to them. They called him by no other name than the treacherous Englishman, and said that they ought to take his money and cheat him afterwards, if they could. They pretended that Spain alone could be relied on; she alone was a faithful kinswoman, a sincere ally, and towards her they ought to turn their hopes.

The three petty fugitive courts, so far from harmonizing with the powers on whom they had placed their hopes, were not on better terms with one another. The Court of Verona, indisposed to take an active part, giving to the emigrants orders that were ill-obeyed, making communications to the cabinets that were little heeded, by agents who were not recognised, was filled with distrust of the two others, felt jealous of the active part performed by the Prince of Condé on the Rhine, and of the kind of consideration which his unenlightened but energetic courage gained him with the cabinets, and envied even the travels of the Count d'Artois in Europe. The Prince of Condé, on his part, as brave as he was deficient in intelligence, would not engage in any plan, and cared but little about the two courts that would not fight. Lastly, the little court collected at Arnheim, shunning both the life that was led on the Rhine and the superior authority to which it was obliged to submit at Verona, tarried at the English head-quarters, under the pretext of various designs upon the coasts of France.

Cruel experience having taught the French princes that they could not depend upon the enemies of their country for the re-establishment of their throne, they were fond of observing that they must thenceforward rely only on their partisans in the interior and on La Vendée. Since terror had ceased to reign in France, the violent agitators had unfortunately begun to breathe, as well as honest men. The correspondence of the emigrants with the interior was renewed. The court of Verona, through the medium of Count d'Entraigues, corresponded with one Lemaitre, an intriguer, who had been successively advocate, secretary to the council, pamphleteer, and prisoner in the Bastille, and who finished with the profession of agent of the princes. With him were associated a man named Laville-Heurnois, formerly *maître des requêtes*, and a creature of Calonne's, and an Abbé Brothier, preceptor of the nephews of the Abbé Maury. Application was made to these intriguers for particulars concerning the situation of France, the state of parties, and their dispositions, and for plans of conspiracy. In reply, they transmitted intelligence most of which was false. They boasted of intercourse which they had not with the heads of the Government, and strove to the utmost of their power to persuade the French princes that everything was to be expected from a movement in the interior. They were directed to correspond with La Vendée, and especially with Charette,* who,

* "During this horrible war, the royalist hero, Charette, acquired immortal glory. The boldness of his measures, his fertility of resources, and his constancy, never subdued in the most desperate situations, mark him as a really great man. Wounded, pursued, in a place

from his long resistance, was the hero of the royalists, but with whom they had not yet been able to open any negotiation.

Such was then the situation of the royalist party in and out of France. It waged in La Vendée a war less alarming for its dangers than afflicting for its ravages. It formed in Bretagne extensive but yet distant projects, subject moreover to a very difficult condition—the union and the concert of a multitude of persons. Out of France it was divided, held in little consideration, and scantily supported. Convinced at length, of the futility of all hope of foreign succour, it kept up a puerile correspondence with the royalists of the interior.

The republic had therefore little to fear from the efforts of Europe and of royalty. Setting aside the subject of pain which it found in the ravages of La Vendée, it had cause to congratulate itself on its splendid triumphs. It had been saved in the preceding year from invasion, this year it had revenged itself by its conquests. Belgium, Dutch Brabant, the countries of Luxemburg, Liege, and Juliers, the electorate of Treves, the Palatinate, Savoy, Nice, a fortress in Catalonia, and the valley of Bastan, had been won, thus threatening Holland, Piedmont, and Spain at the same time. Such were the results of the prodigious efforts of the celebrated committee of public welfare.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

WINTER OF THE YEAR III—SALOONS AND CHANGE IN MANNERS—
DECREE CONCERNING POPULAR SOCIETIES—MODIFICATIONS IN THE
MAXIMUM AND REQUISITIONS—TRIAL OF CARRIER—THE JACOBIN
CLUB SHUT UP—RETURN OF THE SEVENTY-THREE—COMMENCE-
MENT OF PROCEEDINGS AGAINST BILLAUD-VARENNE COLLOT-
D'HERBOIS, AND BARRÈRE.

WHILE these events were occurring on the frontiers, the Convention continued its reforms. The representatives commissioned to renew the administrations travelled through France, everywhere reducing the number of the revolutionary committees, composing them of other individuals, causing those to be apprehended as accomplices of Robespierre whose too atrocious excesses did not permit them to be left unpunished, appointing fresh municipal functionaries, reorganizing the popular societies, and purging them of the most violent and the most dangerous men. This operation was not always executed without impediment. At Dijon, the revolutionary organization was found more compact than anywhere else. The same persons, members at one and the same time of the revolutionary committee, of the municipality, and of the popular society, made all in that city tremble. They imprisoned arbitrarily both travellers and inhabitants, entered in the list of

to place, with scarcely twelve companions left, this famous royalist chief was still such an object of dread to the republicans, as to induce them to offer him a million of livres and a free passage to England; but he refused, choosing to persevere in the unequal struggle, till he was taken and put to death."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein*. E.

emigrants all whom they were pleased to place there, and prevented them from obtaining certificates of residence by intimidating the sections. They had formed themselves into regiments under the title of a revolutionary army, and obliged the commune to allow them pay. They did nothing, attended the meetings of the club, themselves and their wives, and spent in orgies, where it was not allowed to drink out of anything but goblets, the double produce of their appointments and their rapine. They corresponded with the Jacobins of Lyons and Marseilles, and served them as a medium for communicating with those of Paris. Calès, the representative, had the greatest difficulty in dissolving this coalition. He dismissed all the revolutionary authorities, selected twenty or thirty of the most moderate members of the club, and committed to them the task of its purification.

When driven from the municipalities, the revolutionists did as in Paris, and usually retired to the Jacobin club. If the club had been purified, they forced themselves into it again after the departure of the representatives, or formed another. There they made more violent speeches than ever, and gave way to all the frenzy of rage and fear, for they beheld vengeance everywhere. The Jacobins of Dijon sent an inflammatory address to those of Paris. At Lyons, they formed a no less dangerous body; and, as the city was still under the weight of the terrible decrees of the Convention, the representatives found it very difficult to repress their fury. At Marseilles they were more audacious. Adding the excitement of their party to the warmth of local character, they formed a considerable assemblage, beset a room where the two representatives, Auguies and Serres, were at table, and sent deputies to them who, sword and pistol in hand, demanded the release of the imprisoned patriots. The two representatives displayed the greatest firmness, but, being ill-supported by the gendarmerie, who had invariably seconded the cruelties of the late system, till at length they began to think themselves accomplices of and responsible for it, they narrowly escaped being murdered. However, several Parisian battalions, which were at that moment at Marseilles, came to the relief of the two representatives, disengaged them from the mob, and dispersed the assemblage. At Toulouse, also, the Jacobins excited commotions. In that city four persons, a director of the posts, a district secretary, and two actors, had set themselves up for chiefs of the revolutionary party. They had formed a committee of *surveillance* for the whole of the South, and extended their tyranny far beyond Toulouse. They opposed the reforms and the imprisonments ordered by Artigoyte and Chaudron Rousseau, the representatives, raised the popular society, and had the audacity to declare through it, that those two representatives had lost the confidence of the people. They were vanquished, however, and confined, together with their principal accomplices.

These scenes were repeated everywhere, with more or less violence, according to the character of the provinces. The Jacobins were nevertheless everywhere subdued. Those of Paris, the chiefs of the coalition, were in the greatest alarm. They saw the capital adverse to their doctrines; they learned that in the departments public opinion, less prompt to manifest itself than in Paris, was not less decided against them. They knew that they were everywhere called cannibals, partisans, accomplices of Robespierre's, men who aspired to be the agents in continuing his system. They found themselves supported, it is true, by the multitude of dismissed placemen, by the electoral club, by a violent and frequently victorious minority in the sections, by a portion of the members of the Convention, some of whom still

sat in their society; but they were not the less alarmed at the direction of the public mind, and pretended that a plot was formed for dissolving the popular societies, and after them, the republic.

They drew up an address to the affiliated societies as a reply to the attacks which were made upon them. "People are striving," said they, "to destroy our fraternal union; they are striving to break the fasces so formidable to the enemies of equality and of liberty. We are accused, we are assailed by the blackest calumnies. Aristocracy and the advocates of moderation are raising their audacious heads. The fatal reaction occasioned by the fall of the triumvirs is perpetuated, and from amidst the storms engendered by the enemies of the people, a new faction has sprung up, which tends to the dissolution of all the popular societies. It harasses and strives to excite the public opinion; it carries its audacity to such a length as to hold us forth as a rival power to the national representation—us, who always rally round and fight along with it in all the dangers of the country. It accuses us of continuing Robespierre's system, and we have in our registers the names of those only who, in the night between the 9th and 10th of Thermidor, occupied the post which the danger of the country assigned to them. But we will reply to these vile calumniators by combating them without ceasing. We will reply to them by the purity of our principles and of our actions, and by an unshaken attachment to the cause of the people which they have betrayed, to the national representation which they aim at dishonouring, and to equality which they detest."

They affected, as we see, a high respect for the national representation. They had even, in one of their sittings, given up to the committee of general safety one of their members, for having said that the principal conspirators against liberty were in the very bosom of the Convention. They circulated their address in all the departments, and particularly in the sections of Paris.

The party which was opposed to them became daily bolder. It had already adopted distinguishing colours, manners, places, and watchwords. It was, as we have stated, young men, either belonging to persecuted families, or who had evaded the requisition, that had begun to form this party. The women had joined them; they had passed the last winter in consternation; they determined to pass the present in festivities and amusements. Frimaire (December) approached. They were eager to relinquish the appearances of indigence, of simplicity, nay even of squalidness, which had long been affected during the Reign of Terror, for brilliant dresses, elegant manners, and entertainments.* They made common cause with the young enemies of a ferocious democracy; they excited their zeal, they made politeness and attention to dress, a law with them. Fashion began again to exercise its sway. It required the hair to be plaited in tresses, and fastened at the back of the head with a comb. This practice was borrowed from the soldiers, who arranged their hair in that manner to parry sword-cuts; and

* "The manners of the people during these days of reviving order, exhibited an extraordinary mixture of revolutionary recklessness, with the reviving gaiety and elegance of the French character. In the saloons of the Thermidorians, none but the most humane measures were proposed, or the most generous sentiments uttered. One of the most fashionable and brilliant assemblies was called, The Ball of the Victims, the condition of entrance to which was the loss of a near relation by the guillotine. Between the country dances they said, 'We dance on the tombs,' and a favourite dress for the hair was adopted from the way in which it had been arranged immediately before execution."—*Alison*. E.

it was intended to intimate that the wearers had borne a part in the victories of our armies. It was also requisite to wear large cravats, black or green collars, according to the custom of the Chouans, and above all crape round the arm, as the relative of a victim of the revolutionary tribunal. We see what a singular medley of ideas, recollections, and opinions presided over the fashions of the *gilded youth*—for that was the name which was given to it at the time. In the evening, in the drawing-rooms, which again began to be brilliant, praises rewarded those young men who had displayed their courage in the sections, at the Palais Royal, in the garden of the Tuileries, and those writers who, in the thousand pamphlets and publications of the day, had launched the keenest sarcasms against the *revolutionary canaille*. Fréron had become the most distinguished of the journalists. He was the editor of the *Orateur du Peuple*, which soon acquired celebrity. This was the journal read by the gilded youth, and in which it sought its daily instructions.

The theatres were not yet opened: the actors of the Comédie Française were still in prison. For want of this place of resort, people went to show themselves at concerts given at the Théâtre Feydeau, where was to be heard a melodious voice which began to charm the Parisians—that of Garat. There assembled what might be called the aristocracy of the time: some nobles who had not quitted France, opulent men who dared show themselves again, and contractors who no longer dreaded the terrible severity of the committee of public welfare. The women appeared there, in a costume, which, according to the practice of the time, was meant to be antique, and was copied from David. They had long relinquished powder and hoops: at these new entertainments they wore fillets round their hair; the form of their gowns approached as nearly as possible to the simple tunic of the Greek women; instead of high-heeled shoes, they wore that covering for the foot which we see in ancient statues, a light sandal, fastened by ribbons crossing one another round the leg. The young men, with hair turned up and black collar, filled the pit of the Feydeau, and sometimes applauded the elegant and singularly dressed females who came to embellish those assemblies.

Madame Tallien was the most beautiful and the most admired of those ladies who introduced the new taste. Her drawing-room was the most brilliant and the most frequented. Being the daughter of Cabarus, the Spanish banker, the wife of a president at Bordeaux, and recently married to Tallien, she was connected with the men both of the old and of the new *régime*. She was indignant against the system of terror, as well from resentment as from goodness of heart; she had sympathized with all the unfortunate, and, whether at Bordeaux or in Paris, she had not ceased for a moment to act the part of petitioner in their behalf, a part which she performed, we are told, with irresistible grace. It was she who had softened the proconsular severity displayed by her husband in the Gironde, and who had brought him back to more humane sentiments. She wished to give him the part of peacemaker, of repairer of the evils of the Revolution; she drew around her all those who had contributed with him to the 9th of Thermidor, and strove to win them by flattering them, and making them hope for the public gratitude, for oblivion of the past, which many of them needed, and for power which was now promised to the adversaries rather than to the partisans of terror. She was surrounded by amiable women, who contributed to this plan of such a pardonable seduction. Among them shone the widow of an

unfortunate general, Alexandre Beauharnais, a young Creole,* fascinating not on account of her beauty, but her extreme gracefulness. To these parties were invited simple and enthusiastic men, who led a life of austerity and turmoil. They were caressed, sometimes rallied on their dress, on their manners, and on the severity of their principles. They were placed at table by men whom they would lately have persecuted as aristocrats, enriched speculators, and plunderers of the public property; they were thus forced to feel their own inferiority beside models of the ancient politeness and *bon ton*. Many of them, in narrow circumstances, lost their dignity together with their rudeness; others who, from the strength of their under-

* "Josephine Rose-Tascher de la Pagerie, Empress of the French, Queen of Italy, was born in Martinique in 1763. While very young, her father took her to France to marry her to the Viscount Beauharnais. She was then in the prime of her beauty, and met with great success at court. She bore her husband two children, Eugene and Hortense, and in 1787 returned to Martinique to attend the bedside of her invalid mother. She took her daughter with her and passed three years in that island. The troubles, however, which then suddenly broke out, compelled her to return to France, where she arrived, after narrowly escaping great perils. A singular prophecy had been made to her when a child, which she used to mention, when it was apparently fulfilled in her high destiny. During the Reign of Terror, her husband, who had defended France at the head of its armies, was thrown into prison and executed. Josephine also was imprisoned, but, on the death of Robespierre, she was liberated by Tallien, and was indebted to Barras for the restoration of a part of her husband's property. At his house she became acquainted with Bonaparte, who married her in 1796. She exerted her great influence over him, invariably on the side of mercy; protected many emigrants, and encouraged arts and industry. Napoleon used often to say to her, 'If I win battles, you win hearts.' When he ascended the imperial throne, Josephine was crowned with him, both at Paris and at Milan. She loved pomp and magnificence and was very extravagant in her tastes. A few years after her coronation, the Emperor divorced her, when she retired to Malmaison. She was soon afterwards doomed to see the destruction of that throne on which she had sate. The Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia paid her frequent visits at Malmaison, but the fate of Napoleon undermined her strength, and, having exposed herself, while in a feeble state of health, by walking out with Alexander, she caught cold, and died in the arms of her children in May, 1814."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

"Josephine was really an amiable woman—the best woman in France. She was the greatest patroness of the fine arts which that country had known for years. She was grace personified. Everything she did was with peculiar elegance and delicacy. I never saw her act otherwise than gracefully during the whole time we lived together. Her toilet was a perfect arsenal, and she effectually defended herself against the assaults of time."—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

"Josephine possessed personal graces and many good qualities. Benevolence was natural to her, but she was not always prudent in its exercise. Her taste for splendour and expense was excessive. This proneness to luxury became a habit, which seemed constantly indulged without any motive. What scenes have I not witnessed when the moment for paying the tradesmen's bills arrived! She always kept back one-half of their claims, and the discovery of this exposed her to new reproaches. When fortune placed a crown upon her head, she told me that the event, extraordinary as it was, had been predicted. It is certain that she put great faith in fortune-tellers."—*Bourrienne*. E.

"Eugene Beauharnais was not more than fourteen or fifteen years of age when he ventured to introduce himself to Bonaparte, for the purpose of soliciting his father's sword, of which he understood the general had become possessed. The countenance and frank air of Eugene pleased Napoleon, and he immediately granted him the boon he sought. As soon as the sword was placed in the boy's hands he burst into tears, and kissed it. This feeling of affection for his father's memory increased Bonaparte's interest in his young visitor. His mother, Josephine, on learning the kind reception which the general had given her son, thought it her duty to call and thank him. Napoleon returned her visit, and the acquaintance thus commenced, speedily led to their marriage."—*Memoirs of Constant*. E.

"At the period of her marriage with Bonaparte, Josephine was still a fine woman. Her teeth, it is true, were already frightfully decayed; but when her mouth was closed, she looked, especially at a little distance, both young and pretty."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. F.

standing, knew how to keep up their rank and to gain those advantages of the drawing-room so frivolous and so soon acquired, were nevertheless not proof against delicate flattery. Many a member of a committee, adroitly solicited at a dinner-party, rendered a service or suffered his vote to be influenced.

Thus a woman, sprung from a financier, married to a magistrate, and who had become, like one of the spoils of the old state of society, the wife of an ardent revolutionist, undertook to reconcile simple, sometimes coarse, and almost always fanatical, men with elegance, taste, pleasures, ease of manners, and indifference as to opinions. The Revolution, brought back from that extreme point of fanaticism and coarseness, from which it was certainly beneficial to bring it back, advanced nevertheless too rapidly towards the oblivion of republican manners, principles, and, we may almost say, resentments. The Thermidorians were reproached with this change. They were accused of giving way to it, of producing it, of accelerating it, and the reproach was just.

The revolutionists kept aloof from these drawing-rooms and from these concerts. If some few of them ventured to appear there, they left them only to go to their tribunes to inveigh against *the Cabarus*, against the aristocrats, against the intriguers and the contractors, whom she drew along in her train. They, for their part, had no other meetings than their clubs and their assemblies of sections, to which they resorted, not to seek pleasure, but to give vent to their passions. Their wives, who were called the *furies of the guillotine*, because they had frequently formed a circle round the scaffold, appeared in popular costume in the tribunes of the clubs, to applaud the most violent motions. Several members of the Convention still attended the sittings of the Jacobins; some carried thither their celebrity, but they were silent and gloomy; such were Collet-d'Herbois, Billaud-Varennes, and Carrier. Others, as Duhem, Crassons, Lanot, went thither from attachment to the cause, but without the personal reason of defending their revolutionary conduct.

It was at the Palais-Royal, around the Convention, in the tribunes, and in the sections, that the two parties came into collision. In the sections, in particular, where they had to deliberate and to discuss, extremely violent quarrels took place. The address of the Jacobins to the affiliated societies was just at that time carried about from one to another, and some insisted on having it read there. A decree enjoined also the reading of the report of Robert Lindet on the state of France, a report which presented so faithful a picture of it, and expressed so precisely the sentiments with which the Convention and all honest men were animated. The reading of these documents furnished occasion every Decadi for the warmest disputes. The revolutionists called loudly for the address of the Jacobins, and their adversaries for Lindet's report. A frightful uproar was the consequence. The members of the old revolutionary committees took down the names of all those who mounted the tribune to oppose them, and, as they wrote them, they exclaimed, "We will exterminate them." The habits which they had contracted during the Reign of Terror had made the words to kill, to guillotine, so familiar to them, that they had them constantly in their mouths. They thus gave occasion for its being said that they were making new lists of proscription, and intended to revive the system of Robespierre. Fights frequently took place in the sections; sometimes victory was undecided, and there had been no possibility of reading anything when ten o'clock arrived. The revolutionists, who did not scruple to exceed the lawful hour,

would then wait till their adversaries, who affected to obey the law, had withdrawn, when they read what they pleased, and deliberated on any subjects which they wished to discuss.

Scenes of this kind were daily reported to the Convention, and complaints were made against the old members of the revolutionary committees, who were, it was said, the authors of all these disturbances. The electoral club, more noisy of itself than all the sections put together, had just urged the patience of the Assembly to the utmost, by an address of the most dangerous kind. It was, as we have said, in this club that the men most compromised always met, and that the most daring schemes were conceived. A deputation from this club came to demand that the election of the municipal magistrates should be restored to the people; that the municipality of Paris, which had not been re-established since the 9th of Thermidor, should be reconstituted; and lastly, that instead of a single meeting per decade, each section should be allowed to hold two. On this last petition a great number of deputies rose, made the most vehement complaints, and demanded measures against the members of the old revolutionary committees, to whom they attributed all the disturbances. Legendre, though he had disapproved Lecointre's first attack upon Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, and Barrère, said that it was necessary to go further back, that the source of the evil was in the members of the former committees of government, that they abused the indulgence which the Assembly had shown them, and that it was high time to punish their ancient tyranny, in order to prevent a new one.

This discussion excited a fresh tumult, more violent than the first. After long and deplorable recriminations, the Assembly, meeting with only such questions as were dangerous or not to be solved, passed a second time to the order of the day. Various means were successively suggested for repressing the extravagances of the popular societies and the abuse of the right of petition. It was proposed to annex to Lindet's report an address to the French people, expressing in a still more precise and energetic manner the sentiments of the Assembly and the new course which it intended to pursue. This idea was adopted. Richard, who had just returned from the army, insisted that this was not enough; that it was necessary to govern vigorously; that addresses signified nothing, because all the makers of petitions would not fail to reply to them; and that people ought not to be suffered to use at the bar such language as in the streets would cause those who dared to utter it to be apprehended. "It is high time," said Bourdon of the Oise, "to address useful truths to you. Do you know why your armies are constantly victorious?—because they observe strict discipline. Have a good police in the state, and you will have a good government. Do you know whence proceed the everlasting attacks directed against yours?—from the abuse by your enemies of all that is democratic in your institutions. They take delight in reporting that you will never have a government—that you will be forever involved in anarchy. It may then be possible that a nation constantly victorious should not know how to govern itself. And would the Convention, knowing that this alone prevents the completion of the Revolution, neglect to provide for it? No, no; let us undeceive our enemies. It is by the abuse of the popular societies and of the right of petition that they aim at destroying us. It is this abuse that must be repressed."

Various expedients were submitted for repressing the abuse of popular societies without destroying them. Pelet, in order to deprive the Jacobins of the support of several Mountaineer deputies who belonged to their society,

and especially Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, and other dangerous leaders, proposed to forbid members of the Convention from becoming members of any popular societies. This suggestion was adopted. But a great number of remonstrances arose from the Mountain. It was urged that the right of meeting, for the purpose of enlightening themselves on the subject of the public interests, was a right belonging to all the citizens, and of which a deputy could no more be deprived than any other member of the state; that consequently the decree adopted was a violation of an absolute and unassailable right. The decree was rescinded. Dubois-Crancé made another motion. Explaining the manner in which the Jacobins had purified themselves, he showed that this society contained within its bosom the very same persons who had misled it in the time of Robespierre. He maintained that the Convention had a right to purify it afresh, in the same way as it proceeded, by means of its commissioners in regard to the societies in the departments; and he proposed to refer the question to the competent committees, that they might devise a suitable mode of purification, and the means of rendering the popular societies useful. This new motion was also adopted.

The decree produced a great uproar at the Jacobins. They cried out that Dubois-Crancé had deceived the Convention; that the purification ordered after the 9th of Thermidor had been strictly executed; that nobody had a right to require a repetition of it; that among them all were worthy to sit in that illustrious society, which had rendered such services to the country; that, they did not shrink from the severest scrutiny, and were ready to submit to the investigation of the Convention. They decided, in consequence, that a list of all their members should be printed and carried to the bar by a deputation.

On the following day, the 13th of Vendemiaire, they were less tractable. They declared that the decision adopted the preceding evening was inconsiderate; that to deliver a list of the members of the society to the Assembly was to admit that it possessed the right of purification, which belonged to nobody; that, as all the citizens had a right to meet without arms, to confer together on questions of public interest, no individual could be declared unworthy of forming part of a society; that, consequently, purification was contrary to all rights, and no list ought to be furnished. "The popular societies," exclaimed Giot, a vehement Jacobin, and one of those who held appointments about the armies, "the popular societies belong exclusively to themselves. Were it otherwise, the infamous court would have thinned that of the Jacobins, and you would have seen benches which ought to be occupied by virtue alone sullied by the presence of Jaucours and Feuillants. Now, the court itself, which spared nothing, durst not attack you, and shall that which the court dared not attempt be undertaken at the moment when the Jacobins have sworn to overthrow all tyrants, be they who they may, and to be ever submissive to the Convention? I have just come from the departments; I can assure you that the existence of the popular societies is extremely endangered; I have been treated as a villain because the designation of Jacobin was inserted in my commission. I was told that I belonged to a society composed entirely of banditti. Secret intrigues are at work to separate from you the other societies of the republic. I have been so fortunate as to prevent the separation, and to strengthen the bonds of fraternity between you and the society of Bayonne, which Robespierre calumniated in your bosom. What I have said of one commune applies to all. Be prudent, continue to adhere to principles and to the Convention, and, above all, allow to no authority the right of weeding you." The Jacobins applauded this

speech, and decided that they would not carry this list to the Convention, but await its decrees.

The electoral club was much more tumultuous. Since its last petition, it had been expelled from the *Evêché*, and had taken refuge in a room of the *Museum*, close to the Convention. There, in a nocturnal sitting, amid the furious shouts of those who attended it, and the yells of the women who filled the tribunes, it declared that the Convention had overstepped the duration of its powers; that it had been commissioned to try the late King and to frame a constitution; that it had done both; and that, consequently, its task was performed, and its powers were at an end.

These scenes at the Jacobins and at the electoral club were also denounced to the Convention, which referred the whole to the committees charged to submit to it a plan relative to the abuses of the popular societies. It had voted an address, agreeably to the suggestion made to it a few days before, and sent it to the sections and to all the communes of the republic. This address, couched in firm yet discreet language, repeated, in a more precise and positive manner, the sentiments expressed in Lindet's reports. It became the subject of fresh struggles in the sections. The Revolutionists wished to prevent its being read, and opposed the voting in reply of addresses of adhesion. They obtained the adoption, on the contrary, of addresses to the Jacobins, to assure them of the interest that was taken in their cause. It frequently happened that, after they had decided this vote, their adversaries received reinforcements, when they were expelled, and the section, thus renewed, came to a contrary decision. Thus, too, there were several sections which presented two contrary addresses, one to the Jacobins, the other to the Convention. In one, the addressers extolled the services of the popular societies, and expressed wishes for their conservation; in the other, they said that the section, delivered from the yoke of anarchists and terrorists, came at length to express its free sentiments to the Convention, to offer its arms and its life, to put down at once those who would continue the system of Robespierre and the agents of royalism. The Convention listened to these addresses till the plan relative to the police of the popular societies should be promulgated.

It was presented on the 25th of Vendémiaire. Its principal object was to break the coalition formed in France by all the societies of the Jacobins. Affiliated with the parent society, corresponding regularly with it, they composed a vast party, skilfully organized, which had one centre and one direction. This it was that the plan in question aimed to destroy. The decree forbade "all affiliations and federations, as well as all correspondence under a collective name between popular societies." It purported, moreover, that no petitions or addresses could be made in a collective name, in order to put a stop to those imperious manifestoes, which the deputies of the Jacobins or of the electoral club brought and read at the bar, and which, in many instances, had become orders to the Assembly. Every address or petition was to be individually signed. The means of prosecuting the authors of dangerous propositions would thus be secured, and it was hoped that the necessity of signing would make them cautious. A list of the members of every society was to be prepared immediately, and hung up in its place of meeting. No sooner was this decree read to the Assembly, than a great number of voices were raised to oppose it. The authors of it, said the Mountaineers, aim at destroying the popular societies, forgetting that they have saved the Revolution and liberty, forgetting that they are the most powerful medium of uniting the citizens and keeping up their energy and patriotism: by forbidding their correspondence, they attack the essential

right belonging to all the citizens of corresponding together, a right as sacred as that of meeting peaceably to confer on questions of public interest.

Lejeune, Duhem, and Crassous, all Jacobins, all deeply interested in setting aside this decree, were not the only deputies who thus expressed themselves. Thibaudeau,* a sincere republican, a stranger both to the Mountaineers and to the Thermidorians, appeared himself to dread the consequences of this decree, and moved its adjournment, apprehensive lest it might strike at the very existence of the popular societies. We wish not to destroy them, replied the Thermidorians, the authors of the decree; we only want to place them under the eye of the police. Amidst this conflict, Merlin of Thionville exclaimed, "President, call the opposers to order. They allege that we want to suppress the popular societies, whereas, all that is aimed at is to regulate their present relations." Rewbel, Bentabolle, Thuriot, demonstrated that there was no intention of suppressing them. Are they prevented, said they, from assembling peaceably and without arms, to confer on the public interests? Assuredly not; that right remains intact. They are only prevented from forming affiliations, federations, and no more is done in regard to them than has been already done in regard to the departmental authorities. These latter, according to the decree of the 14th of Frimaire, which institutes the revolutionary government, cannot correspond or concert together. Can the popular societies be allowed to do what has been forbidden to the departmental authorities? They are forbidden to correspond collectively, and no right is thereby violated: every citizen can assuredly correspond from one end of France to the other; but do the citizens correspond through a president and secretary? It is this official correspondence between powerful and constituted bodies that the decree aims, and with good reason, at preventing, in order to destroy a federalism more monstrous and more dangerous than that of the departments. It is by these affiliations, and by this correspondence, that the Jacobins have contrived to gain a real influence over the government, and a part in the direction of affairs, which ought to belong to the national representation alone.

Bourdon of the Oise, one of the leading members of the committee of general safety, and, as we have seen, a Thermidorian, frequently in opposition to his friends, exclaimed, "The popular societies are not the people. I see the people in the primary assemblies only. The popular societies are a collection of men, who have chosen themselves, like monks, and who have succeeded in forming an exclusive, a permanent aristocracy, which assumes the name of the people, and which places itself beside the national representation, to suggest, to modify, or to oppose its resolutions. By the side of the Convention, I see another representation springing up, and that representation has its seat at the Jacobins." Bourdon was here interrupted by applause. He proceeded in the following terms: "So little am I influenced by passion

* "Antoine-Claire Thibaudeau was appointed, in 1792, deputy to the National Convention, where he voted for the King's death. After the fall of Robespierre he became one of the chiefs of that party which declared equally against the Mountaineers and the Royalists. He presided in the Convention, was named secretary, and in October, 1794, procured the recall of Paine to that Assembly. In the following year he showed the greatest courage in repulsing the partial insurrections of the sections which took place. In 1796 Thibaudeau was appointed president of the council of Five Hundred, and warmly opposed Tallien and his party. He retired from the legislative body in the year 1798, and was made prefect of the department of Gironde. In 1803 he was decorated with the cross of a Legionary, and subsequently appointed prefect of Marseilles, which office he held in 1806. He was the author of many works of no great note."—*Biographie Moderne*. His History of the Consulate of the Empire, lately published, in 10 vols. 8vo., is, however, a valuable performance. E.

on this subject, that, in order to secure unity and peace, I would cheerfully say to the people, 'Choose between the men whom ye have appointed to represent you, and those who have arisen by the side of them. What signifies it, so ye have a single uniform representation?' " Fresh applause interrupted the speaker. He resumed: "Yes," he exclaimed, "let the people choose between you and the men who have wanted to proscribe the representatives possessing the national confidence, between you and the men who, in connexion with the municipality of Paris, aimed a few months since at assassinating liberty. Citizens, would you make a durable peace? would you attain the ancient boundaries of Gaul? Present to the Belgians, to the people bordering the Rhine, a peaceable revolution, a republic without a double representation, a republic without revolutionary committees stained with the blood of citizens. Say to the Belgians, to the people of the Rhine, 'Ye wanted a partial liberty; we give it you entire, only sparing you the cruel calamities preceding its establishment, sparing you the sanguinary trials through which we have ourselves passed.' Consider, citizens, that, in order to deter the neighbouring nations from uniting with you, people declare that you have no government, and that, if they would treat with you, they know not whether to address themselves to the Convention or to the Jacobins. Give, on the contrary, unity and harmony to your government, and you will see that no nation is hostile to you and your principles; you will see that no nation hates liberty."

Duhem, Crassous, and Clausel, proposed at least the adjournment of the decree, saying that it was too important to be passed so suddenly. They all claimed permission to speak at once. Merlin of Thionville demanded leave to speak against them, with that ardour which he displayed in the tribune, as well as in the field of battle. The president decided that they should be heard in succession. Dubarran, Lavasseur, Romme,* also spoke against the decree; Thuriot in favour of it. At length Merlin again mounted the tribune. "Citizens," said he, "when the establishment of the republic was discussed, you decreed it without adjournment and without report. The question now before you is nothing less than to establish it a second time, by saving it from the popular societies which have coalesced against it. Citizens, we must not be afraid to enter that cavern in spite of the blood and the carcasses which obstruct the entrance. Dare to penetrate it, dare to drive out of it the villains and the murderers, and leave behind only the good citizens to weigh peacefully the great interests of the country. I exhort you to pass this decree, which saves the republic, as you did that which created it, that is, without adjournment or report."

Merlin was applauded, and the decree voted immediately, article by article. It was the first blow given to that celebrated society, which, up to this day,

* "G. Romme, a farmer at Gimeaux, and an ancient professor of mathematics and philosophy, was born in 1750, and was deputed to the Convention, where he voted for the death of Louis, and showed himself a violent Jacobin. On the overthrow of the Mountain, he dissembled his principles for some time, but could not help showing, in the affair of Carrier, his disapprobation of the system of retribution which then prevailed. In the year 1795 Romme devoted himself more than ever to the cause of the Jacobins, and when the faux-bourgs rose in insurrection he showed himself one of their most ardent chiefs, and loudly demanded a return to the system of terror. For this, a decree of arrest was passed against him, and a military council condemned him to death. At the moment, however, when his sentence was read, he stabbed himself, and was supposed to be dead, which was the reason why he was not sent to the scaffold. It has since been believed that his friends, having taken him to some retreat, their cares restored him to life, and that he then went secretly into Russia, where he lived in utter obscurity. At the time of his condemnation Romme was forty-five years of age."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

had struck terror into the Convention, and served to impart to it a revolutionary direction. It was not so much the provisions of the decree, which might be easily evaded, as the courage to pass it, that was of consequence here, and which could not but forewarn the Jacobins of their approaching end. Upon meeting in the evening in their hall, they commented on the decree and the manner in which it had been passed. Lejeune, the deputy, who in the morning had opposed its adoption with all his might, complained that he had not been seconded. He said that few members of the Assembly had spoken in defence of the society to which they belonged. "There are," said he, "members of the Convention, celebrated for their revolutionary and patriotic energy, who this day maintained a reprehensible silence. Those members are either guilty of tyranny, of which they are accused, or they have laboured for the public welfare. In the first case, they are culpable, and ought to be punished; in the second, their task is not finished. After they have prepared by their toils the successes of the defenders of the country, they ought to defend principles and the rights of the people when attacked. Two months ago, you talked incessantly in this tribune about the rights of the people, you, Collot and Billaud; why have ye now ceased to defend them? Why are ye silent, now that a multitude of objects claim the exercise of your courage and your intelligence?"

Ever since the accusation preferred against them, Billaud and Collot had observed a sullen silence. Being called upon by their colleague, Lejeune, and charged with having neglected to defend the society, they declared, in reply, that if they kept silence it was from prudence and not from weakness; that they were fearful of injuring by their support the cause which the patriots upheld; that, for some time past, the apprehension of doing mischief to the discussions had been the only motive of their reserve; that, moreover, being accused of domineering over the Convention, they meant to reply to their accusers by abstaining from all interference; that they were delighted to find themselves called upon by their colleagues to emerge from this voluntary nullity, and authorized, as it were, to devote themselves again to the cause of liberty and of the republic.

Satisfied with this explanation, the Jacobins applauded, and resumed the consideration of the law passed in the morning: they consoled themselves with saying that they would correspond with all France by means of the tribune. Goujon exhorted them to respect the law just enacted. They promised to do so, but one Terrasson proposed an expedient for carrying on their correspondence without violating the law. He recommended that a circular letter should be prepared, not written in the name of the Jacobins and addressed to other Jacobins, but *signed by all the free men meeting in the hall of the Jacobins, and addressed to all the free men in France meeting in popular societies*. This plan was adopted with great joy, and a circular of this kind was resolved upon.

We see how little the Jacobins cared about the threats of the Convention, and how far they were from a disposition to profit by the lesson that it had just given them. While waiting till new facts should provoke further measures in regard to them, the Convention set about the task which Robert Lindet had marked out for it in his report, and the discussion of the questions which he had proposed. That task consisted in repairing the mischievous effects of a violent system upon agriculture, commerce, and finances, in restoring security to all classes of society, and in reviving in them a love of order and industry. On these points the representatives were as divided in system, and as disposed to lose their temper, as on all other subjects.

The requisitions, the *maximum*, the assignats, the sequestration of the property of foreigners, provoked not less violent attacks upon the old government than the imprisonments and the executions. The Thermidorians, extremely ignorant on matters of public economy, made a point, from a spirit of reaction, of censuring in severe and insulting terms all that had been done in that department; and yet if, in the general administration of the state during the past year, there was anything irreproachable and completely justified by necessity, it was the administration of the committee of finances, provisions, and supplies. Cambon, the most influential member of the committee of finances, had brought the exchequer into the best order; he had, it is true, caused a great quantity of assignats to be issued, but this was the only resource; and he had quarrelled with Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon, because he opposed various revolutionary expenses. As for Lindet, who superintended the department of transport and requisitions, he had laboured with admirable zeal to obtain from abroad, or by requisitions in France, the necessary supplies, and to convey them either to the armies or to the great communes. The medium of requisitions which he had been obliged to employ was violent, but it was admitted to be the only possible one, and Lindet had taken care to use it with the greatest tenderness. He could not be answerable either for the fidelity of all his agents or for the conduct of all those who had a right to levy requisitions, such as the municipal functionaries, the representatives, and the commissioners to the armies.

The Thermidorians, and Tallien in particular, made the most silly and the most unjust attacks on the general system of raising the means, and the mode of employing them. The primary cause of all the evils was, according to them, the too abundant issue of assignats; that inordinate issue had depreciated them, and they were now in excessive disproportion to the necessities of life and commodities in general. Hence it was that the *maximum* had become so oppressive and so disastrous, because it obliged the seller or the reimbursed creditor to accept a nominal value, which was daily becoming more and more illusory. In all this there was nothing very new, nothing very useful; everybody knew as much; but Tallien and his friends attributed the excessive issue to Cambon, and seemed thus to impute to him all the calamities of the state. To him they likewise attributed the sequestration of foreign property, a measure which, having provoked reprisals against the French, had suspended all circulation of paper, and every sort of credit, and had ruined commerce. As for the commission of supplies, the same censors accused it of having harassed France by requisitions, of having expended enormous sums abroad in purchasing corn, and of having nevertheless left Paris in a destitute state, at the approach of a severe winter. They proposed to call it to a severe account.

Cambon was a man whose integrity was acknowledged by all parties. With ardent zeal for the due administration of the finances, he united an impetuous temper, which an unjust reproach drove beyond all bounds. He had sent word to Tallien and his friends that he would not attack them if they left him alone, but that, if they hazarded a single calumny, he would give them no quarter. Tallien had the imprudence to add newspaper articles to his attacks from the tribune. Cambon could refrain no longer, and, in one of the numerous sittings spent in the discussion of these subjects, he rushed to the tribune, and thus apostrophized Tallien: "What! dost thou attack me? Wouldst thou throw a cloud over my integrity? Well, then, I will prove that thou art a robber and a murderer. Thou hast not rendered thy accounts as secretary of the commune, and I have proof of this at the committee of

the finances; thou hast authorized an expenditure of fifteen hundred thousand francs for an object which will cover thee with infamy; thou hast not rendered thy accounts for thy mission to Bordeaux, and of all this too I have proof at the committee. Thou wilt ever be suspected of conniving at the crimes of September, and, by thine own words, I will prove to thee this connivance, which must for ever doom thee to silence." Cambon was interrupted: he was told that these personalities had nothing to do with the discussion, that nobody denied his integrity, that it was only his financial system that was censured. Tallien stammered out a few faltering words, and said that he would not reply to what related to himself personally, but only to so much as bore upon the general question. Cambon then demonstrated that the assignats had been the only resource of the Revolution; that the expenditure had amounted to three hundred millions per month; that, amidst the disorder which prevailed, the receipts had furnished scarcely one-fourth of that sum; that it was necessary to make up the deficiency every month with assignats; that the quantity in circulation was no secret, and amounted to six thousand four hundred millions; that, on the other hand, the national domains were worth twelve thousand millions, and afforded ample means for acquitting the republic; that he had, at the peril of his life, saved five hundred millions for expenses proposed by Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon; that he had long opposed the *maximum* and the sequestration; and that, as for the commission of commerce being obliged to pay for corn abroad at the rate of twenty-one francs per quintal and to sell it in France for fourteen, it was not wonderful that it should have incurred an enormous expense.

These controversies, so imprudent on the part of the Thermidorians, who, whether right or wrong, had not the most unblemished reputation, and who attacked a man of the purest honour, extensive information, and extremely violent temper, caused the Assembly a great waste of time. Though the Thermidorians had ceased these attacks, Cambon had no peace, but daily repeated in the tribune, "Accuse me! vile rabble! Come, then, examine my accounts, and judge of my conduct."—"Be quiet," cried one or the other to him; "nobody denies your integrity;" but he reverted to the subject every day. Amidst this conflict of personalities, the Assembly pursued, as far as lay in its power, the measures best adapted to repair or to mitigate the evil.

It ordered a general statement of the finances, exhibiting the receipts and the expenditure, and a memorial on the means of withdrawing a portion of the assignats, but still without recurring to demonetisation, in order not to discredit them. On the motion of Cambon, it renounced a paltry financial shift, which gave rise to many extortions, and disgusted the prejudices of many of the provinces—that of melting the Church plate. This plate had been at first estimated at one thousand millions. In reality it did not amount to more than thirty. It was decided that it should no longer be allowed to be touched, and that it should remain in the custody of the communes. The Convention then strove to correct the most serious inconveniences of the *maximum*. Some voices already cried out for its abolition; but the fear of a disproportionate rise of prices prevented the Assembly from yielding to this impulse of the reactors. It merely considered how to modify the law. The *maximum* had contributed to ruin commerce, because, in conforming to the tariff, the merchants could not recover either the price of freight or that of insurance. In consequence, all colonial goods, all commodities of primary necessity, all raw materials imported from abroad, were released from the *maximum* and from requisitions, and might be sold at a free price to any

person whatever. The same favour was granted to merchandise taken in prizes, which lay in the ports without finding a sale. The uniform *maximum* of corn was attended with an extremely serious inconvenience. The production of corn, being more costly and less abundant in certain provinces, the prices received by the farmers in those provinces did not even repay their expenses. It was decided that the price of corn should vary in each department, according to the standard of 1790, but that it should be two-thirds higher. In thus increasing the price of provisions, the intention was to raise the pay, the salaries, the income of small stockholders; but this idea, proposed in all sincerity by Cambon, was opposed as perfidious by Tallien, and adjourned.

The Assembly next turned its attention to the requisitions. That they might no longer be general, unlimited, or confused, that they might no longer exhaust the means of transport, it was decided that the commission of supplies should alone have authority to make requisitions; that it should not have power to lay under requisition the whole of any article, or the whole of the productions of any department, but that it should specify the object, its nature, its quantity, the time of delivery and of payment; that requisitions should be made in proportion to the want, and in the district nearest to that want. The representatives with the armies were alone empowered, in an emergency arising either from a want of provisions or a rapid movement, to make immediately the necessary requisitions.

The question of the sequestration of foreign property was warmly discussed. Some urged that war ought not to be extended from governments to subjects; that subjects ought to be suffered to continue peaceably their intercourse and their exchanges, and armies only ought to be attacked; that the French had seized only twenty-five millions, whereas one hundred millions of theirs had been seized; that they ought to return the twenty-five millions, that their hundred might be restored; that this measure was ruinous to the bankers, since they were obliged to pay into the Treasury what they owed to foreigners, while they were not paid what foreigners owed them, the governments having seized it by way of reprisals; that this prolonged measure rendered French commerce suspicious even to neutrals; lastly, that the circulation of paper having ceased, it was necessary to pay in money for part of the goods procured from the neighbouring countries. The others replied that, since it was proposed to separate subjects from governments in war, it would be right in future to direct bullets and cannon-balls at the heads of kings only, and not at those of their soldiers; that it would be necessary to restore to English commerce the vessels taken by our privateers, and to keep only the ships of war; that, if we were to restore the twenty-five millions sequestered, the example would not be followed by the hostile governments, and the hundred millions of French property would still be retained; and that to re-establish the circulation of bills would only be to furnish the emigrants with the means of receiving funds.

The Convention durst not cut the knot of this question, and merely decided that the sequestration should be taken off in regard to the Belgians, whom conquest had in some measure placed in a state of peace with France, and in regard to the merchants of Hamburg, who were innocent of the war declared by the Empire, and whose bills represented corn sold by them to France.

To all these reparatory measures, adopted for the benefit of agriculture and commerce, the Convention added all those which were likely to restore security and to recall the merchants. A decree outlawed all who had with-

drawn themselves either from trial or from the application of a law. Thus the persons condemned by the revolutionary commissions, the suspected who had concealed themselves, could return to their homes. To the suspected who were still detained in confinement the management of their property was restored. Lyons was declared to be no longer in a state of rebellion; its name was restored to it; the demolitions of houses ceased; the goods destined for it, and which had been sequestered by the surrounding communes, were given up; its merchants no longer needed certificates of citizenship to receive or despatch merchandise; the circulation was therefore renewed for that unfortunate city. The members of the popular commission of Bordeaux and their adherents, that is to say almost all the merchants of that place, had been outlawed; this decree was repealed. A column of disgrace was to be raised at Caen in memory of federalism: it was decided that it should not be erected. Sedan was allowed to manufacture cloths of all qualities. The departments of the North, the Pas-de-Calais, the Aisne, and the Somme, were relieved from the land-tax for four years, on condition of their re-establishing the cultivation of flax and hemp. Lastly, a glance was extended towards unfortunate La Vendée. Hentz and Francastel the representatives, General Turreau, and several others, who had executed the formidable decrees of terror, were recalled. It was alleged, as it was but natural, that they were the accomplices of Robespierre and of the committee of public welfare, who, in employing cruelty, had wished to make the war in La Vendée last for ever. It is not known why the committee should have had such an intention; but parties repay absurdity with absurdity. Vimeaux was appointed to command in La Vendée, and young Hoche in Bretagne. Fresh representatives were sent to those countries, with directions to ascertain if it would be possible to induce the inhabitants to accept an amnesty and thus to bring about a pacification.*

We see how rapid and how general was the return to different sentiments. It was but natural that, when turning its attention to all sorts of evils, to all classes of proscribed persons, that the assembly should think also of its own members. For upwards of a year, seventy-three of them had been imprisoned at Port-Libre for having signed a protest against the proceedings on the 31st of May. They had written a letter, demanding a trial. All who were left of the right side, part of the members of what was called the Belly, rose upon a question which concerned the security of voting, and demanded the release of their colleagues. Then one of those stormy and interminable discussions ensued which almost always arise when past transactions are referred to. "You mean, then, to condemn the proceedings of the 31st of May," exclaimed the Mountaineers; "you mean to stigmatize an event which up to this moment you have proclaimed glorious and salutary; you want to raise a faction, which by its opposition had nearly undone the republic; you want to revive federalism!!!" The Thermidorians, authors

* "When the amnesty was talked of, the Vendean officers came with their arms and white cockades to Nantes; many were so imprudent as to deride publicly the republican habits and opinions, and even to spit upon the tricoloured cockade, and give other rash provocations. The representatives who had come to treat at Nantes, were but slightly offended by these proceedings, and only expressed their fears that such conduct might retard the pacification. Nothing could exceed the attention shown to the Vendeans liberated from prison, or applying for the amnesty, and it was even forbidden on pain of three days' imprisonment, to call them brigands. In the quaint language of the day, the representatives ordered that we should be called 'Misled Brethren.' The amnesty once agreed upon, moderation became the order of the day."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochefoucauld*. E.

or approvers of the events of the 31st of May, were embarrassed, and, to postpone the decision, a report upon the seventy-three was ordered.

It is in the nature of reactions to seek not only to repair the mischief done, but also to take revenge. The trial of Lebon and Fouquier-Tinville was every day demanded, as that of Billaud, Collot, Barrère, Vadier, Amar, Vouland, David, members of the old committees, had already been. Time was continually bringing propositions of this kind. The drownings of Nantes, which had long remained unknown, were at length revealed. One hundred and thirty-three inhabitants of that city, sent to Paris, to be tried by the revolutionary tribunal, not having arrived till after the 9th of Thermidor, had been acquitted, and all the revelations which they had to make respecting the calamities of their city were listened to. Such was the public indignation that it was found necessary to summon the revolutionary committee of Nantes to Paris. The proceeding disclosed all the usual atrocities of civil war. In Paris, at a distance from the theatre of the war, people had no conception that ferocity had been carried to such a length. The accused had but one plea, which they opposed to all the charges preferred against them—La Vendée at their gates, and the orders of Carrier, the representative. Seeing that the end of the proceedings drew near, they daily inveighed more and more vehemently against Carrier, insisting that he should share their fate and be called to account for the acts which he had ordered. The public in general demanded the apprehension of Carrier and his trial before the revolutionary tribunal. The Convention was obliged to come to some decision. The Mountaineers asked, if, after having already imprisoned Lebon and David, and several times accused Billaud, Collot, and Barrère, it was not intended to prosecute all the deputies who had been sent on missions. To dispel their fears, a decree was passed relative to the formalities to be employed, whenever there was occasion to institute proceedings against a member of the national representation. This decree was long discussed, and with the greatest animosity on both sides. The Mountaineers, in order to prevent a new decimation, were for rendering the formalities long and difficult. Those who were called reactors, wished, on the contrary, to simplify them, in order to render the punishment of certain deputies, who were styled proconsuls, more speedy and more certain. It was finally decreed that every denunciation should be referred to the three committees of public welfare, of general safety, and legislation, that they might decide whether there was ground for inquiry; that, in case of an affirmative decision, a sort of commission of twenty-one members should be formed to make a report; that, after this report and the exculpatory defence of the accused deputy, the Convention should decide whether there was ground for the accusation, and send the deputy before the competent tribunal.

As soon as the decree was passed, the three committees declared that there was ground for examination against Carrier: a commission of twenty-one members was formed: it took possession of the documents, summoned Carrier before it, and commenced the proceedings. After what had passed before the revolutionary tribunal, and the knowledge which everybody had acquired of the facts, the fate of Carrier could not be doubtful. The Mountaineers, though they condemned the crimes of Carrier, alleged that the real intention was not to punish those crimes, but to commence a long series of persecutions against the men whose energy had saved France. Their adversaries, on the contrary, hearing the members of the revolutionary committee daily demand the appearance of Carrier, and observing the procrastination of the commission of twenty-one, cried out that there was a wish to

save him. The committee of general safety, apprehensive lest he should escape, had surrounded him with police-agents, who never lost sight of him. Carrier, however, had no thoughts of flight. Some revolutionists had secretly exhorted him to escape, but he had not resolution sufficient to adopt any such step. He appeared to be overwhelmed, and, as it were, paralyzed by the public horror. One day, perceiving that he was followed, he went up to one of the agents, asked why he was watched, and pointed a pistol at him; a scuffle ensued, the armed force interfered, and Carrier was seized and conducted to his abode. This scene excited a great murmur in the Assembly, and violent complaints at the Jacobins. It was said that the national representation had been violated in the person of Carrier, and an explanation was demanded from the committee of general safety. That committee explained how the circumstances happened, and though severely censured, it had at least occasion to prove that there was no intention to favour the escape of Carrier. The commission of twenty-one at length made its report, and concluded that there was ground for accusation before the revolutionary tribunal. Carrier feebly strove to defend himself:* he threw the blame of all the cruelties on the exasperation produced by the civil war, on the necessity of striking terror into La Vendée which still assumed a threatening aspect, lastly, on the impulse communicated by the committee of public welfare, to which he durst not impute the drownings, but to which he attributed that inspiration of ferocious energy which had hurried away several of the commissioners of the Convention. Here dangerous questions, which had already been several times raised, were again revived. The assembly found itself liable to be involved once more in the discussion of the part which each had acted in the violent scenes of the Revolution; the commissioners might throw upon the committees, the committees on the Convention, and the Convention on France, the blame of that inspiration which had produced such frightful but such great results, and which belonged to everybody, but above all to a situation without parallel. "Everybody and everything," said Carrier in a moment of despair, "is guilty here, even to the president's bell." The tale of the atrocities committed at Nantes had, however, excited such indignation that not one member durst defend Carrier, or even thought of screening him by general considerations. He was unanimously decreed to be under accusation, and sent to the revolutionary tribunal.

Thus the reaction was making rapid strides. The blows which its authors had not yet dared to strike at the members of the old committees of government, they were about to aim at Carrier. All the members of the revolutionary committees, all those of the Convention who had fulfilled missions, in short all the men who had been invested with rigorous functions, began to tremble for themselves.

The Jacobins, already struck by a decree which forbade their affiliation and correspondence in a collective name, had need of prudence; but since the late events it was not probable that they would be able to contain themselves and to avoid a struggle with the Convention and the Thermidorians. What had passed in regard to Carrier led in fact to a stormy meeting of

* "Carrier laid his cruelties to the account of the cruelties of the Vendéans themselves. 'When I acted,' said he, 'the air seemed still to ring with the civic songs of twenty thousand martyrs, who had repeated, Long live the Republic! in the midst of tortures. How could expiring humanity have made herself heard in those terrible times? What would they who now rise against me have done if they had been placed in my situation? I have saved the republic at Nantes, I have lived for my country alone, and I now know how to die for it.'—*Mignet*. E.

their club. Crassous, a deputy and a Jacobin, drew a sketch of the means employed by the aristocracy to ruin the patriots. "The trial now going forward before the revolutionary tribunal," said he, "is its principal resource, and that on which it places the greatest reliance. The accused are scarcely allowed a hearing before that tribunal; the witnesses are almost all of them persons interested in making a great noise about this affair; some have passports signed by Chouans; the newspaper-writers and the pamphleteers have joined to exaggerate the most trifling facts, to mislead public opinion, and to keep out of sight the cruel circumstances which produced and which explain the misfortunes that happened not at Nantes only, but throughout all France. If the Convention does not take care, it will find itself dishonoured by these aristocrats, who make such a noise about this trial merely to throw all the odium of it upon the Assembly. It is not the Jacobins who must now be accused of wishing to dissolve the Convention, but those men who have coalesced to compromise and to degrade it in the eyes of France. Let, then, all good patriots beware. The attack on them is already begun. Let them close their ranks and be ready to defend themselves with energy."

Several Jacobins spoke after Crassous, and repeated nearly the same sentiments. "People talk," said they, "of shootings and drownings, but they do not recollect that the individuals for whom they feel pity had furnished succours to the banditti. They do not recollect the cruelties perpetrated on our volunteers, who were hanged upon trees and shot in files. If vengeance is demanded for the banditti, let the families of two hundred thousand republicans, mercilessly slaughtered, come also to demand vengeance." There was great excitement. The sitting became an absolute tumult, when Billaud-Varennes, whom the Jacobins reproached for his sullen silence, took his turn to speak. "The course of the counter-revolutionists," said he, "is known. When, in the time of the Constituent Assembly, they wanted to bring the Revolution to trial, they called the Jacobins disorganizers, and shot them in the Champ de Mars. After the 2d of September, when they wanted to prevent the establishment of the republic, they called them quaffers of blood, and loaded them with atrocious calumnies. They are now recommencing the same machinations; but let them not expect to triumph. The patriots have been able to keep silence for a moment; but the lion is not dead when he slumbers, and when he awakes he exterminates all his enemies. The trenches are opened, the patriots are about to rouse themselves, and to resume all their energy: we have already risked our lives a thousand times; if the scaffold yet awaits us, let us recollect that it was the scaffold which covered the immortal Sidney with glory."

This speech electrified all minds. Billaud-Varennes was applauded, and his colleagues thronged around him, vowing to make common cause with the threatened patriots, and to defend themselves to the last extremity.*

In the existing state of parties such a sitting could not fail to excite great attention. These words of Billaud-Varennes's, who had hitherto abstained from showing himself in either of the two tribunals, were a real declaration of war. The Thermidorians actually regarded them as such. Next day,

* "That ancient revolutionary cavern, the Jacobin club, now once again heard its roof resound with denunciations by which Billaud-Varennes and others devoted to the infernal deities those who, they complained, wished to involve all honest republicans with sanguinary charges brought against Robespierre and his friends. Their threats, however, were no longer rapidly followed by the thunderbolts which used to attend such flashes of Jacobin eloquence. Men's homes were now in comparison safe. A man might be named in a Jacobin club as an aristocrat or a moderate, and yet live."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

Bentabolle, snatching up the *Journal de la Montagne*, containing a report of the sitting of the Jacobins, denounced these expressions of Billaud-Varennes's: *The lion is not dead when he slumbers, and when he awakes he exterminates all his enemies*. Scarcely had Bentabolle finished reading this sentence when the Mountaineers took fire, loaded him with abuse and told him that he was one of those who had procured the release of the aristocrats. Duhem called him a scoundrel. Tallien warmly insisted that Bentabolle should be heard, but the latter, alarmed at the tumult, would have descended from the tribune. He was, however, persuaded to stay, and he then proposed that Billaud-Varennes should be required to explain what he meant by the *awaking of the lion*. Billaud said a few words from his place. "To the tribune!" was shouted from all quarters. He refused, but was at length obliged to ascend and to address the Assembly. "I shall not disavow," said he, "the opinion that I expressed at the Jacobins. While I conceived that the question related to private quarrels only, I kept silence; but I could no longer hold my tongue when I saw the aristocracy rise up more threatening than ever." At the last words, there was a burst of laughter in one of the tribunes, and a noise was made in the other. "Turn out the Chouans!" was shouted from the Mountain. Billaud continued amidst the applause of some and the murmurs of others. He said, in a faltering voice, that well-known royalists had been released, and the purest patriots imprisoned; he mentioned Madame de Tourzel, governess of the children of the royal family, who had just been liberated, and who might of herself form a nucleus of counter-revolution. At the concluding words, fresh bursts of laughter arose. He added that the secret conduct of the committees belied the public language of the addresses of the Convention; that, in such a state of things, he was justified in talking of the necessary awaking of the patriots, for it is the sleep of men over their rights that leads them to slavery.

Some cheers were given by the Mountain in favour of Billaud, but part of the tribunes and of the Assembly burst into a violent fit of laughter, and felt only that pity which is excited by prostrate power, stammering forth empty words for its justification. Tallien hastened to succeed Billaud, and to repel his charges. "It is high time," said he, "to reply to those men who would fain direct the hands of the people against the Convention."—"Nobody tries to do so," cried some voices in the hall. "Yes, yes," rejoined others, "there are those who wish to direct the hands of the people against the Convention."—"It is those men," continued Tallien, "who are alarmed at seeing the sword suspended over guilty heads, at seeing light thrown upon all the departments of the administration, the vengeance of the laws ready to alight upon assassins—it is those men who are now bestirring themselves, who pretend that the people ought to awake, who strive to mislead the patriots by persuading them that they are all compromised; and, finally, who hope, by favour of a general commotion, to prevent the prosecution of the accomplices or abettors of Carrier." Universal applause interrupted Tallien. Billaud, indignant at the charge of collusion with Carrier, exclaimed from his place, "I declare that I have never approved the conduct of Carrier." No notice was taken of this protest of Billaud's; Tallien was applauded, and thus resumed: "It is impossible to suffer any longer two rival authorities, to permit members who are silent here to go elsewhere immediately and to denounce all that you have done."—"No, no," cried several voices, "no rival authorities to the Convention."—"People must not," proceeded Tallien, "be allowed to go to any place whatever to pour forth ignominy upon the Convention, and upon those of its members to whom it has com-

mitted the government. I shall draw no conclusion," added he, "at this moment. It is sufficient that this tribune has replied to what has been said in another; it is sufficient that the unanimity of the Convention be strongly expressed against blood-thirsty men."

Fresh plaudits proved to Tallien that the Assembly was determined to second any measure that might be proposed against the Jacobins. Bourdon of the Oise supported the sentiments of the last speaker, though he differed on many questions from his friends the Thermidorians. Legendre also raised his energetic voice. "Who are they," said he, "that blame our operations?—a handful of *men of prey*. Look them in the face. You will see that theirs is covered with a varnish composed of the gall of tyrants." These expressions, alluding to the gloomy and bilious countenance of Billaud-Varennes, were loudly applauded. "What have you to complain of," continued Legendre, "you, who are constantly accusing us? Is it because citizens are no longer sent to prison by hundreds? because the guillotine no longer despatches fifty, sixty, or eighty persons per day? Ah! I must confess that on this point our pleasure differs from yours, and that our manner of sweeping the prisons is not the same. We have visited them ourselves; we have made, as far as it was possible to do so, a distinction between the aristocrats and the patriots; if we have done wrong, here are our heads to answer for it. But while we make reparation for crimes, while we are striving to make you forget that those crimes are your own, why do you go to a notorious society to denounce us, and to mislead the people who attend there, fortunately in no great number? I move," added Legendre, as he concluded, "that the Convention take measures for preventing its members from going and preaching up rebellion at the Jacobins." The Convention adopted Legendre's proposition, and directed the committees to submit those measures to its consideration.

The Convention and the Jacobins were thus arrayed against each other, and in this state, when words were exhausted, there was nothing left but to strike. The intention to destroy that celebrated society* began to be no longer doubtful. It was only necessary that the committees should have the courage to propose that measure. The Jacobins were aware of this, and complained in all their sittings that there was an evident determination to dissolve them. They likened the existing government to Leopold, to Brunswick, and to Coburg, who had demanded their dissolution. One assertion, in particular, made in the tribune, had furnished them with a fertile text for representing themselves as calumniated and attacked. It was alleged that letters had been intercepted containing proofs that the committee of emigrants in Switzerland was in correspondence with the Jacobins of Paris. Had it been said that the emigrants wished for commotions which should obstruct the march of the government, that would no doubt have been correct. A letter seized upon an emigrant stated in fact that the hope of conquering the Revolution by arms was insane, and that its adversaries ought to seek to destroy it by its own disorders. But if, on the contrary, people went so far as to suppose that the Jacobins and the emigrants corresponded and concerted together to attain the same end, they said what was equally absurd and ridi-

* "Though the Jacobin society had most essentially served the cause of the republic at a time when it was necessary, in order to repel the attacks of Europe, to place the government in the hands of the multitude, yet, at the present crisis, it could have no other effect than to counteract the existing order of things. Its destruction had now become necessary. For the position of the affairs was changed, and it was fit that liberty should succeed to club dictatorship."—*Mignet*. E.

culous, and the Jacobins desired nothing better. Accordingly, they never ceased, for several days, to declare that they were calumniated; and Duhem, at several different times, insisted that those pretended letters should be read from the tribune.

The agitation in Paris was extreme. Numerous groups, some starting from the Palais Royal and composed of young men with double queues and black collars, others from the fauxbourg St. Antoine, the Rues St. Denis and St. Martin, and all the quarters were the Jacobins preponderated, met at the Carrousel, in the garden of the Tuileries, in the Place de la Révolution. Some shouted, *The Convention for ever! Down with the Terrorists and Robespierre's tail!*—others replied with cries of *The Convention for ever! The Jacobins for ever! Down with the aristocrats!* They had their peculiar songs. The gilded youth had adopted an air which was called the *Réveil du Peuple*; the partisans of the Jacobins sang that old air of the Revolution rendered famous by so many victories: *Allons enfans de la patrie*. These adverse groups met; they sang their appropriate songs; then set up hostile shouts, and frequently attacked one another with stones and sticks. Blood was spilt, and prisoners were taken and delivered by both parties to the committee of general safety. The Jacobins declared that this committee, composed entirely of Thermidorians, released the young men who were sent to it, and detained the patriots only.

These scenes lasted for several successive days, and at length became so alarming that the committees of government took measures of safety, and doubled the guard at all the posts. On the 19th of Brumaire (November 9, 1794), the assemblages were still more numerous and more considerable than on the preceding days. A party, setting out from the Palais Royal, and passing through the rue St. Honoré, had proceeded to the hall of the Jacobins and surrounded it. The concourse kept continually increasing, all the avenues were choked up, and the Jacobins, who were just then sitting, might fairly conceive themselves besieged. Some groups that were favourable to them had shouted, *The Convention for ever! the Jacobins for ever!* and had been answered by the contrary cries. A battle ensued, and, as the young men were the stronger, they soon succeeded in dispersing all the hostile groups. They then surrounded the hall of the club, and broke the windows with stones. Large flints had already fallen amidst the assembled Jacobins. The latter, enraged, cried out that they should be murdered; and, availing themselves of the presence of some members of the Convention, they declared that the national representation was about to be slaughtered. The women, who filled their tribunes, and who were called the Furies of the Guillotine, attempted to leave the hall, to escape the danger; but the young men who beset it seized those who endeavoured to get away, subjected them to the most indecent treatment, and even cruelly chastised some of them.* Several had gone back into the hall in a wretched plight, with dishevelled hair, saying that they should be assassinated. Stones were still showered upon the assembly. The Jacobins then resolved to sally forth and fall upon the assailants. The energetic Duhem, armed with a stick, put himself at the head of one of these sorties, and the consequence was a tremendous fray in the rue

* "On this occasion the female Jacobins came to rally and assist their male associates, whereupon several of them were seized and punished in a manner which might excellently suit their merits, but which shows that the young associates for maintaining order were not sufficiently aristocratic to be under the absolute restraints imposed by the rules of chivalry. It is impossible, however, to grudge the flagellation administered on this memorable occasion."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*.

St. Honoré. Had the weapons on both sides been destructive, a massacre must have ensued. The Jacobins returned with some prisoners whom they had taken; the young men left outside threatened, if their comrades were not set at liberty, to break into the hall and to take signal vengeance on their adversaries.

This scene had lasted several hours before the committees of the government had assembled and could give orders. Several messengers from the Jacobins had brought word to the committee of general safety that the deputies attending the meeting of the society were in danger of their lives. The four committees of public welfare, general safety, legislation, and war, met and resolved to send patrols immediately to extricate their colleagues who were compromised in this scene, which was more scandalous than murderous.

The patrols set out, with a member of each committee, for the scene of the combat. It was then eight o'clock. The members of the committees who were at the head of the patrols did not order them to charge the assailants, as the Jacobins desired: neither would they enter the hall, as their colleagues there urged them to do; they remained outside, exhorting the young men to disperse, and promising to take care that their comrades should be released. By degrees they succeeded in dispersing the groups; they then made the Jacobins leave the hall, and sent every body home.

Tranquillity being restored, they returned to their colleagues, and the four committees passed the night in deliberating upon what course to pursue. Some were for suspending the Jacobins, others opposed that measure. Thuriot, in particular, though one of those who had attacked Robespierre on the 9th of Thermidor, began to be alarmed at the reaction, and seemed to lean towards the Jacobins. The committees separated without coming to any resolution.

In the morning (Brumaire 20), a most violent scene took place in the Assembly. Duhem was the first, as it may naturally be supposed, to insist that the patriots had been well-nigh murdered on the preceding evening, and that the committee of general safety had not done its duty. The tribunes, taking part in the discussion, made a tremendous noise, and seemed, on the one hand, to confirm, on the other, to deny, the statements. The disturbers were turned out, and, immediately afterwards, a number of members demanded permission to speak: Bourdon of the Oise, Rewbel,* and Clausel, in behalf of the committee; Duhem, Duroy, Bentabolle, against it. Each spoke in his turn, stated the facts in his own way, and was interrupted by the contradictions of those who had viewed them in a contrary light. Some had only perceived groups maltreating the patriots; others had only met with groups maltreating the young men, and abusing the Convention and the committees. Duhem, who could scarcely contain himself during these discussions, cried out that the blows had been directed by the aristocrats, who dined at the house of Cabarus, and who went a-hunting at Raincy. He was not suffered to speak, and, amidst this conflict of contrary assertions, it was evident that the committees, notwithstanding their readiness to meet

* "Rewbel, who inveighed bitterly against the Jacobins, said, 'Where has tyranny been organized? At the Jacobins. Where has it found its supporters and its satellites? At the Jacobins. Who have covered France with mourning, carried despair into families, filled the country with prisons, and rendered the republic so odious, that a slave pressed down by the weight of his irons would refuse to live under it? The Jacobins. Who regret the frightful government under which we have lived? The Jacobins. If you have not now the courage to declare yourselves, you have no longer a republic, because you have Jacobins.'—*Mignet*. E.

and to collect the armed force, had not been able to send it to the spot till very late; that, when the patrols were at length sent towards the rue St. Honoré, they did not attempt to extricate the Jacobins by force, but had been content to disperse the concourse by degrees; that, in short, they had shown a very natural indulgence for groups shouting *The Convention for ever!* and in which it was not asserted that the government was under the sway of the counter-revolutionists. What more could have been well expected of them? To preserve their enemies from maltreatment was their duty; but to insist on their charging with the bayonet their own friends, that is to say, the young men who daily came in numbers to support them against the revolutionists, was requiring too much. They declared to the Convention that they had passed the night in discussing the question whether the Jacobins ought to be suspended or not. They were asked if they had yet formed any plan, and, on their reply that they were not yet agreed, the whole was referred to them, that they might come to some decision, and then communicate it to the Assembly.

The 20th was rather quieter, because there was no sitting at the Jacobins; but, on the 21st, the day for their meeting, the assemblages of people indicated that both sides were prepared, and it was evident that they would come to blows in the evening. The four committees immediately met, suspended by an ordinance the sittings of the Jacobins, and ordered the keys of the hall to be brought forthwith to the secretary's office of the committee of general safety.

The order was obeyed, the hall locked up, and the keys carried to the secretary's office. This measure prevented the tumult that was apprehended. The assemblages dispersed, and the night was perfectly quiet. Next day, Laignelot came to communicate to the Convention, in the name of the four committees, the resolution which they had adopted. "We never had any intention to attack the popular societies," said he, "but we have a right to close the doors of places where factions arise, and where civil war is preached up." The Convention hailed him with applause. A call of the Assembly was demanded, and the ordinance was sanctioned almost unanimously, amidst acclamations and shouts of *The Republic for ever! The Convention for ever!*

Such was the end of that society whose name had continued to be so celebrated and so odious, and which, like all the assemblies, like all the men, who successively appeared on the stage, nay, like the Revolution itself, had the merit and the faults of extreme energy.* Placed below the Convention, open to all new comers, it was the arena to which the young revolutionists who had not yet figured, and who were impatient to show themselves, repaired to try their strength, and to accelerate the usually slower progress of the revolutionists who had already attained power. So long as there was need of fresh subjects, fresh talents, fresh lives ready to be sacrificed, the society of the Jacobins was serviceable, and furnished such men as the Revolution wanted in that terrible and sanguinary struggle. But, when the Revolution, having arrived at its final term, began to retrograde, the ardent men whom it had produced, and who had survived that violent action, were driven back

* "Thus fell the club of the Jacobins, the victim of the crimes it had sanctioned, and the reaction it had produced. Within its walls all the great changes of the Revolution had been prepared, and all its principal scenes rehearsed; from its energy the triumph of the democracy had sprung; and from its atrocity its destruction arose—a signal proof of the tendency of revolutionary violence to precipitate its supporters into crime, and render them at last the victims of the atrocities which they have committed."—*Alison*. E.

into the society of the Jacobins. It soon became troublesome by its alarm, and dangerous even by its terrors. It was then sacrificed by the men who sought to bring back the Revolution from the extreme term to which it had been urged, to a middle course of reason, equity, and liberty, and who, blinded by hope, like all the men who act, conceived that they could fix it in that desirable middle track.

They were certainly right in striving to return to moderation; and the Jacobins were right in telling them that they were running into counter-revolution. As revolutions, like a pendulum violently agitated, go from one extreme to another, we have always ground to predict that they will run into excesses, but fortunately, political societies, after having violently oscillated in a contrary direction, subside at length into an equable and justly limited movement. But, before they arrive at that happy epoch, what time! what calamities! what bloodshed! Our predecessors, the English, had to endure the infliction of a Cromwell and two Stuarts.

The dispersed Jacobins were not the men to shut themselves up in private life, and to renounce political agitation. Some betook themselves to the electoral club, which, driven from the Eveché by the committee, held its meetings in one of the halls of the Museum. Others went to the fauxbourg St. Antoine, to the popular society of the section of the Quinze-Vingts. There the most conspicuous and the most violent men of the fauxbourg met. Thither the Jacobins repaired in a body on the 24th of Brumaire, saying, "Brave citizens of the fauxbourg Antoine! you who are the only supporters of the people, you see the unfortunate Jacobins under persecution. We apply to be admitted into your society. We said to one another, 'Let us go to the fauxbourg Antoine, we shall there be unassailable; united we shall strike surer blows to preserve the people and the Convention from slavery.'" They were all admitted without examination, made use of the most violent and the most dangerous language, and several times read this article of the declaration of rights; *When the government violates the rights of the people, insurrection is for the people the most sacred of rights and the most indispensable of duties.*

The committees, which had tried their strength and felt themselves capable of acting vigorously, did not deem it necessary to pursue the Jacobins into their asylum, but allowed them to employ empty words, holding themselves in readiness to act at the first signal, if those words should be followed up by deeds.

Most of the sections of Paris took courage and expelled from their bosoms the Terrorists, as they were called, who retired towards the Temple, and to the fauxbourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau. Delivered from this opposition, they prepared numerous addresses congratulating the Convention on the energy which it had just displayed against *Robespierre's accomplices*. Similar addresses poured in from almost all the towns, and the Convention, thus borne along in the direction which it had lately taken, pursued it the more freely. The seventy-three, whose release had been already demanded, were loudly called for every day by the members of the centre and of the right side, who were anxious to reinforce themselves with seventy-three voices, and above all, to insure the liberty of the vote by recalling their colleagues. They were at length released and reinstated in their seats; the Convention, without explaining its sentiments concerning the events of the 31st of May, declared that people might have differed in opinion on that subject from the majority, without on that account being guilty. They entered in a body, with old Dussaulx at their head. He acted as spokesman.

and declared that, in resuming their seats by their colleagues, they laid aside all resentment, and were actuated solely by the wish to promote the public welfare. This step taken, it was too late to stop. Louvet, Lanjuinais,* Henri Larivière, Doucet, Isnard, all the Girondins who had escaped the proscription, and many of whom were hidden in caverns, wrote and demanded their reinstatement. On this subject a violent scene took place. The Thermidorians, alarmed at the rapidity of the reaction, paused and checked the right side, which, conceiving that it needed them, durst not displease them, and ceased to insist. It was decreed that the proceedings against the outlawed deputies should be dropped, but that they should not return to the bosom of the Assembly.

The same spirit which caused some to be absolved led of necessity to the condemnation of others. An old deputy, named Raffron, exclaimed that it was high time to prosecute all who were guilty, and to prove to France that the Convention was not the accomplice of murderers. He moved that Lebon and David, both of whom had been apprehended, should be immediately brought to trial. What had occurred in the South, and especially at Bédouin, having become known, a report and an act of accusation against Maignet were demanded. A great number of voices insisted on the trial of Fouquier-Tinville, and on the institution of proceedings against the former minister at war, Bouchotte, who had thrown open the war-office to the Jacobins. The same course was called for against Pache, the ex-mayor, an accomplice, it was alleged, of the Hebertists, and saved by Robespierre. Amidst this torrent of attacks upon the revolutionary leaders, the three principal chiefs, who had long been defended, could not fail at length to fall. Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, and Barrère, being accused anew and in a formal manner by Legendre, could not escape the general fate. The committees could not help receiving the denunciation and giving their opinion. Lecointre, at first declared to be a calumniator, gave notice that the documents with which he was at first not provided, he had since got printed: they were referred to the committees. The latter, hurried along by the force of opinion, durst not resist, and declared that there was ground for investigation in the case of Collot, Billaud, and Barrère, but not against Vadier, Vouland, Amar, and David.

The proceedings against Carrier, which had long been proceeding, before the public that ill-disguised the spirit of reaction by which it was influenced, closed at last on the 5th of Nivose (December 25). Carrier and two members of the revolutionary committee of Nantes, Pinel and Grand-Maison, were condemned to death as agents and accomplices of the system of terror.† The others were acquitted, their participation in the drownings being excused on the ground of obedience to their superiors. Carrier, persisting to assert that the entire Revolution, and those who had effected, suffered, and directed it, were as guilty as he, was conveyed to the scaffold. He recovered resignation at the fatal moment, and received death with composure and courage. In proof of the blind excitement of civil wars, several traits of character were mentioned demonstrating that Carrier, before his mission to Nantes, was by no

* "Lanjuinais was the bravest and best man that the Revolution produced. He was proscribed with the Girondins, but escaped; and survived to exhibit the independent moderation of his character, through all the phases of the Revolution, even down to the restoration."—*Quarterly Review*. E.

† "Out of five hundred members, four hundred and ninety-eight voted in favour of the sentence of death against Carrier, the remaining two were also in favour of it, but conditionally."—*Hazlitt*. E.

means of a bloodthirsty disposition. The revolutionists, at the same time that they condemned his conduct, were alarmed at his fate; they could not conceal from themselves that this execution was the commencement of the bloody reprisals preparing for them by the counter-revolution. Besides the prosecutions directed against the representatives who had been members of the old committees, or sent on missions, other laws, lately enacted, proved that vengeance was about to descend lower, and that the inferiority of the part would not save them. A decree required all those who had held any function whatever, and had the handling of the public money, to give an account of their management. Now, as all the members of the revolutionary committees and of the municipalities had formed chests with the produce of the taxes, with the church plate, and with the revolutionary imposts, for the purpose of organizing the first battalions of volunteers, paying the revolutionary armies, defraying the expense of transport, carrying on the police—in short, for a thousand causes of that nature, it was evident that every individual functionary during the system of terror would be amenable to inquiry.

To these well-founded apprehensions were added very alarming reports. Peace with Holland, Prussia, the empire, Spain, and even La Vendée was talked of; and it was asserted that the conditions of this peace would be ruinous to the revolutionary party.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

CONQUEST OF HOLLAND—NEGOTIATIONS WITH PRUSSIA—COMMENCEMENT OF PACIFICATIONS IN LA VENDEE—PUISAYE IN ENGLAND.

THE French armies, masters of the whole left bank of the Rhine, and ready to debouch on the right bank, threatened Holland and Germany. Were they to be urged to advance or to go into cantonments? Such was the question that presented itself.

Notwithstanding their triumphs, and their abode in Belgium which was so rich, they were in a state of the greatest destitution. The country which they occupied, overrun for three years past by innumerable legions, was completely drained. To the evils of war were added those of the French administration, which had introduced in its train assignats, the *maximum*, and requisitions. Provisional municipalities, eight intermediate administrations, and a central administration established at Brussels, governed the country till its fate should be definitively decided. Twenty-five millions had been levied upon the clergy, the abbeys, the nobles, and the corporations. The assignats had been put into forced circulation; the prices at Lille had been taken as a standard for fixing the *maximum* throughout all Belgium. Articles of consumption and commodities serviceable for the armies had been laid under requisition. These measures had not put an end to the dearth. The dealers, the farmers, hid all they possessed: the officer, like the common soldier, was in want of everything.

Being levied *en masse* in the preceding year, and transported in haste to Hondtschoote, Watignies, and Landau, the entire army had only been sup-

plied by the administration with powder and projectiles. For a long time it had not encamped in tents, but bivouacked under boughs of trees, in spite of the commencement of an already severe winter. Many of the soldiers, destitute of shoes, fastened wisps of straw about their feet, or wrapped themselves in mats for want of great coats. The officers, paid in assignats, found their appointments reduced sometimes to eight or ten effective francs per month; those who received any assistance from their families were scarcely the better for it, as everything was put into requisition beforehand by the French administration. They fared precisely the same as the common soldiers, marching on foot, carrying the knapsack at their backs, eating ammunition bread, and living by the chances of war.

The administration appeared to be exhausted by the efforts which it had made to raise and arm twelve hundred thousand men. The new organization of the supreme power, feeble and divided, was not calculated to restore it to the necessary vigour and activity. Thus everything seemed to require that the army should be put into winter-quarters, and rewarded for its victories and its military virtues by rest and abundant supplies.

Meanwhile, we were before the fortress of Nimeguen, which, seated on the Wahl—the name given to the Rhine near its mouth—commanded both banks, and might serve the enemy as a *tête-du-pont* for debouching in the next campaign on the left bank. It was, therefore, important to gain possession of that place before wintering, but the attack of it was a very difficult undertaking. The English army, ranged on the right bank, was encamped there to the number of thirty-eight thousand men: a bridge of boats enabled it to communicate with, and to re-victual the place. Besides its fortifications, Nimeguen had before it an intrenched camp manned with troops. To render the investment complete, it would therefore have been necessary to throw upon the right bank an army which would have to run the risks of the passage and of a battle, and which, in case of defeat, would have had no means of retreat. Our troops, therefore, could act on the left bank only, and they would be obliged to attack the intrenched camp, without any great hope of success.

The French generals nevertheless determined to try the effect of one of those sudden and bold attacks which had in so short a time opened to them the gates of Maestricht and Venloo. The allies, aware of the importance of Nimeguen, had met at Arnheim to concert the means of defending the place. It had been agreed that an Austrian corps under General Werneck should be taken into English pay, and form the left of the Duke of York for the defence of Holland, while the duke, with his English and Hanoverians, was to remain on the right bank before the bridge of Nimeguen and to recruit the forces of the place. General Werneck was to attempt, at a great distance above Nimeguen, towards Wesel, a singular movement, which experienced officers have deemed one of the most absurd that the coalition planned during all these campaigns. This corps, taking advantage of an island formed by the Rhine, near Buderich, was to cross to the right bank, and to attack a point between the army of the Sambre and Meuse and that of the North. Thus twenty thousand men were to be thrown across a great river, between two victorious armies, each eighty or one hundred thousand strong, to see what effect they should produce upon them. This corps was to be reinforced according to its success. It is obvious that this movement, executed with the united armies of the allies, might have been grand and decisive; but, effected with twenty thousand

men, it would be but a puerile attempt, and probably a disastrous one to the corps engaged in it.

The allies, however, hoping to save Nimeguen by these means, caused Werneck's corps to advance towards Buderich on the one hand, and sorties to be made by the garrison of Nimeguen on the other. The French repulsed the sorties, and, as at Maestricht and Venloo, opened the trenches much closer to the place than was yet usual in war. A lucky accident accelerated their operations. The two extremities of the arc which they described about Nimeguen terminated at the Wahl: they attempted to fire from these extremities at the bridge. Some of their projectiles reached several pontoons, and endangered the communications of the garrison with the English army. The English who were in the fortress, surprised at this by no means probable event, re-established the pontoons, and hastened to rejoin the main body of their army on the other bank, leaving the garrison composed of three thousand Dutch to itself. No sooner were the republicans aware of the evacuation than they redoubled their fire. The governor, alarmed, communicated his situation to the Prince of Orange, and obtained permission to retire as soon as he should deem the danger sufficiently urgent. The moment he had received this authority, he crossed over himself. Disorder ensued among the garrison. One part laid down their arms, another, attempting to escape on a flying bridge, were stopped by the French who cut the cables, and they were stranded upon an island, where they were made prisoners.

On the 18th of Brumaire (November 8), the French entered Nimeguen,* and found themselves masters of that important place, owing to their temerity, and to the terror excited by their arms. Meanwhile the Austrians, commanded by Werneck, had attempted to debouch from Wessel, but the impetuous Vandamme, rushing upon them at the moment when they were setting foot on the other side of the Rhine, drove them back to the right bank; and it was fortunate for them that they had not been more successful, for, had they advanced farther, they would have run the risk of being destroyed.

The fit moment had at length arrived for going into cantonments, since they were masters of all the important points on the Rhine. To conquer Holland; to secure thus the navigation of the three great rivers, the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the Rhine; to deprive England of her most powerful naval ally; to threaten Germany on its flanks; to interrupt the communications of our enemies on the continent with those of the Ocean, or at least to oblige them to make the long circuit by Hamburg; to open to ourselves, in short, the richest country in the world, and the most desirable for us in the state that our commerce then was,—these were, to be sure, objects worthy of exciting the ambition of our government and of our armies; but how durst they attempt the conquest of Holland, almost impossible at any time, but most impracticable in the rainy season? Situated at the mouths of several

* People in every country had been induced to look upon the siege of Nimeguen as an event that would terminate in great celebrity; from its duration, the number of brilliant actions it would produce, and the unyielding obstinacy with which on both sides it would be accompanied. The sudden and unexpected disappointment of all these expectations, put an end to the hopes which had been entertained that, laying aside the animosity of parties, the Dutch would at length cordially unite in opposing the threatened invasion of the French. The loss of the town was imputed at the time to the secret machinations of those within the walls, who were labouring in the service of the French, and continually giving them notice of whatever was transacted in the garrison. E.

rivers, Holland consists of stripes of land thrown between the currents of those rivers and the sea. Its soil, everywhere lower than the bed of the waters, is constantly threatened by the Ocean, the Rhine, the Meuse, the Scheldt, and is intersected moreover by small detached arms of rivers, and by a multitude of artificial canals. These lowlands so menaced are covered with gardens, manufacturing towns and arsenals. At every step that an army attempts to take there, it comes either to broad streams whose banks are elevated, dykes lined with cannon, or to arms of rivers or canals, all defended by fortifications, or to fortresses which are the strongest in Europe. Those great manœuvres which frequently disconcert methodical defence by rendering sieges useless, are therefore impossible in a country intersected and defended by innumerable lines. If an army, nevertheless, succeeds in conquering so many obstacles and advances into Holland, its inhabitants, by an act of heroism, of which they furnished an example in the time of Louis XIV., need only cut their dykes, in order to engulf, together with their country, the army that has been rash enough to invade it. They have their shipping left, and, like the Athenians of old, they can fly with their most valuable effects, and wait for better times, or go to India, and transfer their abode to the vast empire which there belongs to them. All these difficulties are greatly increased during the season of inundations, and are insurmountable with a maritime alliance, such as that of England.

It is true that the spirit of independence which possessed the Dutch, their hatred of the stadtholdership, their aversion to England and Prussia, their acquaintance with their true interests, their resentment on account of the Revolution so unfortunately stifled in 1787, gave the French armies the certainty of being ardently wished for. It was to be presumed that the Dutch would oppose the cutting of the dykes and the ruining of the country for a cause which they detested. But the army of the Prince of Orange and that of the Duke of York still overawed them, and these united were sufficient to prevent the passage of the numberless lines which it would be necessary to carry in their presence. If then a surprise was rash in the time of Dumouriez, it was almost insane at the end of 1794.

The committee of public welfare, instigated by Dutch refugees, nevertheless thought seriously of pushing a point beyond the Wahl. Pichegru, almost as badly off as his soldiers, who were eaten up by itch and vermin, had gone to Brussels to get cured of a cutaneous disease. Moreau and Regnier* had succeeded him. Both were in favour of rest and winter quarters. The Dutch général Daendels, a refugee and a gallant officer, earnestly recommended a first attempt on the isle of Bommel, which need not to be followed up, if that attack should fail. The Meuse and the Wahl, running parallel with the sea, unite just below Nimeguen, again separate, and once more unite at Wondrichem, a little above Gorcum. The tract inclosed by them during their separation is called the isle of Bonimel. Contrary to the opinion of Moreau and Regnier, an attack was attempted upon that island at three different points. It was not successful, and was immediately relinquished with the utmost alacrity, especially on the part of General Daendels, who cheerfully acknowledged, as soon as he was convinced of its impossibility.

Then, that is about the middle of Frimaire (the beginning of December),

* Regnier was certainly a man of talent, but he was more fit to give counsel to an army of twenty or thirty thousand men, than to command one of five or six."—*A Voice from St Helena*. E.

winter-quarters, which the army stood so much in need of, were assigned to it, and part of the cantonments were established around Breda, for the purpose of forming the blockade of that place, which, with Grave, still held out, but the interruption of the communications during the winter could not fail to oblige them to surrender.

It was in this position that the army expected to await the end of the season: and most assuredly it had done enough to make it proud of its glory and its services. But an almost miraculous chance reserved for it new destinies. The cold had already begun to be very severe; it soon increased to such a degree as to encourage a hope that the great rivers would be frozen over. Pichegru left Brussels, without waiting to complete his cure, that he might be ready to seize the first opportunity for new conquests, should it be offered him by the season. The frost became more and more intense, and the winter exceeded in severity any that had preceded it for several years. The Meuse and the Wahl were already covered with floating ice, and the ice was set along their banks.

On the 3d of Nivose (December 23) the Meuse was entirely frozen, and hard enough to bear cannon. General Walmoden, to whom the Duke of York had left the command on setting out for England, and whom he had thus doomed to experience nothing but disasters, found himself in the most difficult position. The Meuse being taken, his front would be uncovered; and the floating ice upon the Wahl even threatening to carry away all the bridges, his retreat would be endangered. He soon learned that the bridge of Arnheim had been actually carried away; he then ordered his baggage and his heavy cavalry to file off on the rear, and himself retreated upon Deventer, towards the banks of the Yssel. Pichegru, profiting by the occasion which fortune offered to surmount obstacles usually invincible, prepared to cross the Meuse on the ice. He made arrangements for passing at three points, and for seizing the isle of Bommel, while the division blockading Breda was to attack the lines which surrounded that place. Those brave Frenchmen, exposed almost without clothes to the severest winter for a century past, marching in shoes of which nothing but the upper leather was left, immediately quitted their quarters, and cheerfully renounced the rest which they had begun to enjoy.

On the 8th of Nivose (December 28), in a cold of 17°, they presented themselves at three points, at Crèvecœur, Empel, and Fort St. André. They crossed the ice with their artillery, surprised the Dutch, almost stiffened with cold, and completely defeated them. While they were making themselves masters of the isle of Bommel, that division of their force which was besieging Breda, attacked its line and carried them. The Dutch, assailed on all points, retired in disorder, some towards the head-quarters of the Prince of Orange, who was still at Gorcum, the others to Thiel. In the confusion of their retreat they did not think of defending the passes of the Wahl, which was not entirely frozen. Pichegru, master of the isle of Bommel, into which he had penetrated by passing over the frozen Meuse, crossed the Wahl at different points, but durst not venture beyond the river, the ice not being strong enough to bear cannon. In this situation, the state of Holland would be desperate if the frost continued, and there was every appearance that it would continue. The Prince of Orange, with his Dutchmen disheartened at Gorcum, Walmoden with his English in full retreat upon Deventer, could not make head against a formidable conqueror, who was far superior to them in strength, and who had just broken the centre of their line. Their political was not less alarming than their military situation. The Dutch, full of hope

and joy on seeing the French approach, began to stir. The Orange party was far too weak to overawe the republican party. The enemies of the stadtholder's authority reproached it with having suppressed the liberties of the country, imprisoned or banished the best or the most generous patriots, and, above all, with having sacrificed Holland to England, by forcing her into an alliance contrary to all her interests commercial and naval. They met secretly in revolutionary committees, ready at the first signal to rise, to turn out the authorities, and to appoint others. The province of Friesland, whose states were assembled, ventured to declare that it was determined to separate itself from the stadtholder. The citizens of Amsterdam presented a petition to the authorities of the province, in which they declared that they were ready to oppose any preparation for defence, and that they would not at any rate suffer the dykes to be cut.

In this desperate situation the stadtholder thought of negotiating, and sent envoys to Pichegru's head-quarters to demand a truce, and to offer, as conditions of peace, neutrality and an indemnification for the expenses of the war. The French general and the representatives refused the truce; and as for the offers of peace, they referred them immediately to the committee of public welfare.

Spain, threatened by Dugommier, whom we left descending from the Pyrenees, and by Moncey,* who, master of Guipuscoa, was advancing upon Pampeluna, had already made proposals of accommodation. The representatives sent into La Vendée, to inquire if a pacification were possible, had replied affirmatively, and recommended a decree of amnesty. How secret soever a government may be, negotiations of this kind are sure to transpire; they transpire even with absolute irremovable ministers; how then should they continue secret with committees renewable by one-fourth every month? It was publicly known that Holland and Spain had made proposals; it was added that Prussia, sensible of her illusions, and acknowledging the fault which she had committed in allying herself with the house of Austria, had applied to treat; it was known from all the newspapers of Europe that several states of the Empire, weary of a war which concerned them but little, had at the diet of Ratisbon insisted on the opening of a negotiation. Thus every thing disposed people's minds to peace, and, in the same manner as they had gone over from the ideas of revolutionary terror to those of clemency, they now passed from ideas of war to those of a general reconciliation with Europe. They seized the slightest circumstances to found conjectures on them. The unfortunate children of Louis XVI., deprived of all their rela-

* "Bon-Adrien-Jeannot Moncey was born in 1754. His father was an advocate, and he was intended for the same profession, but he took an invincible repugnance to it, and entered the army as a private soldier. In 1790, at the age of thirty-six, he was but a sub-lieutenant of dragoons. Soon afterwards, however, he was draughted into a battalion of light infantry, and thenceforward his promotion was rapid. In the course of the ensuing two years, he had risen to be general of division, and received the command of the eleventh military division at Bayonne. On the formation of the consular government Moncey took part in the war of Italy, and was present at the famous battle of Marengo. In the year 1804 he became marshal of the empire, and subsequently Duke of Conegliano. In 1808 he was engaged in the Spanish campaigns, but his operations were by no means brilliant. He was also present in the Russian expedition, and in the subsequent struggles in Germany. When Napoleon abdicated, Moncey sent in his adhesion to the royal government; he refused however to preside on the trial of Marshal Ney, for which he was degraded from his honours and confined. In 1823, he accompanied the Duke d'Angoulême in his invasion of Spain. Moncey was humane by nature, honourable in conduct, and a cautious, rather than a bold, general."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

tives, and separated from one another in the prison of the Temple, had seen their situation somewhat ameliorated since the 9th of Thermidor. Simon, the shoemaker, to whose care the young prince was committed, had perished as an accomplice of Robespierre's. Three keepers were appointed in his stead, each of whom officiated in turn for a day, and who treated the young prince with more humanity. From these changes made at the Temple important inferences were drawn. The plan under consideration for withdrawing the assignats also furnished occasion for abundance of conjectures. The royalists, who began already to show themselves, and whose number was increased by those waverers who are always ready to forsake a party which begins to grow weak, said maliciously that the government was going to make peace. As they could no longer say to the republicans, "Your armies will be beaten,"—which had been too frequently repeated without success, and which would now have appeared too silly—they said, "Their career of victory is cut short; peace is signed; you will not have the Rhine; the condition of peace will be the restoration of Louis XVII. to the throne, the return of the emigrants, the abolition of assignats, and the restitution of the national property." It is easy to conceive how such rumours must have irritated the patriots. Alarmed already at the proceedings directed against them, they saw with despair the end which they had been pursuing with such toil compromised, by the government. "What do you mean to make of young Capet?" said they. "What are you going to do with the assignats? Shall our armies have shed so much of their blood to be stopped in the midst of their victories? Shall they not enjoy the satisfaction of giving to their country the line of the Rhine and the Alps? Europe meant to dismember France; the just reprisals of victorious France upon Europe ought to be, to conquer the provinces wanting to complete her territory. What is to be done for La Vendée? Are rebels to be pardoned when they sacrifice patriots?" "Better were it," exclaimed a deputy of the Mountain, in a transport of indignation, "to be Charette than a member of the Convention!"

It may easily be conceived how much these subjects of division, added to those already furnished by domestic policy, must have agitated men's minds. The committee of public welfare, finding itself pressed between the two parties, deemed it incumbent on it to explain. It declared, therefore, on two different occasions, first through Carnot, secondly through Merlin of Douai, that the armies had received orders to prosecute their triumphs, and not to listen to any proposals of peace but in the heart of the enemy's capitals.

The proposals of Holland appeared to it in fact to come too late to be accepted, and it did not think it right to consent to negotiate when on the point of becoming master of the country. To overthrow the power of the stadtholder, and to restore the Dutch republic, seemed to it to be worthy of the French republic. It ran the risk, it is true, of seeing all the colonies of Holland, and even part of her navy, fall a prey to the English, who would declare that they took possession of them in the name of the stadtholder: but political considerations of course gained the ascendancy.* France could

* "The invasion of Holland was an object of universal expectation in Europe. The force under the command of General Pichegru, who was placed at the head of this great expedition, amounted to not less than 200,000 men. His ability, and those of the officers who served under him, annexed a security to the enterprise, which equally elated the French and depressed their enemies. The strength which was to oppose this vast and victorious army consisted of the remains of the British troops, and those in their pay, and of the Dutch troops. But their numbers were beneath consideration, when compared to the multitude of their enemies."—*Annual Register*. E.

not avoid overthrowing the stadtholdership; the conquest of Holland would enhance the marvellousness of her victories, intimidate Europe more, compromise especially the flanks of Prussia, oblige that power to treat immediately, and, above all, give confidence to the French patriots. In consequence, Pichegru was ordered not to stop. Prussia and the Empire had not yet made any overture, and there was no answer to give to them. As for Spain, who promised to acknowledge the republic and to pay its indemnities, on condition of its erecting a little state near the Pyrenees for Louis XVII., her proposals were received with scorn and indignation, and orders were issued to the French generals to lose no time in advancing. As for La Vendée, a decree of amnesty was passed. It purported that all the rebels, without distinction of rank, who should lay down their arms within the space of one month, should be exempted from all punishment for their insurrection.

General Canclaux, removed on account of his moderation, was replaced at the head of the army of the West, which comprised La Vendée. Young Hoche, who had already the command of the army of the Coasts of Brest, had that of the army of the Coasts of Cherbourg annexed to it; none were more capable than these two generals, to pacify the country by tempering prudence with energy.

Pichegru, who had received orders to prosecute his victorious career, waited till the surface of the Wahl should be entirely frozen. Our army skirted the river; it was spread upon its banks towards Millingen, Nimeguen, and all along the isle of Bommel, of which it had gained possession by crossing the frozen Meuse. Walmoden, observing that Pichegru had left but a few advanced posts on the right bank towards Bommel, drove them back, and began an offensive movement. He proposed to the Prince of Orange to join them, in order to form with their united armies an imposing mass, capable of stopping by a battle an enemy who could no longer be stopped by the line of the rivers. The Prince of Orange could not be prevailed upon to quit Gorcum, lest the road to Amsterdam should be left uncovered. Walmoden then resolved to place himself on his line of retreat, which he had traced beforehand from the Wahl to the Linge, from the Linge to the Leek, and from the Leek to the Yssel, through Thiel, Arnheim, and Deventer.

While the republicans were waiting with the utmost impatience for the freezing of the river, the fortress of Grave, defended with heroic courage by Debons, the commandant, surrendered when nearly reduced to ashes. It was the principal of the fortresses which the Dutch possessed beyond the Meuse, and the only one that had not yielded to the ascendancy of our arms. The French entered it on the 9th of Nivose (December 29). At length, on the 19th of Nivose (January 8, 1795), the Wahl was solidly frozen. Souham's division crossed it near Bommel; Dewinther's brigade, detached from Macdonald's corps, crossed near Thiel. At Nimeguen and above, the passage was not so easy, because the Wahl was not entirely frozen. Nevertheless, on the 21st (January 10) the right of the French crossed it above Nimeguen, and Macdonald, supported by it, passed over at Nimeguen itself in boats. On perceiving this general movement, Walmoden's army retired. A battle alone could have saved it; but, in the state of division and discouragement that prevailed among the allies, a battle would probably have led to disastrous consequences. Walmoden executed a change from front to rear, proceeding upon the line of the Yssel, in order to reach Hanover by the provinces of the main land. Conformably with the plan of retreat which he had laid down for himself, he thus abandoned the provinces of Utrecht and

Guelders to the French. The Prince of Orange remained near the sea, namely, at Gorcum. Having no longer any hope, he left his army, repaired to the States assembled at the Hague, declared to them that he had done all in his power for the defence of the country, and that nothing more could be done. He exhorted the representatives not to make any further resistance to the conqueror, lest it might produce disastrous consequences.

From that moment, the victorious French had only to spread like a torrent over all Holland. On the 28th of Nivose (January 17) Salm's brigade entered Utrecht, and General Vandamme* arrived at Arnheim. The States of Holland decided that no further resistance should be made to them, and that commissioners should be sent to open for them such places as they deemed necessary for their security. In all parts, the secret committees which had been formed manifested their existence, drove out the established authorities, and spontaneously appointed new ones. The French were received with open arms and as deliverers. Such provisions and clothing as they needed were carried to them. In Amsterdam, which they had not yet entered and where they were impatiently expected, the greatest agitation prevailed. The citizens, exasperated against the Orangists, insisted that the garrison should leave the city, that the regency should resign its authority, and that the inhabitants should have their arms restored to them. Pichegru, who was approaching, sent an aid-de-camp to exhort the municipal authorities to preserve peace and prevent disorder. On the 1st of Pluviose (January 20) Pichegru, accompanied by the representatives Lacoste, Bellegarde, and Joubert, made his entry into Amsterdam. The inhabitants hastened forth to meet him, carrying in triumph the persecuted deputies, and shouting, *The French republic for ever! Pichegru for ever! Liberty for ever!*† They admired those brave men, who, though half-naked, had defied such a winter and won such victories. The French soldiers furnished on this occasion a most praiseworthy example of order and discipline. Destitute of provisions and clothing, exposed to frost and snow, in the heart of one of the wealthiest capitals of Europe, they waited for several hours around their piled arms, till the magistrates had provided for their wants and assigned them quarters. As the republicans entered on one side, the Orangists and French emigrants fled on the other. The sea was covered with vessels, laden with fugitives and with property of every kind.

On the same day, the 1st of Pluviose, Bonnard's division, which had the day before taken possession of Gertruydenberg, crossed the frozen Biesbos,

* "Vandamme was one of the bravest men in the world, but fiery and passionate. A nobler figure than he possessed, cannot well be imagined. He had a finely-formed head, regular features, beautiful curly hair, glistening eyes which, when angry, seemed to flash fire, and an exquisitely turned hand."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

"The Emperor related the following anecdote, as highly characteristic of General Vandamme: When made prisoner by the Russians, he was brought before the Emperor Alexander, who reproached him in bitter terms with being a robber, a plunderer, and a murderer; adding that no favour could be granted to such an execrable character. This was followed by an order that he should be sent to Siberia, while the other prisoners were sent to a much less northern destination. Vandamme replied with great *sang froid*: 'It may be, Sire, that I am a robber and a plunderer; but at least I have not to reproach myself with having soiled my hands with the blood of a father.'"—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

† "A neutral party subsisted in Holland which, without inclining to the stadtholder or to his enemies, were decidedly adverse to the entrance of the French. But their remonstrances on the necessity of a reunion of all parties against a foreign invasion were lost in the fixed determination of those in authority to trust none but their adherents, and in the not less obstinate resolution of their antagonists to destroy their authority through the assistance of the French, whom they welcomed with enthusiasm as liberators!"—*Annual Register*. E.

and entered the town of Dordrecht, where six hundred pieces of cannon, ten thousand muskets, and magazines of provisions and ammunition for an army of thirty thousand men were found. This division then passed through Rotterdam, on its way to the Hague, where the States were sitting. Thus the right about the Yssel, the centre about Amsterdam, and the left about the Hague, successively took possession of all the provinces. The marvellous itself became already associated with the extraordinary operations of the war. Part of the Dutch fleet was at anchor near the Texel. Pichegru, unwilling to give it time to get clear of the ice and to sail for England, sent some divisions of cavalry and several batteries of light artillery towards North Holland. The Zuider Zee was frozen; our squadrons galloped across those plains of ice, and our hussars and horse artillery summoned the ships, immoveably fixed, as they would have done a fortress. The Dutch ships surrendered to these strange assailants.

On the left there was nothing to gain possession of but the province of Zealand, which is composed of the islands situated at the mouth of the Scheldt and the Meuse; and on the right the provinces of Overijssel, Drenthe, Friesland, and Gröningen, which join Holland to Hanover. The province of Zealand, strong in its inaccessible position, proposed a rather lofty capitulation, in which it insisted on not admitting garrisons into its principal towns, on not being subject to contributions, on not receiving assignments, on retaining its shipping and its property, public and private, in short, on being exempt from all the inconveniences of war. It demanded also that the French emigrants should be allowed to retire safe and sound. The representatives accepted some of the articles of the capitulation, but entered into no engagement respecting others, saying that they must refer them to the committee of public welfare, and, without further explanation they entered the province, glad to avoid the dangers of an attack by main force, and to preserve the squadron which might have been delivered up to England. During these occurrences on the left, the right crossing the Yssel drove the English before it, and forced them to retreat beyond the Ems. The provinces of Friesland, Drenthe, and Gröningen were thus conquered, and the Seven United Provinces were subdued by the victorious arms of the republic.

This conquest, which was attributable to the season, to the admirable perseverance of our soldiers, and to their happy disposition for withstanding all hardships, much more than to the abilities of our generals, excited an astonishment in Europe mingled with terror, and in France unbounded enthusiasm. Carnot, having directed the operations of the armies during the campaign of the Netherlands, which had carried them to the banks of the Rhine, was the first and the real author of their successes. Pichegru, and still more Jourdan, had effectively seconded him during that sanguinary series of actions. But, since the army had proceeded from Belgium into Holland, everything was due to the soldiers and the season. Nevertheless, Pichegru, as commander-in-chief of that army, reaped all the glory of that wonderful conquest; and his name, borne on the wings of fame, circulated throughout all Europe as that of the most eminent general of France.

It was not enough to have conquered Holland; it behoved the French to conduct themselves there with prudence and policy. In the first place, it was of importance that they should not trample upon the country, lest they should alienate the inhabitants. In the next, they had to impart a political direction to Holland, and on this point they soon found themselves between

two contrary opinions. Some were desirous that this conquest should be rendered serviceable to liberty by revolutionizing Holland; others wished that too strong a spirit of proselytism might not be displayed, lest it should again alarm Europe, which was on the point of reconciling herself with France.

The first act of the representatives was to publish a proclamation, in which they declared that they would respect all private property, excepting however that of the stadtholder; that, the latter being the only foe of the French republic, his property belonged to the conquerors as an indemnification for the expenses of the war; that the French entered as friends of the Batavian nation, not to impose upon it any religion or any form of government whatever, but to deliver it from its oppressors, and to confer on it the means of expressing its wishes. This proclamation, followed up by corresponding acts, produced a most favourable impression. The authorities were everywhere renewed under the French influence. Several members, who had been introduced into the States by the stadtholder's influence alone, were excluded; and the patriot, Peter Paulus, minister of marine before the overthrow of the republican party in 1787, a distinguished man, and strongly attached to his country, was chosen president. No sooner was this assembly complete than it abolished the stadtholdership for ever, and proclaimed the sovereignty of the people. It waited on the representatives, to acquaint them with what it had done, and to pay them homage, as it were, by its resolution. It then fell to work upon a constitution, and committed the affairs of the country to a provisional administration. Out of the eighty or ninety ships of war composing the military marine of Holland, fifty were left in the ports and preserved for the Batavian republic; the others had been seized by the English. The Dutch army, dissolved since the departure of the Prince of Orange, was to be reorganized on a new footing, and under the command of General Daendels. As for the famous bank of Amsterdam, the mystery which enveloped its funds was at length dispelled. Had it continued to be a bank of deposit, or had it become a discounting bank, by lending to the India Company, or to the government, or to the provinces? Such was the question which had long been asked, and which exceedingly diminished the credit of that celebrated bank. It was ascertained that it had lent to the amount of eight or ten millions of florins on obligations of the India Company, the Chamber of Loans, the province of Friesland, and the city of Amsterdam. This was a violation of its statutes. It was alleged, however, that there was no deficit, because these obligations represented certain amounts. But it was requisite that the Company, the Chamber of Loans, and the Government, should be able to pay, in order that the obligations accepted by the bank should not give rise to a deficit.

While the Dutch were thus turning their attention to the internal administration of their country, it was necessary to provide for the wants of the French army, which was destitute of everything. The representatives made a requisition to the provisional government for cloth, shoes, clothing of all kinds, provisions, and ammunition, which it promised to supply. This requisition, without being exorbitant, was sufficient to equip and subsist the army. The Dutch government invited each town to furnish its share of this requisition, telling them very justly that they ought to lose no time in satisfying a generous conqueror, who asked for, instead of taking, what he wanted, and who demanded no more than merely what his necessities required. The towns complied with the greatest cheerfulness, and the articles laid under requisition were duly supplied. An arrangement was then made for the cir-

ulation of assignats. The soldiers received their pay in paper only,* and if they were to pay away all that they took, it was requisite that this paper should have the currency of money. The Dutch government came to a decision on this head. The shopkeepers and the petty dealers were obliged to take the assignats of the French soldiers at the rate of nine sous per franc; they were not allowed to sell to the amount of more than ten francs to any one soldier; they were then, at the end of every week, to appear before the municipalities, who would withdraw the assignats at the rate at which they had taken them. Owing to these different arrangements, the army, which had so long suffered, found itself at length in abundance, and began to enjoy the fruits of its victories.

Our triumphs, so surprising in Holland, were not less brilliant in Spain. There, thanks to the climate, the operations had not been discontinued. Dugommier, quitting the high Pyrenees, had advanced to the enemy's line, and attacked on three points the long chain of positions taken by General La Union. The brave Dugommier had been killed by a cannon-ball in the attack of the centre. The left had not been successful, but his right, owing to the intrepidity and energy of Augereau,† had been completely victorious. The command had been given to Perignon, who had recommenced the

* "The soldiers being still paid in assignats which passed only for one-fifteenth of their real value, the pay of an officer was only equal in real value to three francs, or half-a-crown a month. In 1795, one-third was paid in specie, which raised the income of a captain to seventy francs, or three pounds sterling a month."—*Jomini*. E.

† "Pierre-François-Charles Augereau, the son of a poor fruiterer is one of the fauxbourgs in Paris, was born in 1757. At an early age he entered the Neapolitan service, but in 1787 was still only a private soldier. Seeing little prospect of advancement, he quitted the army in disgust and settled at Naples, where he taught fencing. In 1792, however, he returned to France, and became a volunteer in the republican army of the South. Owing to his daring, intrepidity, his promotion was rapid beyond all precedent. In 1794 he was brigadier-general, and two years later, general of division. In the year 1796 he joined the army of Italy, and fought at Lodi and Castiglione, from which place he afterwards derived his ducal title. In this campaign, Augereau, who was as avaricious as he was cruel, amassed immense wealth. In 1799 he warmly espoused Bonaparte's cause, and on the establishment of the empire was created marshal, and Duke of Castiglione. In 1806 he distinguished himself greatly at the battle of Jena, and, after the Russian expedition, still more so in the campaigns in Germany. He was one of the first to give in his adhesion to Louis XVIII., for which he was presented with the cross of St. Louis, and created a peer of France. On Napoleon's return from Elba, however, he again offered his services to the Emperor, who repulsed him as a traitor, and, being neglected also by the Bourbons shortly after, he retired to his country-seat, where he died in 1816."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

"Augereau was a cross-gained character; he seemed to be tried and disheartened by victory, of which he always had enough. His person, his manners, and his language, gave him the air of a braggadocio, which however he was far from being."—*Las Cases*. E.

"Augereau was a man wholly destitute of religious feeling. When Napoleon re-established religious worship in France, he insisted on all his ministers and generals attending a solemn *Te Deum*, which was chanted at the cathedral of Notre Dame. On their way from the Tuileries thither, Lannes and Augereau wanted to alight from the carriage as soon as they saw that they were being driven to mass, and it required an order from the First Consul to prevent their doing so. They went, therefore, to Notre Dame, where Augereau kept swearing, in no low whisper, during the whole of the chanted mass. The next day, Bonaparte asked him what he thought of the ceremony. 'Oh, it was all very fine,' replied the general; 'there was nothing wanting but the million of men who have perished in the pulling down of what you are now setting up.'—*Bourrienne*. E.

"Augereau was one who might possess that daring spirit which hurries along thousands of soldiers in its train; but for directing a political movement, or organizing the simplest machination, he was a mere cipher. Not only was he a mere soldier, but his manners were those of a soldier; everything about him betrayed the uneducated man. His vanity was, nevertheless, inordinate."—*Dutchess d'Abrantes*. E.

attack on the 30th of Brumaire (November 20) and gained a signal victory. The enemy had fled in disorder, and left us the intrenched camp of Figueras. A panic seizing the Spaniards, the commandant of Figueras had opened the gates to us on the 9th of Frimaire, and we had thus entered one of the strongest fortresses in Europe. Such was our position in Catalonia. Towards the western Pyrenees, we had taken Fontarabia, St. Sebastian, and Tolosa, and occupied the whole province of Guipuscoa. Moncey, who had succeeded General Muller, had crossed the mountains and advanced to the gates of Pampeluna. Considering however his position too hazardous, he had fallen back, and, supported upon safer positions, he awaited the return of the favourable season for penetrating into the Castilles.

Winter, therefore, had not been able to stop the course of that memorable campaign, and it had just closed in the middle of the season of frost and snow, in Pluviose, that is, in January and February. If the glorious campaign of 1793 had saved us from invasion by raising the blockade of Dunkirk, Maubeuge and Landau, that of 1794 had just opened to us the career of conquest by giving us Belgium, Holland, the country comprised between the Meuse and the Rhine, the Palatinate, the line of the high Alps, the line of the Pyrenees, and several fortresses in Catalonia and Biscay. We shall presently see still greater wonders; but these two campaigns will remain in history as the most national, the most legitimate, and the most honourable for France.

The coalition could not withstand so many rude shocks. The English cabinet, which had lost only the states of its allies through the blunders of the Duke of York, which had gained forty or fifty ships of war, upon pretext of restoring them to the stadtholder, and which was about to seize the Dutch colonies upon the same pretext—the English cabinet was in no hurry to put an end to the war; it was apprehensive, on the contrary, lest it should be terminated by the dissolution of the coalition: but Prussia, which perceived the French on the banks of the Rhine and the Ems, and saw the torrent ready to burst upon her, no longer hesitated. She immediately sent a commissioner to Pichegru's head-quarters to stipulate for a truce, and to promise to open forthwith negotiations for peace. The place chosen for these negotiations was Basle, where the French government had an agent, who had acquired high consideration among the Swiss by his abilities and his moderation. The pretext for selecting this place was that they might there treat with more secrecy and quiet than in Paris itself, where too many passions were still in agitation, and where a multitude of foreign intrigues were crossing one another. But that was not the real motive. While making overtures of peace to that republic, whose enemies had fully expected to annihilate it by a single military march, they wished to cloak the acknowledgment of their defeat, and it was less galling to them to go to a neutral country in quest of peace than to seek it in Paris. The committee of public welfare, less haughty than its predecessor, and feeling the necessity of detaching Prussia from the coalition, consented to invest its agent at Basle with sufficient powers for treating. Prussia sent Baron de Goltz, and the powers were exchanged at Basle on the 3d of Pluviose, year III (January 22, 1795).

The Empire was quite as much inclined to withdraw from the coalition as Prussia. Most of its members, incapable of furnishing the quintuple contingent and the subsidies voted under the influence of Austria, had suffered themselves, during the whole campaign, to be urged to no purpose to keep their engagements. Excepting those whose territories lay beyond the Rhine and who clearly saw that the republic would not restore them unless

it were forced to do so, all were desirous of peace. Bavaria, Denmark, for the Duchy of Holstein, the Elector of Mayence, and several states, had declared that it was high time to put an end by an acceptable peace to a ruinous war; that the Germanic empire had had no other aim than the maintenance of the stipulations of 1648, and had taken up arms only in behalf of such of its states as bordered on Alsace and Lorraine; that it was thinking of its preservation, not of its aggrandizement; that *it never had been, and never could be, its intention to interfere in the internal government of France*; that this pacific declaration must be made sooner or later, to put an end to the evils which afflicted humanity; and that Sweden, the guarantee of the stipulation of 1648, and which had fortunately remained neutral amidst this general war, could undertake the office of mediatrix. The majority of the votes had acceded to this proposal. The Elector of Treves, stripped of his dominions, and the Imperial envoy for Bohemia and Austria, had alone declared that it was certainly right to seek for peace, but that it was scarcely possible with a country without government. At length, on the 25th of December, the diet had published a *conclusum* tending to peace, leaving it to be afterwards decided by whom the proposal should be made. The substance of the *conclusum* was that, while making preparations for a new campaign, the states ought nevertheless to make overtures for peace; that no doubt France, touched by the sufferings of humanity, and convinced that there was no intention of interfering in her internal affairs, would consent to conditions honourable to both parties.

Thus, whoever had committed faults thought of repairing them, if it were not yet too late. Austria, though faint from her efforts, had lost too much, in losing the Netherlands, to think of relinquishing arms. Spain had been inclined to lay down hers: but, again involved in English intrigues, and bound by false shame to the cause of the French emigration, she durst not yet demand peace.

The same discouragement that seized the external enemies of the republic prevailed among its internal enemies also. The Vendéans, divided, exhausted, would not have been averse to peace, had it been discreetly proposed to them, and pains been taken to make them believe it to be sincere. The forces of Stofflet, Sapinaud, and Charette were extremely reduced. It was only by constraint that they could now make their peasants march.* These people, weary of carnage, and above all ruined by devastations, would have been glad to discontinue this horrid warfare. The only persons still entirely devoted to the chiefs were a few men of an absolutely military turn, smugglers, deserters, and poachers, for whom fighting and plunder had become a want, and who could not settle down to agricultural labour. But these were not numerous. They composed the picked band, which kept constantly together, but were quite incapable of withstanding the efforts of the republicans. It was not without the greatest difficulty that, on days when expeditions were to be undertaken, the peasants could be induced to leave their fields. Thus the three Vendean chiefs found themselves almost without forces. Unfortunately for them, they were not even united among themselves.

* "The insurrection had now come to be entirely in the hands of Charette and Stofflet, who never in reality agreed. They were both devoured with jealousy and ambition. The war had no longer that character of union among the chiefs, and universal self-devotion, which distinguished the early days of La Vendée. The peasants were disheartened, and severity was become necessary to keep them to their duty, instead of those higher motives by which they were at first impelled. No great battles were fought as formerly. It was now a war of ruffians carried on by treachery."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochefoucauld*. E.

We have seen that Stofflet, Sapinaud, and Charette, had entered at Jalais into a convention, which was but an adjournment of their rivalry. It was not long before Stofflet, at the instigation of the ambitious Abbé Bernier, resolved to organize an army and a financial and administrative department, in short all that constitutes a regular power. To this end he also proposed to issue paper-money. Charette, jealous of Stofflet, opposed his designs. Seconded by Sapinaud, whom he influenced, he summoned Stofflet to relinquish his project, and to appear before the general council instituted by the convention of Jalais. Stofflet had refused to reply. On his refusal, Charette declared the convention of Jalais null and void. This was equivalent to stripping him of his command, for it was at Jalais that they had reciprocally acknowledged each other's titles. The rupture was therefore complete, and did not allow them to make amends by concord for their exhausted state. Notwithstanding the commission given to the royalist agents at Paris to open a correspondence with Charette and to transmit to him the letters of the regent, nothing had yet reached him.

Scépeaux's division, between the Loire and the Vilaine, was in the same predicament. In Bretagne, it is true, there was less relaxation of energy: a long war had not exhausted the inhabitants. *Chouannerie* was a lucrative trade of plunder, which did not fatigue those who addicted themselves to it, and, besides, a single chief, a man of unequalled perseverance, was there to rekindle the nearly expiring ardour. But this chief, whom we have seen preparing to set out as soon as he should have completed the organization of Bretagne, had lately gone to London, for the purpose of entering into communication with the English cabinet and the French princes. Puisaye had left, to supply his place in the central committee, a Sieur Desotteux, who styled himself Baron de Cormatin in quality of major-general. The emigrants, so numerous in the courts of Europe, were very rare in La Vendée, in Bretagne, and wherever this arduous civil war was waged. They affected supreme contempt for this kind of service, which they called *chouanning* (*chouanner*). For this reason there was a want of officers, and M. de Puisaye had taken this adventurer, who had decorated himself with the title of Baron de Cormatin, from a petty barony of that name in Burgundy, which had devolved to his wife by inheritance. He had been by turns a red-hot revolutionist, then an officer of Bouillé's, afterwards a knight of the dagger, and lastly, he had emigrated, seeking everywhere a part to enact. He was like one possessed, talking and gesticulating with great vivacity, and liable to the most sudden changes. Such was the man, whom Puisaye, without knowing much about him, had left in Bretagne.

Puisaye had organized a correspondence through the Channel Islands: but his absence was prolonged; his letters frequently miscarried; Cormatin was utterly incapable of supplying his place and reviving the courage of the people; the chiefs became impatient or disheartened, and they saw animosities, calmed by the clemency of the Convention, subsiding around them, and the elements of civil war dissolving. The presence of such a general as Hoche was not likely to encourage them, and thus Bretagne, though less exhausted than La Vendée, was quite as well disposed to accept a peace adroitly prepared.

Canclaux and Hoche were both very capable of conducting such an affair with success. We have already witnessed the proceedings of Canclaux in the first war in La Vendée. He had left behind him in that country a high character for moderation and ability. The army placed under his command was considerably weakened by the continual reinforcements sent to the

Pyrenees and to the Rhine, and, moreover, entirely disorganized by its long stay on the same spot. From the disorder incident to civil wars, insubordination had gained ground, and hence pillage, debauchery, drunkenness, and disease had ensued. This was the second relapse of that army since the commencement of this baneful war. Out of the forty-six thousand men who composed it, fifteen or eighteen thousand were in the hospitals; the remaining thirty thousand were badly armed, and half of them were guarding the fortresses: thus fifteen thousand at most were disposable. At his desire, twenty thousand men were given to him, fourteen thousand being taken from the Brest army, and six from that of Cherbourg. With this reinforcement he doubled all the posts, recovered the camp of Sorinières near Nantes, recently taken by Charette, and proceeded in force towards the Layon, which formed Stofflet's defensive line in Upper Anjou. After he had taken this imposing attitude, he circulated abundantly the decrees and the proclamation of the Convention, and sent emissaries all over the country.

Hoche, accustomed to conduct a war upon a large scale, and endowed with superior qualities for carrying it on, found himself, to his extreme mortification, doomed to oppose a civil war, without generosity, without combinations, and without glory. He had at first solicited his dismissal; but he presently made up his mind to serve his country in this disagreeable post, one too obscure for his talents. He was now to be rewarded for this resignation, by finding, on the very stage that he had wished to quit, occasion for displaying the qualities of a statesman as well as those of a general. His army was exceedingly weakened by the reinforcements sent to Canclaux: he had scarcely forty thousand ill-organized men to guard an intersected, mountainous, and woody country, and more than three hundred and fifty leagues of coast from Cherbourg to Brest. He was promised twelve thousand men which were to be drawn from the North. He asked more especially for well-disciplined men and he immediately set about weaning his troops from the habits contracted in the civil war. "We ought," said he, "to put at the head of our columns none but disciplined men, who can show as much moderation as valour, and be mediators as well as soldiers." He had trained them in a great number of small camps, and he recommended to them to go about in parties of forty or fifty, to endeavour to make themselves acquainted with the country, to accustom themselves to this war of surprises, to vie in stratagems with the Chouans, to converse with the peasants, to establish an intercourse with them, to gain their confidence, their friendship, nay even their assistance. "Never forget," he thus wrote to his officers, "that policy ought to have a great share in this war. Let us employ by turns humanity, virtue, integrity, energy, stratagem, and always the dignity that befits republicans." In a short time, he had given to that army a different aspect and a different attitude: the order indispensable for pacification was restored. It was he who, mingling indulgence with severity in his treatment of the soldiers, used these charming expressions in writing to one of his lieutenants, who complained too bitterly of some drunken excesses: "Why, my friend, if soldiers were philosophers, they would not fight. Let us, however, punish drunkards, if drunkenness causes them to neglect their duty." He had formed the most judicious notions of the country, and of the way to restore peace to it. "These peasants," he wrote, "must absolutely have priests; let us leave them their priests, then, since they desire it. Many have suffered, and are sighing to return to an agricultural life; let us afford them some assistance to repair their farms. As for those who have contracted the habit of war, it would be impossible to throw them back upon their country;

they would only disturb it by their indolence and their restlessness. They must be formed into legions and enrolled in the armies of the republic. They will make excellent advanced guard soldiers; and their hatred of the coalition, which has neglected to succour them, will guarantee their fidelity to us. Besides, what signifies the cause? it is war that they want. Recollect," he added, "the bands of Duguesclin going to dethrone Peter the Cruel, and the regiments raised by Villars in the Cevennes." Such was the young general called to give peace to those unfortunate countries.

The decrees of the Convention, profusely circulated in La Vendée and in Bretagne, the release of the suspected persons, both at Nantes and at Rennes, the pardon granted to Madame de Bonchamps, who had been saved from the decree of death issued against her, the cancelment of all unexecuted sentences, the free exercise of religion which had been granted, the prohibition to injure churches, the liberation of the priests, the punishment of Carrier and his accomplices, began to produce the effect expected from them in both countries, and disposed minds to profit by the amnesty offered alike to chiefs and soldiers.* Animosities subsided, and courage along with them. The representatives on mission at Nantes had interviews with the sister of Charette, and transmitted to him, through her agency, the decree of the Convention. He was at that moment reduced to extremity. Though endowed with unparalleled perseverance, he could not dispense with hope, and he saw not a ray of it on any side. The court of Verona, where he excited such admiration, as we have already seen, nevertheless did nothing for him. The regent had, indeed, written him a letter, in which he appointed him lieutenant-general, and styled him the second founder of the monarchy. But this letter, which might at least have flattered his vanity, had been intrusted to the agents in Paris, and had not yet reached him. He had for the first time solicited succour from England, and sent his young aide-de-camp La Roberie to London; but he had received no tidings from him. Thus he had not a word of reward or encouragement, either from the princes to whom he was devoting himself, or from the powers whose policy he was seconding. He consented, therefore, to an interview with Canclaux and the representatives of the people.

At Rennes, also, the desired approximation was brought about by the sister of one of the chiefs. Botidoux, one of the principal Chouans of the Morbihan, had learned that his sister, who was at Rennes, had been imprisoned on his account. He was prevailed upon to repair thither, in order to obtain her release. Boursault, the representative, gave up his sister to him, paid him all sorts of attentions, satisfied him respecting the intentions of the government, and convinced him of the sincerity of the decree of amnesty. Botidoux promised to write to Bois-Hardi, an intrepid young Chouan, who commanded the division of the Côtes-du-Nord, and was reputed to be the most formidable of the insurgents. "What are your hopes!" he wrote to him. "The republican armies are masters of the Rhine. Prussia is soliciting peace. You cannot rely on the promises of England; you cannot rely upon the chiefs who write to you only from beyond sea, or who have forsaken you upon pretext of seeking succour for you; henceforth you can but wage a war of assassination." Bois-Hardi, staggered by this letter, and

* "At the suggestion of Carnot, the committee of public safety, weary of a contest apparently interminable, published a proclamation couched in terms of reconciliation and amity; and, this having led to an address in similar terms from the royalist chiefs, conferences took place between the contending parties, and eventually a treaty was concluded for the final pacification of the West of France."—*Alison*. E.

unable to leave the Côtes-du-Nord, where yet active hostilities required his presence, solicited the central committee to come to him, in order to answer Botidoux. The committee, at the head of which was Cormatin, as Puisaye's major-general, went to Bois-Hardi. There was in the republican army a young general, bold, brave, possessing great natural talent, and especially that cunning peculiar to the profession which he had formerly followed—that of jockey. This was General Humbert. "He was one of those," said Puisaye, "who had triumphantly proved that a year's practice in war amply supplies the place of all the apprenticeships of the parade." He wrote a letter, the style and orthography of which were denounced to the committee of public welfare, but which was so effective as to touch Bois-Hardi and Cormatin. An interview took place. Bois-Hardi showed the easiness of a young and brave soldier, without animosity, fighting from natural disposition rather than fanaticism. He entered, however, into no engagements, and left Cormatin to act. The latter, with his habitual inconsistency, highly flattered at being called to treat with the generals of the mighty French republic, acceded to all Humbert's overtures, and begged to be introduced to the generals, Hoche and Canclaux, and to the representatives. Interviews were agreed upon; the day and the place were fixed. The central committee found fault with Cormatin for having gone too far. The latter, adding duplicity to inconsistency, assured the committee that he would not betray its cause; that, in accepting an interview, he wished to have an opportunity of closely observing the common enemies, and judging of their forces and their dispositions. He laid particular stress upon two reasons, and, according to him, important ones: in the first place, he had never seen Charette, with whom no concert had ever taken place; by desiring to see him, upon pretext of comprehending La Vendée as well as Bretagne in the negotiation, he might acquaint him with Puisaye's plans, and prevail upon him to concur in them: secondly, Puisaye, the playfellow in boyhood of Canclaux, had written him a letter capable of touching him, and containing the most splendid offers to gain him for the monarchy. Upon pretext of an interview, Cormatin would deliver the letter to him, and thus complete Puisaye's work. Affecting thus the part of a skilful diplomatist with his colleagues, Cormatin obtained their assent to his opening a feigned negotiation with the republicans, in order to concert with Charette and to win Canclaux. In this spirit he wrote to Puisaye, and set out with his head full of the most contrary ideas, sometimes proud of deceiving the republicans, of plotting before their faces, and of taking from them a general: at others, vain of being the mediator of the insurgents with the representatives of the republic, and ready, in this whirl of ideas, to become a dupe while intending to make dupes. He saw Hoche, first demanded a provisional truce, and then asked permission to visit all the Chouan chiefs, one after another, for the purpose of inspiring them with pacific sentiments, to see Canclaux, and especially Charette, in order to concert with the latter, saying that the Bretons could not separate themselves from the Vendéans. Hoche and the representatives complied with his desire; but they directed Humbert to accompany him, and to attend all the interviews. Cormatin, at the summit of his wishes, wrote to the central committee and to Puisaye, stating that his artifices were successful, that the republicans were his victims, that he was going to encourage the Chouans, to talk to Charette, to prevail on him merely to temporize till the grand expedition, and lastly, to gain over Canclaux. He accordingly set out on a tour through Bretagne, calling everywhere on the chiefs, and astonishing them by the language of peace, and by

this singular truce. All of them were not aware of the trick, and relaxed their efforts. The cessation of hostilities produced an eager desire for rest and peace, and, without intending it, Cormatin promoted the pacification. He began himself to be inclined to it; and, while he meant to dupe the republicans, it was the republicans who, without meaning to do so, made him their dupe. Meanwhile, the day and place for the interview with Charette had been agreed upon. It was in the vicinity of Nantes. Cormatin was to repair thither, and there the negotiations were to commence. Cormatin, more and more embarrassed every day by the engagements which he was contracting with the republicans, began to write less frequently to the central committee, and the committee, observing the turn which things were taking, wrote to Puisaye in Nivose: "Lose no time in returning. The courage of our men is shaken; the republicans are seducing the chiefs. You must come, if with only twelve thousand men, money, priests and emigrants. Be here before the end of January (Pluviose)." Thus, while the emigrants and the foreign powers were building all their hopes upon Charette and Bretagne, a negotiation was on the point of restoring peace to the two countries. In Pluviose (January and February), the republic was, therefore, treating at Basle with one of the principal powers of the coalition, and at Nantes with the royalists, who had hitherto combated and misconceived it.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

VARIOUS REFORMS—DESTRUCTION OF THE BUSTS OF MARAT—ABOLITION OF THE MAXIMUM AND OF REQUISITIONS—VARIOUS PLANS RESPECTING ASSIGNATS—DEARTH—INSURRECTION OF THE TWELFTH OF GERMINAL—TRANSPORTATION OF BILLAUD-VARENNE, COLLOT-D'HERBOIS, AND BARRÈRE—DISARMING OF THE PARTIOTS.

THE Jacobins were dispersed, the principal agents or chiefs of the revolutionary government under prosecution, Carrier put to death, several other deputies called to account for their missions; lastly, Billaud-Varennes, Collet d'Herbois, Barrère, and Vadier, were placed under accusation, and destined to be soon brought to trial before the tribunal of their colleagues. But, while France was thus seeking to revenge herself on the men who had required of her such painful efforts, and doomed her to a system of terror, she returned with passion to pleasure and to the enjoyments of the arts and of civilization, of which those men had for a moment deprived her. We have already seen with what ardour people were preparing to launch into the amusements of the winter, with what new and singular taste the women strove to dress, how eagerly the concerts in the Rue Feydeau were attended. All the theatres were now opened again. The actors of the Comédie Française were released from prison: Larive, St. Prix, Molé, Dazincourt, St. Phal, and Mesdemoiselles Contat and Devienne, had again appeared on the

stage. The theatres became quite the rage. There all the passages in plays that could be applied to the Reign of Terror were applauded; there the air of the *Réveil du Peuple* was sung; there the *Marseillaise* was proscribed. In the boxes appeared the beauties of the time; the wives or friends of the Thermidorians; in the pit, Fréron's gilded youth seemed to spite, by its pleasures, its dress and its tastes, those coarse, sanguinary Terrorists who it was said had wanted to stifle all civilization. The balls were attended with the same eagerness. There was one, at which no person was present who had not lost relatives during the Revolution. It was called the ball of the victims. The public places devoted to the arts were again opened. The Convention ordered the formation of a museum, to contain not only the pictures previously possessed by France, but all those acquired by conquests. Those of the Flemish school taken in Belgium had been already removed thither. The Lyceum, where Laharpe had very recently celebrated philosophy and liberty in a red cap which had been shut up during the Reign of Terror, was just restored to the public, thanks to the bounty of the Convention, which had taken upon itself part of the expense of the establishment, and distributed some hundreds of tickets among the young men of each section. There Laharpe* was again heard declaiming against anarchy, the system of terror, the corruption of the language, *philosophism*, and all that he had formerly extolled, before that liberty which he celebrated, but with which he was unacquainted, had affrighted his little soul. The Convention had granted pensions to almost all the literary men and to all the men of science, without any distinction of opinion. It had just decreed the establishment of the primary schools, where the lower classes were to learn the elements of the spoken and written language, the rules of arithmetic, the principles of surveying, and some practical notions concerning the principal phenomena of nature; the central schools destined for the higher classes where youth were to be taught the mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, natural history, medical science, the mechanical arts, the arts of design, the belles lettres, the ancient languages, the living languages most appropriate to the localities, general grammar, logic and analysis, history, political economy, the elements of legislation, all in the order best adapted to the development of the understanding; the normal school, where, under the most eminent literati and men of science, young professors were to be

* "Jean Francois de Laharpe, a French dramatic poet, critic, and philosopher, was born at Paris in 1739. His father, a swiss officer in the French service, dying in indigence, he was admitted into the college of Harcourt, where he received an excellent education. A lampoon, however, on one of his benefactors, occasioned him a confinement of some months in the Bastille, when he threw himself on his talents as an author for support. In 1762 he published a collection of poems, and in the following year, the tragedy of Warwick, which was very successful at the time. On the breaking out of the Revolution, Laharpe embraced the principles of republicanism, but during the Reign of Terror, being suspected by the ruling powers, he was thrown into prison, but ultimately restored to liberty. The last years of his life were spent in literary retirement. He died in 1803, in his sixty-fourth year. His principal work is the "Lyceum, or a Complete Course of Literature."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

"At the beginning of the Revolution Laharpe adopted its principles, and went so far as to preach its maxims in his lessons at the Lyceum, where, in 1792, at the time of the greatest ferment, he declaimed a very vehement hymn to liberty; in which the following lines are particularly remarkable: 'The sword, my friends, the sword, it presses on carnage! The sword, it drinks blood; blood nourishes rage; rage inflicts death.' Another day Laharpe appeared in the same assembly with a red cap on his head, and cried out, 'This cap penetrates and inflames my brain?' He soon afterwards lowered his tone, and became zealous in defence of rational liberty and religion."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

trained, who were afterwards to spread throughout all France the instruction acquired by them at the focus of knowledge; lastly, the special schools of medicine, jurisprudence, and the veterinary art. Besides this vast system of education, destined to diffuse and to propagate that civilization which the Revolution was so unjustly accused of having banished, the Convention had added encouragements of all kinds. The establishment of various manufactures had just been ordered. To the Swiss expatriated on account of disturbances national domains at Besançon were given, that they might carry thither the manufactures of clocks and watches. The Convention had, moreover, demanded from its committees plans for canals, banks, and a system of advances to certain provinces ruined by the war. It had mitigated several laws likely to injure agriculture and commerce. A great number of farmers and labourers had quitted Alsace when it was evacuated by Wurmsér, Lyons during the siege, and the whole South since the severities exercised against federalism. It distinguished them from the emigrants, and enacted a law by which labourers and artisans, who had left France since the 1st of May, 1793, and who were disposed to return before the 1st of Germinal, were not to be considered as emigrants. The law relative to suspected persons, the repeal of which had been demanded, was maintained; but it was now formidable to the patriots only, who had become the suspected of the day. The revolutionary tribunal had been entirely re-formed, after the model of the ordinary criminal tribunals. There were judges, juries, and counsel. Judgment could no longer be given upon written documents, or without the examination of witnesses. The law which allowed the tribunal to dispense with pleadings, and which had been passed against Danton, was repealed. The district administrations were to cease to be permanent, as well as the revolutionary committees, except in cities containing upwards of fifty thousand souls. Lastly, the important interests of religion were regulated by a new law. This law stated that, in virtue of the declaration of rights, all religions were free; but it declared that the state would no longer pay any, or permit the public celebration of their worship. Each sect was at liberty to erect or to rent buildings, and to perform the ceremonies of its worship in those edifices. Lastly, as a substitute for the ancient ceremonies of the Catholic religion and those of *Reason*, the Convention formed a plan of decadary festivals. It had combined dancing, music, and moral exhortations, so as to render the diversions of the people profitable, and to produce upon their imagination impressions at once useful and agreeable. Thus relieved from the urgent necessity for defending itself, the Revolution threw off its violent forms, and reverted to its true mission, that of promoting the arts, industry, knowledge, and civilization.

But, while cruel laws were thus disappearing, while the upper classes were recomposing themselves and indulging in pleasure, the lower were suffering severely from the effects of dearth and of a cold season scarcely ever known in our climate. This winter which enabled us to cross dry-shod over the rivers and arms of the sea in Holland, made us pay dearly for that conquest, by dooming the populace in the towns and in the country to grievous hardships. It was indisputably the severest winter of the century: it surpassed even that which preceded the opening of the States-general in 1789. Provisions were scarce from various causes. The principal was the deficiency of the crops. Though they had afforded at first a very fair promise, yet the drought, and afterwards blights, had disappointed all expectations. Thrashing had been neglected, as in the preceding years, either from want of hands, or the ill-will of the farmers. As the assignats were

depreciating from day to day, and had lately fallen to one-tenth of their value, the *maximum* had become more oppressive, and the reluctance to obey it, and the efforts to evade it, were so much the greater. The farmers everywhere made false declarations, and were assisted in their lies by the municipalities, which, as we have seen, had lately been renewed. Being composed almost all of them of moderate men, they cheerfully seconded disobedience to the revolutionary laws; in short, all the springs of authority were relaxed: the government having ceased to strike terror, the requisitions for the supply of the armies and of the great communes were no longer obeyed. Thus the extraordinary system of supplies, destined to make amends for the deficiencies of commerce, was disorganized long before commerce had resumed its natural movement. The dearth was of course more severely felt in the great communes, the supply of which is always more difficult. Paris was threatened with a more distressing famine than any of those which had struck terror into it during the Revolution. With general causes were combined purely particular causes. By the suppression of the commune which had conspired against the Convention on the 9th of Thermidor, the superintendence of the supply of Paris had been transferred from the commune to the commission of commerce and supplies. An interruption in the services had been the consequence of this change. The orders had been given very late, and with a dangerous precipitation. The means of transport were wanting: all the horses, as we have seen, had perished, and, besides the difficulty of collecting sufficient quantities of corn, there was the further difficulty of conveying them to Paris. Dilatoriness, pillage by the way, all the usual accidents of dearth, thwarted the efforts of the commission. With the scarcity of provisions was combined the scarcity of wood for fuel and of charcoal. The canal of Briaire had been dry during the summer. Supplies of pitcoal had not yet arrived, and the forges had consumed all the charcoal. The felling of timber had been tardily ordered, and the people engaged in floating it down the rivers, who were annoyed by the local authorities, had been entirely discouraged. Charcoal and wood were therefore both scarce, and in that terrible winter the dearth of fuel was almost as severely felt as that of corn.

Thus a cruel infliction on the lower classes contrasted with the new pleasures in which the higher orders indulged. The revolutionists, irritated against the government, followed the example of all vanquished parties, and made use of the public calamities as so many arguments against those who were then at the head of the state.* They even contributed to aggravate those calamities by opposing the orders of the administration. "Do not send your corn to Paris," said they to the farmers; "the government is counter-revolutionary; it is bringing back the emigrants; it will not put the constitution in force; it leaves the corn to rot in the magazines of the commission of commerce; it means to starve the people in order to oblige them to throw themselves into the arms of royalty." By such language they prevailed on the owners of the corn to keep it. They left their communes and repaired to the great towns, where they were unknown, and out of the reach of those whom they had persecuted. There they excited disturbances. At Marseilles, they had just committed fresh violence upon the representatives.

* "The season had been very unfavourable, and the scarcity of food was dreadful. The people wanting provisions, and not having the power even with the assignats of purchasing them, were reduced to the greatest distress; they attributed it of course to the government, and called to mind, not without regret, that they had, not long ago, both bread and power under the committee of public safety"—*Mignet*. E

whom they forced to suspend the proceedings instituted against the men who were called the accomplices of terror. It had been deemed necessary to put the city in a state of siege. In Paris, where they were much more numerous, they were also more turbulent. They harped perpetually upon the same subject, the distress of the people, and contrasted it with the luxury of the new leaders of the Convention. Madame Tallien was the woman of the day whom they accused, for at all periods there was one person whom the people accused: she was the perfidious enchantress whom they blamed, as Madame Roland had formerly been blamed, and before her time Marie Antoinette, for all the miseries of the people. Her name was several times pronounced in the Convention without appearing to gall Tallien. At last, he one day rose to reply to this abuse. He represented her as a model of attachment and courage, as one of the victims whom Robespierre had destined to the scaffold, and he declared that she had become his wife. Barras, Legendre, and Fréron, joined him. It was high time, they said, to speak out. They exchanged abuse with the Mountain, and the Convention was obliged, as usual, to put an end to the discussion by proceeding to the order of the day. On another occasion, Duhem told Clausel, the deputy, a member of the committee of general safety, that he would murder him. The tumult became tremendous, and the order of the day once more interfered to put an end to this new scene.

The indefatigable Duhem discovered a publication entitled *Le Spectateur de la Révolution*, containing a dialogue on the two governments monarchical and republican. This dialogue gave an evident preference to the monarchical government, and even exhorted the French people, in an undisguised manner, to revert to it. Duhem denounced this work with indignation, as one of the symptoms of the royalist conspiracy. The Convention, acknowledging the justice of this complaint, sent the author before the revolutionary tribunal; but Duhem having gone so far as to say that royalism and aristocracy were triumphant, it sent him for three days to the Abbaye, as having insulted the assembly. These scenes had set all Paris in commotion. In these sections it was proposed to prepare addresses on what had just happened, and violent contests ensued about drawing them up, each desiring that these addresses should be written agreeably to his own opinion. Never had the Revolution exhibited so tempestuous a scene.

Formerly, the all-powerful Jacobins had met with no resistance capable of producing a real combat. They had driven all before them and come off conquerors—noisy and furious, but sole conquerors. Now, a powerful party had just risen up, and though it was less violent, it made up by number what it wanted in violence, and could fight with an equal chance of success. Addresses were made in every variety of tone. Some Jacobins, who met in coffee-houses near the populous quarters of St. Denis, the Temple, and St. Antoine, held the same language as they had been accustomed to do. They threatened to go and attack the new conspirators at the Palais Royal, in the theatres, and in the Convention itself. The young men, on their side, made a terrific noise in the pit of the theatres. They resolved upon an outrage which would be keenly felt by the Jacobins. The bust of Marat was in all the public places and particularly in the theatres. At the Théâtre Feydeau some young men climbed up to the balcony, and mounting upon one another's shoulders threw down the bust of the *saint*, dashed it to pieces, and immediately set up that of Rousseau in its place. The police made vain efforts to prevent this disturbance. The act of the young men was universally applauded. Wreaths were thrown upon the stage to crown the bust.

of Rousseau; verses written for the occasion were circulated; and there were shouts of "Down with the Terrorists! down with Marat! down with the sanguinary monster who demanded three hundred thousand heads! The author of *Emile*, of the *Contrat Social*, of the *Nouvelle Heloise*, for ever!" No sooner had this example been set, than it was imitated on the following day at the other theatres, and at all the places of public resort. People ran to the markets, smeared the bust of Marat with blood, and then threw it into the mud. A number of boys, in the quarter of Montmartre, formed a procession, and, after carrying a bust of Marat to the brink of a sewer, tumbled it in. Public opinion was expressed with extreme violence. Dislike, even hatred of Marat, filled every heart, not excepting even those of most of the Mountaineers; for none of them could follow in his eccentricities the ideas of this audacious maniac. But the name of Marat being consecrated, the dagger of Corday having gained him a kind of worship, people were as much afraid of touching his altars as those of liberty itself. We have seen that during the last sans-culottides, that is four months before, he had been introduced into the Pantheon in the place of Mirabeau. The committees, eagerly taking the hint, proposed to the Convention to decree that no individual should be deposited in the Pantheon till twenty years after his death, and that the bust or portrait of no citizen should be set up in the public places. It added that every decree to the contrary was repealed. In consequence, Marat, introduced into the Pantheon, was turned out again before the end of four months. Such is the instability of revolutions! Immortality is decreed or taken away, and unpopularity threatens party leaders even after death! From that moment commenced the long infamy which has covered Marat, and which he has shared with Robespierre. Both, formerly idolized by fanaticism, but now judged by affliction, were devoted to long-continued execration.

The Jacobins, incensed at this outrage offered to one of the most renowned characters of the Revolution, assembled at the fauxbourg St. Antoine, and swore to avenge the memory of Marat. They took his bust, carried it about in triumph in all the quarters under their sway, and, being armed exceedingly well, threatened to murder any one who should attempt to disturb this sinister solemnity. The young men had a great mind to fall upon this train. They encouraged one another to attack it, and a battle would infallibly have ensued, if the committees had not ordered the club of the Quinze-Vingts to be closed, forbidden processions of this kind, and dispersed the assemblages. In the sitting of the 20th of Nivose, the busts of Marat and Lepelletier were removed from the hall of the Convention,* as well as the two fine paintings in which David had represented them dying. The tribunes, which were divided, set up contrary cries: some applauded, while others raised tremendous murmurs. Among the latter were many of those women who were called the furies of the guillotine:

* "Marat was now attacked in his turn. His bust was in the Convention, and in most of the popular assemblies. The gilded youths broke it to pieces at the Theatre Feydau, and the Mountain remonstrated, but without success. The commotion in the fauxbourgs became, consequently, considerable. There was also in front of the Invalids a mountain crowned with a colossal statue of Hercules killing the Hydra. The section of the corn-market demanded of the Assembly that it should be pulled down. Some murmurs were heard from the left. 'This giant,' said a member, 'is the image of the people.'—'I see nothing but a mountain,' replied another; 'and what is a mountain, if it be not a lasting protest against equality?' These words were received with applause; they were sufficient to procure the petition a favourable reception, and to overturn this monument of the victory and domination of a party."—*Mignet*. E.

they were turned out. The Assembly applauded, and the Mountain, sullen and silent, on seeing those celebrated pictures taken down, fancied that it saw the Revolution and the republic annihilated.

The Convention had just deprived both parties of an occasion for quarrel; but it had only deferred the struggle for a few days. The resentment was so keen, and the sufferings of the people were so severe, that there was every reason to expect one of those violent scenes which had imbrued the Revolution in blood. Amidst the uncertainty as to what was likely to happen, all the questions to which the commercial and financial situation of the country gave rise were discussed—unfortunate questions, which people took up afresh every moment, to treat and resolve them in a different manner, according to the changes which opinions had undergone.

Two months before, the Convention had modified the *maximum* by rendering the price of corn variable according to the localities. It had modified the requisitions by making them special, limited, and regular; and it had adjourned the questions relative to the sequestration, the specie, and the assignats. Now, all respect for the revolutionary creations was gone. It was no longer a mere modification that was demanded, but the abolition of this system of coercion established during the Reign of Terror. The adversaries of this system adduced excellent reasons. Everything, they said, was not subject to a *maximum*; the *maximum* was absurd and unjust. The farmer paying 30 francs for a coultre, for which he formerly paid 50 sous, 700 francs for a servant, for whom he used to pay 100, and 10 francs to a day-labourer, to whom he had given 50 sous, could not afford his produce at the same price as formerly. As raw materials imported from abroad had recently been exempted from the *maximum*, in order to restore some activity to trade, it was absurd to subject them to it after they were wrought; for eight or ten times less would then be paid for them than before. These examples were not the only ones. A thousand others of the same kind might be mentioned. As the *maximum* thus exposed the shopkeeper, the manufacturer, and the farmer, to inevitable losses, they never would submit to it; the former would voluntarily shut up their shops or their factories; the latter would hide his corn or consume it in his own farm-yard, because he would find it more profitable to sell poultry and pigs when fattened upon it. At any rate, if it was desired that the markets should be supplied, it was requisite that the prices should be free; for nobody would like to work for nothing. Besides, added the adversaries of the revolutionary system, the *maximum* had never been carried into execution; those who wanted to buy made up their minds to pay according to the real price, and not according to the legal price. The whole question, therefore, was comprised in these words—to pay high or to have nothing. It would be vain to attempt to supply the lack of spontaneous activity in manufactures and commerce by requisitions, that is to say, by the action of the government. A trading government was a ridiculous monstrosity. Was it certain that that commission of supplies, which had made such a noise about its operations, had imported any foreign corn into France? What was there to feed France with for five days? It was necessary, therefore, to return to individual activity, that is, to free trade, and to rely only on herself. When the *maximum* should be abolished, and the merchant could again lay on the price of freight and insurance, the interest of his capital, and his fair profit, he would import commodities from all parts of the globe. The great communes, in particular, which were not provisioned, like Paris, at the cost of

the state, could not have recourse to anything but commerce, and would be famished unless its freedom were restored to it.

These arguments were just in principle. It was not the less true that the transition from a forced trade to a free trade was liable to prove dangerous in a great crisis like the present. Till the freedom of prices should have awakened individual industry, and supplied the markets, everything would be excessively dear. It would be a very transient inconvenience for all commodities which were not of prime necessity; it would be only an interruption for a moment, till competition should reduce the prices; but, for articles of consumption which did not admit of interruption, how was the transition to take place? Until the faculty of selling corn at a free price should have caused vessels to be despatched to the Crimea, to Poland, to Africa, and to America, and by the competition have obliged the farmers to part with their grain, how were the populace in the cities to subsist without *maximum* and without requisitions? Would not bad bread, produced by the laborious efforts of the administration, with incredible pains and anxiety, be better than absolute want. Most certainly it would be well to get out of the forced system as soon as possible, but with great caution and without silly precipitation.

As for the reproaches of M. Boissy-d'Anglas* to the commission of supplies, they were not less unjust than ridiculous. Its importations, he said, could not have fed France for five days. The accuracy of the calculation was at first denied; but that was of little consequence. It is but a little of which a country is deficient, otherwise it would be impossible to supply that deficiency; but was it not an immense service to have provided that little? Who can form a conception of the distress of a country deprived of bread for five days? Moreover, had this privation been equally divided, it would not have been mortal, but, while the country would have been glutted with corn, the great towns, and the capital, in particular, would have been destitute of it not for five days only, but for ten, twenty, fifty, and a convulsion would have ensued. Besides, the commission of commerce and supplies, under the direction of Lindet, had not merely imported articles of consumption from abroad, but transported the corn, forage, and merchandise which were in France, from the country to the frontiers or to the great communes; and commerce, affrighted by the war and political horrors, would never have done so spontaneously. It had been found necessary to make amends for this by the will of the government, and that energetic and extraordinary will was entitled to the gratitude and the admiration of France, notwithstanding the outcry of those petty men, who, during the dangers of the country, could do nothing but hide themselves.

The question was carried by assault, as it were. The *maximum* and the requisitions of transport were abolished, as the seventy-three had been recalled, as Billaud, Collot, and Barrère had been denounced. Some relics of the system of requisitions were nevertheless suffered to subsist. Those which were imposed, in order to supply the great communes, were to be enforced for a month longer. Government retained the right of pre-emption, that is, the right to take articles of consumption by authority on paying the market price for them. The famous commission lost part of its title; it was

* "At this particular period, Boissy-d'Anglas, who was at the head of a committee of subsistence for supplying the people with bread, was anything but popular. People began to suspect him even of keeping back the supplies of provisions, in order to make them desperate, and favour the royalist faction, with which he was secretly connected."—*Hazlitt*. E.

no longer called commission of commerce and supplies, but merely commission of supplies. Its five directors were reduced to three; its ten thousand agents to a few hundred. The system of contracts was judiciously substituted for that of administrative management; and, by the way, Pache was found fault with for his appointment of the committee of markets. The expense of carriage was allowed to contractors. The manufacture of arms in Paris, which had rendered costly but important services, was discontinued, as it could then be without inconvenience. The fabrication of arms was again committed to contractors. The workmen, who clearly saw that they should be paid less wages, began to murmur: instigated by the Jacobins, they even threatened a commotion; but they were quelled, and sent back to their communes.

The question of the sequestration, previously adjourned, (because the government feared lest, in re-establishing the circulation of bills, it should furnish supplies to the emigrants, and cause jobbing in foreign paper to be renewed,) was again taken up, and this time resolved to the advantage of freedom of trade. The sequestration was taken off; the sequestered bills were thus restored to the foreign merchants, at the risk of not obtaining the like restitution in favour of the French. Lastly, the free circulation of specie was restored, after a warm debate. It had formerly been prohibited, to prevent emigrants from carrying specie out of France; it was now permitted from the consideration that, as we lacked the means of return, Lyons being no longer able to furnish sixty millions' worth of manufactured goods, Nîmes twenty, and Sedan ten, commerce would be impossible, unless purchases made abroad were allowed to be paid for in gold or silver. Besides, it was believed that, as specie was hoarded and would not come forth on account of the paper-money, the faculty of paying foreigners for articles of importation would induce it to show itself, and draw it again into circulation. Precautions of a puerile kind were moreover taken to prevent its going to feed the emigrants; every person who sent abroad any metallic amount being obliged to import merchandise of the like value.

Lastly, the government turned its attention to the difficult question of the assignats. There were nearly seven thousand five or six hundred millions in actual circulation; in the coffers there were five or six hundred millions; the total sum fabricated amounted therefore to eight thousand millions. The pledge in hand, in property of first and second origin, as woods, lands, country mansions, hotels, houses, furniture, amounted to more than fifteen thousand millions, according to the actual valuation in assignats. The pledge was therefore amply sufficient. But the assignat lost nine-tenths or eleven-twelfths of its value, according to the objects for which it was given in payment. Thus the state, which received the taxes in assignats, the stockholder, the public functionary, the owner of houses or of lands, the creditor of a capital, all those in short who received their salaries, their income, their reimbursements, in paper, sustained losses that became daily more enormous; and the distress resulting from this state of things likewise increased every day. Cambon proposed to augment the salaries of the public functionaries and the income of the stockholders. After this suggestion had been opposed, it was found necessary to adopt it in regard to the public functionaries, who could no longer live upon their salaries. This was but a very slight palliative for an immense evil: it was relieving one class out of a thousand. To relieve them all, it would be requisite to re-establish the just standard of values; but how was this to be effected?

People were still fond of indulging in the dreams of the preceding year

They investigated the cause of the depreciation of the assignats, and the means of raising them. In the first place, though they acknowledged that their great quantity was one cause of the depreciation, they strove to prove that this was not the chief cause, in order to exculpate themselves from the excessive issue. In proof, they alleged that at the moment of the defection of Dumouriez, of the insurrection in La Vendée and of the taking of Valenciennes, the assignats, circulating in much smaller quantity than after the raising of the blockade of Dunkirk, Maubeuge, and Landau, nevertheless lost more. This was true, and it proved that defeats and victories had an influence on the course of paper-money, a truth that was certainly incontestable. But now, in the year III (March, 1795), victory was complete on all points, confidence in the sales was established, the national property had become the object of a species of jobbing, a great number of speculators bought to make a profit by reselling or by dividing; and yet the discredit of the assignats was four or five times as great as in the preceding year. The quantity of the issues was therefore the real cause of the depreciation of the paper, and to decrease the amount in circulation was the only mode to raise its value.

The way to bring it back was to sell the national possessions. But what were the means of selling them?—an everlasting question, which was brought forward every year. The cause which had prevented the purchase of national property in preceding years was repugnance, prejudice, and above all, want of confidence in the acquisitions. Now there was a different cause. Let us figure to ourselves how immoveable property is acquired in the ordinary course of things. The merchant, the manufacturer, the farmer, and the capitalist, with slow accumulations arising from produce or income, purchase land of the man who has impoverished himself, or who wishes to change his property for another. But either it is one estate that is exchanged for another, or it is the estate that is exchanged for a moveable capital accumulated by labour. The purchaser of the estate comes to enjoy repose on its bosom; the seller goes elsewhere to employ the moveable capital which he receives in payment, and to succeed to the laborious part of him who accumulated it. Such is the insensible revolution of immoveable property. But let us figure to ourselves a full third of the territory, consisting of extensive and mostly undivided estates, parks, country-houses, hotels, put up for sale all at once, at the very moment too when the most opulent proprietors, merchants, and capitalists, were dispersed, and we shall be able to judge whether it was possible to pay for them. It was not a few tradesmen or farmers who had escaped the proscriptions that could make such acquisitions, and what was still more, pay for them. We shall no doubt be told that the mass of assignats in circulation was sufficient to pay for the domains; but this mass was illusory, if every holder of assignats was obliged to lay out eight or ten times the quantity to procure the same objects as formerly.

The difficulty consisted, therefore, in furnishing purchasers not with the inclination to buy, but with the faculty of paying: consequently, all the means proposed were founded on a false basis, for they all presupposed that faculty. The means proposed were either forced or voluntary. The former were demonetization and forced loan. Demonetization changed paper-money into a mere delegation upon property. It was tyrannical; for, when it reached the assignat in the hands of the labouring man or the individual who had but just wherewithal to live, it converted the morsel of bread into earth and starved the holder of that assignat. The mere rumour, in fact, that a certain portion of the paper was to be divested of the character of

money had caused a rapid fall, and a decree had been issued against demonetizing. The forced loan was quite as tyrannical; it consisted also in forcibly changing the money assignat into an obligation on the lands. The only difference was that the forced loan bore upon the upper and wealthy classes, and operated the conversion for them only; but they had suffered so severely that it was difficult to oblige them to buy landed property, without throwing them into cruel embarrassment. Besides, since the reaction, they began to defend themselves against any return to revolutionary measures.

There was of course nothing left but voluntary means. Expedients of all kinds were proposed. Cambon devised a scheme for a lottery: it was to consist of four millions of tickets at 1000 francs each, which made an amount of four thousand millions to be furnished by the republic. The state was to add 391 millions out of which the great prizes were to be formed, so that there should be four of 500,000 francs, thirty-six of 250,000, and three hundred and sixty of 100,000. The least fortunate were to get back the 1000 francs which they had given for their tickets; but both, instead of being paid in assignats, were to receive a bond on the national property, bearing interest at three per cent. Thus it was supposed that the attraction of a considerable prize would cause this kind of investment in bonds on the national domains to be sought after, and that four thousand millions of assignats would thus exchange the quality of money for that of contracts on lands, by the sacrifice of a premium of 391 millions. Thirion proposed another plan, that of a *tontine*. But this method, consisting in those investments which are made to secure a small capital to certain survivors, was far too slow and too inadequate in regard to the enormous mass of the assignats. Johannot proposed a kind of territorial bank where assignats might be paid in and bonds bearing three per cent. interest obtained in their stead—bonds which might be exchanged at pleasure for assignats. This was still the same plan of changing the paper-money into simple obligations on lands. Here the only difference consisted in conferring on those obligations the faculty of resuming the form of circulating medium. It is evident that the real difficulty was not surmounted. All the means devised for withdrawing and raising the paper were therefore illusory: it would have been necessary to proceed for a long time to come in the same track, issuing assignats, which would fall more and more every day; and in the end there must have been a forced solution. Unfortunately, people can never foresee the necessary sacrifices, and diminish their extent by making them beforehand. Nations have always lacked this foresight and this courage in a financial crisis.

To these supposed means of withdrawing the assignats were added others, fortunately more practicable but very limited. The moveable property of the emigrants, for which a ready sale might be found, amounted to 200 millions. The shares of emigrants in the commercial companies might produce 100 millions, the share in their inherited property 500 millions. But in the first case capital would be withdrawn from commerce; in the second, a portion of the amount must be raised in lands. It was intended to offer a premium to those who should complete their payments for the property already purchased, and it was hoped that 800 millions might thus be brought back. Lastly, it was intended to make a lottery of the great houses situated in Paris and not let. In case of complete success, this would bring in a thousand millions more. All the items that we have enumerated would thus withdraw 2600 millions; but it would have been very fortunate if 1500 millions had been got in upon the whole. That sum, however, was about to be produced

in another way. The Convention had just decreed a very judicious and a very humane measure—the payment of the creditors of the emigrants. It had at first been resolved to make a separate liquidation for each emigrant. As many of them were insolvent, the republic would not have paid their debts till it had realized their credits. But this individual liquidation would have been attended with endless delay. It would have been necessary to open an account for each emigrant, to enter in it his immoveable property, and his moveable property and to balance the whole with his debts; and his unfortunate creditors, almost all of them servants, artisans, or shopkeepers, would have had to wait twenty or thirty years for their money. At the instigation of Cambon, it was decided that the creditors of the emigrants should become creditors of the state, and should be paid immediately, excepting those whose debtors were notoriously insolvent. The republic might thus lose a few millions, but it would relieve very great distress and confer an immense benefit. Cambon, the revolutionist, was the author of this most humane idea.

But, while these unhappy questions were under discussion, the attention of the government was called off every moment to still more urgent matters—the supply of Paris, which was almost entirely destitute. It was now the end of Ventose (the middle of March). The abolition of the *maximum* had not yet had the effect of reviving commerce, and corn did not arrive. A number of deputies, scattered around Paris, made requisitions which were not obeyed. Though they were still authorized for the supply of the great communes, and on paying the market-price, the farmers alleged that they were abolished, and refused to comply with them: but this was not the greatest obstacle. The rivers and the canals were entirely frozen. Not a boat could arrive. The roads, covered with ice, were impassable; to render wheel-carriage possible it would have been requisite to gravel them for twenty leagues round. During the journey the carts were plundered by the famished people, who were excited to fury by the Jacobins, who told them that the government was counter-revolutionary, that it suffered corn to rot in Paris, and that it intended to restore royalty. While the arrivals diminished, the consumption increased, as always happens in such cases. The fear of running short made each person lay in provisions for several days. Bread was delivered as formerly on the presentation of tickets; but every one exaggerated his wants. To favour their milkwomen, their laundresses, or the country-people, who brought them vegetables and poultry, the inhabitants of Paris gave them bread, which was preferred to money, on account of the dearth which afflicted the environs as much as Paris itself. The bakers even sold dough to the country-people, and from fifteen hundred sacks the consumption had thus risen to nineteen hundred. The abolition of the *maximum* had caused an extraordinary rise in the prices of all kinds of eatables; to bring them down, the government had put meat and goods in the hands of the pork butchers, the grocers, and the shop-keepers, to be sold at a low price. But these depositories abused their commission and sold at a higher rate than they had agreed to do.

The committées were every day in the greatest alarm, and waited with extreme anxiety for the nineteen hundred sacks of flour which had become indispensable. Boissy-d'Anglas, charged with the superintendence of the supply of articles of consumption, came continually to make new reports, in order to pacify the public, and to impart to it a security which was not felt by the government itself. In this situation the customary abuse was not spared. "See," said the Mountain, "the effect of the abolition of the *maximum*!"—"See," replied the right side, "the inevitable effect of your revo-

lutionary measures!" Each then proposed as a remedy the accomplishment of the wishes of his party, and demanded measures frequently most foreign to the painful subject under discussion. "Punish all the guilty!" said the right side, "repair all injustice, revise all the tyrannical laws, repeal all the laws relative to the suspected."—"No," answered the Mountaineers: "renew your committees of government; render their energy revolutionary: cease to persecute the best patriots, and to raise the aristocracy again." Such were the means proposed for the relief of the public distress.

It is always moments like these that parties choose for coming to blows and for carrying their schemes into effect. The report so long expected concerning Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, Barrère, and Vadier, was presented to the Assembly. The commission of twenty-one decided upon accusation, and demanded the provisional arrest. The arrest was immediately voted by an immense majority. It was decreed that the four inculped members should be heard by the Assembly, and that a solemn discussion should be opened on the motion for placing them under accusation. No sooner was this decision adopted, than it was proposed to readmit into the bosom of the Assembly the proscribed deputies, who two months before had been discharged from all prosecution, but who had been forbidden to resume their seats among their colleagues. Sieyes,* who had kept silence for five years, who, from the first months of the Constituent Assembly, had concealed himself in the centre, that his reputation and his genius might be forgotten, and whom the dictatorship had forgiven as an unsociable character, incapable of conspiring, ceasing to be dangerous as soon as he ceased writing—Sieyes emerged from his long silence, and said that, since the reign of the laws seemed to be restored, he should resume the right to speak. So long as the outrage committed on the national representation was not repaired, the reign of the laws, according to him, was not re-established. "Your whole history," said he to the Convention, "is divided into two epochs; from the 21st of September, the day of your meeting, to the 31st of May, the oppression of the Convention by the misguided people; from the 31st of May to the present day, the oppression of the people by the Convention, tyrannized over itself. From this day you will prove that you are become free by recalling your colleagues. Such a measure cannot even be discussed; it is one of absolute right." The Mountaineers inveighed against this manner of

* The following anecdotes are highly characteristic of Sieyes, who rendered himself conspicuous during the Revolution by his numerous crotchets, theories, and systems, which possessed every earthly recommendation except common sense.

"Sieyes, observed Napoleon, before the Revolution, was almoner to one of the princesses. One day, when he was performing mass in the chapel before herself, her attendants, and a large congregation, something occurred which made the princess get up and retire. Her example was followed by her ladies-in-waiting, and by the whole of the nobility, officers, and others, who attended more out of complaisance to her than from any true sense of religion. Sieyes was very busy reading his breviary, and for some time did not perceive the general desertion. Lifting up his eyes, however, from his book, lo! he observed that the princess, nobles, and all their retainers, had disappeared. With an air of contempt, displeasure, and haughtiness, he shut the book, hastily descended from the pulpit, exclaiming, 'I do not say mass for the *canaille*,' and went out of the chapel, leaving the service half finished."—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

"The Abbé Sieyes rendered himself remarkable on occasion of the King's trial. When his turn came to ascend the tribune, he pronounced the words 'Death, *sans phrase*.' This expression was afterwards parodied in a cutting manner by a minister of the King of Prussia, whom Caillard, the French minister, had requested to pay some attention to Sieyes, who was going as ambassador to Berlin. 'No,' replied he; 'and *sans phrase*.'—*Memoirs of a Peer of France*. E.

reasoning. "All that you have done then is null!" exclaimed Cambon. "Those immense toils, that multitude of laws, all the decrees which constitute the present government, are then null! and the salvation of France, effected by your courage and your efforts, all this is null!" Sieyès said that he was misunderstood. The Assembly nevertheless decided that the deputies who had escaped the scaffold should be reinstated. Those famous proscribeds, Isnard, Henri Larivière, Louvet, Lareveillère-Lepaux, and Doucet de Pontecoulant, entered amidst applause. "Why," exclaimed Chenier, "was there not a cavern deep enough to save from the executioners the eloquence of Vergniaud and the genius of Condorcet!"*

The Mountaineers were indignant; nay, even several Thermidorians, alarmed at seeing the chiefs of a faction which had opposed so dangerous a resistance to the revolutionary system, admitted again into the Assembly, went back to the Mountain. Thuriot, that Thermidorian, so inimical to Robespierre, who had by a miracle escaped the fate of Philippeaux; Lesage-Senault, a man of sound discretion, but a decided enemy to all counter-revolution; lastly, Lecointre, the resolute adversary of Billaud, Collot, and Barrère, who had five months before been declared a calumniator for denouncing the seven remaining members of the old committees; took their seats again on the left side. "You know not what you are doing," said Thuriot to his colleagues; "those men will never forgive you." Lecointre proposed a distinction: "Recall the proscribed deputies," said he, "but inquire which of them took arms against the country by exciting the departments to insurrection, and admit them not again among you." All of them had in fact taken arms. Louvet hesitated not to confess this, and proposed to declare that the departments which had risen in 1793 had deserved well of the country. This called up Tallien, who, alarmed at the boldness of the Girondins, opposed the two propositions of Lecointre and Louvet. Both were rejected. While the Assembly recalled the proscribed Girondins, it referred Pache, Bouchotte, and Garat,† to the examination of the committee of general safety.

Such resolutions were not calculated to pacify the public mind. The increasing dearth at length rendered necessary the adoption of a measure which had been postponed for several days, and which could not fail to increase the irritation to the highest pitch—namely, to reduce the inhabitants of Paris to rations. Boissy-d'Anglas appeared before the Assembly on the 25th of Ventose (March 15), and proposed, in order to prevent waste and to insure to each a sufficient share of provisions, to limit every individual to a certain quantity of bread. The number of persons composing each family was to be stated on the ticket, and no more than one pound of bread per day was to be allowed for each person. On this condition, the commission of

* "I will not do the National Convention the injustice," said Chenier, who spoke in favour of the Girondins, "to place before its eyes the phantom of federalism, which they have dared to make the principal head of accusation against your colleagues. They have fled, it is said. They have concealed themselves. This, then, is their crime. Ah! would that it had pleased the fates of the republic that this had been the crime of them all! Why were there not caverns deep enough to preserve to their country the meditations of Condorcet, and the eloquence of Vergniaud? Why, on the 10th of Thermidor, did not a hospitable land again bring to light this band of energetic patriots, and virtuous republicans? But they fear schemes of vengeance from men soured by misfortune."—*Mignet*. E.

† "Garat was a man of talent who had distinguished himself in the revolutionary troubles, but his eloquence, I well remember, was always disliked by Bonaparte. 'What an animal that Garat is!' said he to me one day. 'What a stringer of words! There are people who never know when to hold their tongues.'"—*Bourrienne*. E.

supplies could answer for it that the city would not be left without provisions. Romme, the Mountaineer, proposed to raise the allowance of working men to a pound and a half. The upper classes, he said, possessed the means of procuring butchers' meat, rice, or vegetables; but the common people, being unable to buy anything but bread, ought to have more of it. Romme's proposition was adopted, and the Thermidorians were sorry that they had not made it themselves, to gain the support of the lower classes and to withdraw them from the Mountain.

No sooner was this decree passed than it excited a most violent ferment in the populous quarters of Paris. The revolutionists strove to aggravate its effect, and never called Boissy-d'Anglas by any other name than *Famine Boissy*. On the day after the next, the 27th of Ventose (March 17), when the decree was for the first time carried into execution, a great tumult arose in the faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau. For the 636,000 inhabitants of the capital there had been given out 1897 sacks of flour: 324,000 citizens had received the additional half-pound allowed to persons supporting themselves by the labour of their hands. Nevertheless, it appeared so new to the people of the faubourgs to be reduced to rations, that they murmured. Some women, who were accustomed to attend the clubs, and who were always ready to create a riot, made a disturbance in the section of the Observatoire, and were joined by the usual agitators of the section. They resolved to present a petition to the Convention; but for this purpose it was requisite that there should be a meeting of the whole section, and it was not lawful to hold such a meeting excepting on the Decadi. They nevertheless beset the civil committee, demanded with threats the keys of the hall, and, on its refusal to give them up, the mob insisted on its sending one of its members to go with them to the Convention. The committee complied, and appointed one of its members to regularize the movement and to prevent disturbance. A similar scene was taking place, at the same moment in the section of Finistère. A concourse had collected there and joined that of the Observatoire; and both, blended together, proceeded towards the Convention. One of the ringleaders undertook to speak, and was conducted with a few of the petitioners to the bar. The rest of the mob remained outside making a tremendous noise. "We are in want of bread!" said the spokesman of the deputation: "we are ready to regret all the sacrifices that we have made for the Revolution." At these words, the Assembly, filled with indignation, abruptly stopped him, and several members rose to condemn language so unbecoming. "Bread! bread!" shouted the petitioners striking the bar with their fists. On this insolent conduct, the Assembly desired them to be turned out of the hall. Tranquillity, however, was restored; the speaker finished his harangue and said that, till the wants of the people were supplied, they would not shout anything but *The republic for ever!* Thibaudau, the president, replied with firmness to this seditious speech, and, without inviting the petitioners to the sitting, sent them back to their work. The committee of general safety, which had already collected some battalions of the sections, cleared away the crowd from the doors of the Assembly, and dispersed it.

This scene produced a strong impression on the public mind. The daily threats of the Jacobins spread through the sections of the faubourgs; their inflammatory placards, in which they gave warning that an insurrection would take place within a week, if all the prosecutions against the patriots were not dropped, and if the constitution of 1793 were not enforced; their almost public conferences, held in the coffee-houses of the faubourgs; lastly,

this recent attempt at riot, revealed to the Convention the scheme of a new 31st of May. The right side, the reinstated Girondins, the Thermidorians, all threatened alike, deemed it time to take measures for preventing any new attack on the national representation. Sieyes, who had lately made his appearance again upon the stage, and become a member of the committee of public welfare, proposed to the united committees a sort of martial law, destined to preserve the Convention from fresh violence. This *projet de loi* declared as seditious every concourse of people assembled for the purpose of attacking public or private property, of restoring royalty, of overthrowing the republic and the constitution of 1793, of going to the Temple, to the Convention, &c. Every member of such an assemblage was to be liable to banishment. If after three warnings from the magistrates the assemblage did not disperse, force was to be employed; and, till the public force should collect, all the adjoining sections were to send their own battalions. An insult offered to a representative of the people was to be punished by banishment; outrage, attended with violence, by death. One bell only was to remain in Paris, and to be placed in the Pavillon de l'Unité. If any assemblage should be proceeding towards the Convention, this bell was immediately to sound the alarm. At this signal, all the sections were to be required to assemble and to march to the succour of the national representation. If the Convention should be dissolved, or its liberty violated, all the members who could escape were to be enjoined to leave Paris immediately, and to repair to Châlons-sur-Marne. All the deputies absent on leave or on missions were to be ordered to join them. The generals were also to send them troops from the frontiers, and the new Convention formed at Châlons, the only depository of the legitimate authority, was to march to Paris, to deliver the oppressed portion of the national representation, and to punish the authors of the outrage.

This plan was cordially adopted by the committees. Sieyes was commissioned to draw up the report upon it, and to present it as speedily as possible to the Assembly. The revolutionists, on their part, emboldened by the late movement, finding in the dearth a most favourable opportunity, perceiving that the danger was becoming more imminent for their party, and that the fatal moment for Billaud, Collot, Barrère, and Vadier, was approaching, bestirred themselves with greater violence, and thought seriously of getting up a sedition. The electoral club and the popular society of the Quinze-Vingts had been dissolved. Deprived of this place of refuge, the revolutionists had resorted to the sectional assemblies, which were held every Decadi. They swayed the fauxbourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau, and the quarters of the Temple and of the City. They met at the coffee-houses situated in the heart of these different quarters; they projected a commotion, but without having either any avowed plan or leaders. Among them were several men compromised either in the revolutionary committees or in different offices, who possessed considerable influence over the multitude; but none of them had a decided superiority. The one counterbalanced the other, agreed but ill together, and had, moreover, no communication whatever with the deputies belonging to the Mountain.

The old popular leaders had always been allied with Danton, with Robespierre, with the heads of the government, and had served as intermediate agents to give their directions to the populace. But all these had perished. The new leaders were strangers to the new chiefs of the Mountain. They had nothing in common with them but their dangers and their attachment to the same cause. Besides, the Mountaineer deputies, as the beaten party,

being left in a minority in the Assembly, and accused of conspiring in order to recover power, were under the necessity of justifying themselves every day, and obliged to declare that they were not conspiring. The usual result of such a position is a wish that others should conspire, and a fear of entering into a conspiracy oneself. Accordingly, the Mountaineers said every day, *The people will rise—the people must rise*; but they would not have dared to concert with the people in order to bring about that rising.* Many imprudent expressions used by Duhem and Maribon-Montaud in a coffee-house were repeated. Both must have been very unguarded and indiscreet to utter them. Declarations made by Leonard Bourdon to the sectionary society of the Rue du Vertbois were also cited: they were likely enough to have come from him: but none of these men corresponded with the patriots. As for Billaud, Collot, and Barrère, who were more interested than any other persons in a commotion, they were afraid lest, by taking part in one, they should render their own position worse, which was already very dangerous.

The patriots, therefore, proceeded alone, without much unity of purpose, as is almost always the case when there are no very prominent chiefs. They ran from one to the other, carrying messages from street to street and from quarter to quarter, and intimating that this or that section was going to present a petition, or to attempt a movement. At the commencement of a revolution, at the outset of a party, when all its chiefs are with it, when success and novelty hurry the mass along in its train, when it disconcerts its adversaries by the boldness of its attacks, it makes amends by excitement for the want of unity and order: on the contrary, when it is once forced to defend itself, when it is deprived of impulsion, when it is known to its adversaries, it has more need than ever of discipline. But that discipline almost always impossible, becomes absolutely so when the influential leaders are gone. Such was the position of the patriot party; it was no longer the torrent of the 14th of July, of the 5th and 6th of October, of the 10th of August, or of the 31st of May. It was the combination of a few men, inured by long discord to hostility, seriously compromised, full of energy and obstinacy it is true, but more capable of fighting desperately than of conquering.

According to the old custom of preceding every movement by an imperative and yet guarded petition, the sections of Montreuil and the Quinze-Vingts comprised in the fauxbourg St. Antoine, drew up one in much the same spirit as all those which had been the forerunners of the great insurrections. It was agreed that it should be presented on the 1st of Germinal (March 21). This was the very day that the committees had resolved to propose the law of high police devised by Sieyes. Besides the deputation which was to present the petition, an assemblage of patriots took care to proceed towards the Tuileries; thither they thronged, and, as usual, they formed numerous groups, shouting, *The Convention forever! the Jacobins forever! down with the Aristocrats!* The young men, with hair turned up and black collars, had also moved off from the Palais Royal to the Tuileries, and formed hostile groups, crying, *The Convention forever! down with the Terrorists!* The petitioners were admitted to the bar. The language of their petition was extremely moderate. They referred to the distress of the people, but without acrimony; they combated the accusation directed against

* "With respect to the middle classes and the people, the death of Robespierre was the death of the revolutionary government; and, after various struggles and oscillations, the Mountaineers (that is to say, those who wished to continue the system of terror) found themselves no longer heading the people, but, in spite of themselves, drawn along with and governed by public opinion."—*Las Cases*. E.

the patriots, but without recriminating against their adversaries. They merely remarked that the authors of these charges misconceived both the past services of the patriots, and the position in which they had found themselves. They confessed, however, that excesses had been committed, but added, that all parties were composed of men and not of gods. "The sections of the Quinze-Vingts and of Montreuil," said they, "are not come, therefore, to demand of you as general measures either banishment or the spilling of blood against this or that party, measures which confound mere error with crime: they regard all Frenchmen as brethren, differently organized, it is true, but all members of the same family. They come to solicit you to employ an instrument which is in your hands, and which is the only efficacious one for putting an end to our political storms; that is the constitution of 1793. Organize from this day forth that popular constitution which the French people have accepted and sworn to defend. It will reconcile all interests, pacify the public mind, and lead you to the term of your labours."

This insidious proposition comprised all that the revolutionists desired at the moment. They actually conceived that the constitution, in expelling the Convention, would bring back their leaders and themselves to the legislature, to the executive power, and to the municipal administrations. This was an egregious mistake; but such was their hope, and they thought that, without expressing dangerous wishes, such as the release of the patriots, the suspension of all proceedings against them, and the formation of a new commune at Paris, they should find its accomplishment in the mere putting in force of the constitution. If the Convention refused to comply with their demand, if it did not speak out precisely, and did not fix an early period, it would confess that it disliked the constitution of 1793. Thibaudeau, the president, made them a very firm reply, concluding with these words, which were by no means flattering, nay, they were indeed severe: "The Convention has never attributed the insidious petitions which have been presented to it, to the sturdy and stanch defenders of liberty, whom the fauxbourg St. Antoine has produced." As soon as the president had finished, Chales hastened to mount the tribune, to demand that the declaration of rights should be exhibited in the hall of the Convention, as one of the articles of the constitution required. Tallien succeeded him in the tribune. "I ask those men," said he, "who now pretend to be such zealous defenders of the constitution, those who seem to have adopted the watchword of a sect which sprang up at the conclusion of the Constituent Assembly—*The constitution, and nothing but the constitution*—I ask them if it was not themselves who shut it up in a box?" Applause from one quarter, murmurs and shouts from another, interrupted Tallien. Resuming his speech, amidst tumult, "Nothing," he continued, "shall prevent me from expressing my opinion when I am among the representatives of the people. We are all for upholding the constitution, with a firm government, with the government which it prescribes; and it is not right that certain members should make the people believe that there are in this Assembly persons hostile to the constitution. It behoves us this day to take measures to prevent them from slandering the pure and respectable majority of the Convention."—"Yes, yes," was the general cry from all quarters. "That constitution," proceeded Tallien, "which they followed up not by laws calculated to complete it and to render its execution possible, but by the revolutionary government—that constitution we must put in action, and we must impart life to it. But we shall not be so imprudent as to pretend to carry it into effect without organic laws, so as to consign it incom-

plete and defenceless to all the enemies of the republic. For this reason, I move that a report be immediately prepared on the means of perfecting the constitution, and that it be decreed that henceforth there shall be no intermediate agency between the present government and the definitive government." Tallien descended from the tribune amidst universal demonstrations of the satisfaction of the Assembly, whom his manner of replying had extricated from a dilemma. The preparation of organic laws was a happy pretext for deferring the promulgation of the constitution, and furnishing the means of modifying it. It was an occasion for a new revision, like that to which the constitution of 1791 was subjected. Miaulle, a moderate Mountaineer, approved Tallien's proposal, and admitted, with him, that they ought not to be too precipitate in carrying the constitution into effect: but he maintained that there could not be any inconvenience in giving it publicity; and he moved that it should be engraved on marble tablets and set up in all the public places. Thibaudeau, alarmed at the idea of giving such publicity to a constitution framed in a moment of democratic frenzy, gave up the chair to Clauzel, and ascended the tribune. "Legislators," said he, "we ought not to resemble those priests of antiquity who had two ways of expressing themselves, the one secret, the other ostensible. It behoves us to have the courage to say what we think of this constitution; and, were it even to strike me dead, as it last year struck those who presumed to make observations against it, still would I speak out." After a long interruption occasioned by applause, Thibaudeau boldly asserted that there would be danger in publishing a constitution with which those who so highly extolled it were assuredly not acquainted. "A democratic constitution," said he, "is not one in which the people themselves exercise all the powers." "No! no!" cried a multitude of voices. "It is that," resumed Thibaudeau, "under which the people enjoy liberty, equality, and peace. Now I cannot find these in a constitution which should place a usurping commune or factious Jacobins by the side of the national representation; which should not give to the national representation the direction of the armed force in the place where it is sitting, and should thus deprive it of the means of defending itself and of upholding its dignity; which should grant to a fraction of the people the right of partial insurrection and the faculty of overthrowing the state. To no purpose are we told that an organic law will correct all these inconveniences. A mere law may be altered by the legislature; but dispositions so important as those which shall be comprehended in these organic laws must be as immutable as the constitution itself. Besides, organic laws are not framed in a fortnight, or even in a month; meanwhile I propose that no publicity be given to the constitution; that great vigour be imparted to the government, and that even, if it be requisite, new powers be given to the committee of public welfare." Thibaudeau descended from the tribune amidst applause bestowed on the boldness of his declaration. It was then proposed to close the discussion immediately. The president put the question to the vote, and almost the whole Assembly rose in support of it. The irritated Mountaineers complained that they had not had time to hear what the president said, and that they knew not what had been proposed. No attention was paid to them, and the Assembly proceeded to other business. Legendre then moved the appointment of a commission of eleven members, to consider without intermission the organic laws with which the constitution was to be accompanied. This idea was forthwith adopted. The committees at that moment intimated that they had an important report to make, and Sieyès ascended the tribune to submit his law of high police.

While these different scenes were passing in the interior of the Assembly, the greatest tumult prevailed without. The patriots of the fauxbourg, who had not been able to get into the hall, had gone to the Carrousel and to the gardens of the Tuileries, and were there waiting impatiently, and setting up their accustomed shouts, till the result of the application to the Convention should be known. Some of them had come from the tribunes to report to the others what had passed; and, giving them an unfaithful account, they had told them that the petitioners had been maltreated. The tumult among them increased. Some ran off to the fauxbourgs to say that their envoys were ill-used by the Convention; others scoured the garden, driving before them the young men whom they met with; they had even seized three of them and thrown them into the great basin of the Tuileries.* The committee of general safety, observing these disorders, had directed the drums to beat, for the purpose of calling together the neighbouring sections. Meanwhile, the danger was urgent; and it required time for the sections to be called together, and to assemble. The committee had around it a body of young men, who had collected to the number of a thousand or twelve hundred, armed with sticks and disposed to fall upon the groups of patriots, who had not yet met with any resistance. It accepted their aid, and authorized them to keep order in the garden. They rushed upon the groups which were shouting *The Jacobins forever!* dispersed them after a long contest, and drove back part of them towards the hall of the Convention. Some of the patriots again went up to the tribunes, and there caused a sort of confusion by their precipitate arrival. At this moment, Sieyes was finishing his report on the law of high police. An adjournment was demanded, and there were cries from the Mountain of "It is a bloody law! It is martial law! They want the Convention to leave Paris!" With these cries was mingled the noise of the runaways coming back from the garden. Great agitation ensued. "The royalists are assassinating the patriots!" exclaimed a voice. A tumult was heard at the doors: the president put on his hat. A great majority of the Assembly said that the danger against which Sieyes's law provided had already occurred, that it ought to be voted immediately. "Vote! vote!" was the general cry. The law was put to the vote, and adopted by an immense majority, amidst the loudest applause. The members of the extreme left refused to take any part in the proceeding. At length quiet was gradually restored, and it began to be possible to hear the speakers. "The Convention has been imposed upon," cried Duhem. Clauzel, who then came in, said that he had brought good news. "We want none of thy good news," replied several voices. Clauzel continued, and reported that the good citizens had assembled to make a rampart of their bodies for the national representation. He was applauded. "It is thou," cried Ruamps, "who hast instigated these mobs, in order to cause the passing of an atrocious law." Clauzel attempted to reply, but could not make himself heard. The law, voted with such precipitation, was then attacked. "The law has been passed," said the president, "it is too late to revert to it." "People here are conspiring with those outside," said Tallien; "no

* "The enraged patriots set off to appear before the Convention. They vociferously demanded 'Bread, the Constitution of 1793, and the liberty of the imprisoned Jacobins.' They met some young people, and threw them into the basin of the Tuileries. But the report having soon spread that the Convention was in danger, and that the Jacobins were going to attempt the rescue of their chiefs, the Troupe Dorée, followed by about five thousand citizens belonging to the interior sections, arrived to disperse the men of the fauxbourgs, and to act as the guard of the Assembly."—*Mignet*. E.

matter, let us resume afresh the discussion of the *projet*, and prove that the Convention can deliberate even amidst murderers." Tallien's proposal was adopted, and the *projet* of Sieyes was anew taken into consideration. The discussion was carried on with more calmness. While the assembly was deliberating within the hall, tranquillity was restored without. The young men, victorious over the Jacobins, begged permission to present themselves before the Assembly. They were introduced by deputation, and protested their patriotic intentions and their devotedness to the national representation. They withdrew after having been vehemently applauded. The Convention persisted in discussing the law of police without stirring, voted it article by article, and at length broke up at ten at night.

This day left both parties convinced of the approach of some important event. The patriots, repulsed by the closing of the debate in the Convention, and beaten with sticks in the garden of the Tuileries, repaired to the faubourgs to vent their rage, and to excite the populace there to riot. The Convention plainly saw that it was about to be attacked, and prepared to avail itself of the tutelary law which it had just passed.

The next day was likely to produce as warm a discussion as that which was just over. It was the first time that Billaud, Collot, Barrère, and Vadier were to be heard before the Convention. A great number of patriots and women had thronged very early to occupy the tribunes. The young men more prompt, had got there before them, and prevented the women from entering. They had sent them away rather roughly, and some scuffles had ensued around the hall. Numerous patroles, on duty in the environs, had nevertheless maintained the public peace; the tribunes had filled without much disturbance, and, from eight in the morning till noon, the time had been spent in singing patriotic airs. On one side was sung *Le Réveil du Peuple*, on the other *La Marseillaise*, till the deputies were seated. The president at length took the chair amidst shouts of *The Convention for ever! The republic for ever!* The accused had entered and seated themselves at the bar, and the discussion was awaited in profound silence.

Robert Lindet immediately demanded permission to speak on a motion of order. It was surmised that this irreproachable man, whom none had dared to accuse along with the other members of the committee of public safety, meant to defend his old colleagues. It was generous in him to do so, for he had still less concern than Carnot and Prieur of the Côte-d'Or in the political measures of the late committee of public welfare. He had accepted the department of supplies and transports solely on condition that he should have nothing to do with the operations of his colleagues, that he should never deliberate with them, nay, that he should even have his office in a different building. He had refused the co-suretiship before the danger; the danger arrived, and he generously came forward to claim it. It was thought likely that Carnot and Prieur of the Côte-d'Or would follow Lindet's example: accordingly, several voices on the right were raised at once to oppose his being heard. "The accused must be heard first," was the cry; "they must speak before either their accusers or their defenders."—"Yesterday," said Bourdon of the Oise, "a plot was hatched to save the accused; it was frustrated by the good citizens. To-day recourse is had to other means, scruples are awakened in honest men, whom the accusation has separated from their colleagues: they are prevailed upon to associate themselves with the guilty, in order to retard justice by new obstacles. Robert Lindet replied that the intention was to bring the whole government to trial, that he had been a member of it, that, in consequence, he ought not to consent to be

separated from his colleagues, and that he claimed his share of the responsibility. Men hardly dare withstand an act of generosity and courage. Robert Lindet obtained permission to speak. He expatiated at great length on the immense toils of the committee of public welfare; he demonstrated its activity, its foresight, and its eminent services; and proved that the excitement of zeal produced by the struggle had alone caused the excesses with which certain members of that government were charged. This speech, which lasted six hours, was not heard without many interruptions. Ungrateful persons, forgetting already the services of the accused, found this enumeration of the obligations owing to them rather tedious: and some members even had the indecency to say that this speech ought to be printed at Lindet's expense, because it would cost the republic too much. The Girondins were nettled by the mention of the federalist insurrection and the calamities which it had caused. Every party found reason to complain. At length, the Assembly adjourned to the following day, many of its members vowing not to suffer any more of those long depositions in favour of the accused. Carnot and Prieur of the Côte-d'Or desired, however, to be heard in their turn; they were anxious, like Lindet, to lend a generous succour to their colleagues, and at the same time to justify themselves against a great number of accusations, which could not be urged against Billaud, Collot, and Barrère without involving them also. The signature of Carnot and Prieur of the Côte-d'Or was in fact attached to the orders for which the accused were most severely censured. Carnot, whose reputation was immense, who was said in France and in Europe to have *organized victory*, and whose courageous contests with St. Just and Robespierre were well known, could not be heard without respect and a sort of reverence.* He obtained leave to speak. "It belongs to me," said he, "to justify the committee of public welfare, to me who dared first to face Robespierre and St. Just;" and he might have added—to me who dared attack them, while you obeyed their slightest orders, and decreed at their pleasure all the executions which they demanded of you. He first explained how his signature and that of his colleagues, who had no participation whatever in the political acts of the committee, came nevertheless to be appended to the most sanguinary orders. "Overwhelmed," said he, "by the pressure of business, having three or four hundred matters to settle every day, and very often no time for meals, we had agreed to lend our signatures to one another. We signed a multitude of papers without reading them. I signed orders for placing under accusation, and my colleagues signed orders for military movements and plans of attack, without either having time to enter into any explanation concerning them. The necessity for this immense toil had required that individual dictatorship, which each had reciprocally granted to the other. Without this, we could never have got through the business. The order to arrest one of the most useful of my *employés* in the

* "Carnot was not included in the act of accusation, but he had the magnanimity to declare that, having acted with his colleagues for the public good, he had no wish but to share their fate. This generous proceeding embarrassed the accusers; but, in order to avoid implicating so illustrious a character in the impeachment, it was resolved to limit it to some only of the members of the committee; and Amar, Vouland, and the painter David, were excluded, the last of whom had disgraced a fine genius by the most savage revolutionary fanaticism."—*Alison*. E.

"Carnot, after the events of Thermidor, when the Convention caused all the members of the committee of public safety to be arrested, with the exception of himself, insisted on sharing their fate. This conduct was the more noble, inasmuch as the country had declared violently against the committee. Carnot, who had a high sense of honour and great natural sensibility, was deeply affected by the reproaches of public opinion."—*Las Cases*. E.

war department, an order for which I attacked St. Just and Robespierre, and denounced them as usurpers—that order I had signed without knowing it. Thus our signature proves nothing, and it cannot be adduced in evidence of our participation in the acts laid to the charge of the late government.” Carnot then endeavoured to justify his accused colleagues. Though admitting, without precisely saying so, that they had formed part of the passionate and violent men of the committee, he declared that they had been the first to rise up against the triumvirate, and that the indomitable character of Billaud-Varennes had been the greatest obstacle that Robespierre had had to encounter. Prieur of the Côte-d’Or, who, in the fabrication of arms and ammunition, had rendered as important services as Carnot, and who had given the same signatures and in the same manner, repeated Carnot’s declaration, and insisted, like him and Lindet, on sharing the responsibility which pressed upon the accused.

Here the Convention found itself plunged again into the perplexities of a discussion which had been several times renewed, and which had never led to anything but frightful confusion. Was not this example, given by three men enjoying universal consideration and voluntarily declaring themselves co-sureties of the late government a warning for it? Was it of no consequence that everybody had more or less been an accomplice of the old committees, and that it ought itself to demand chains, like Lindet, Carnot, and Prieur? In fact, it had not attacked tyranny till after the three men whom it now wished to punish as its accomplices; and as for their passions, it had shared them all; it was even more culpable than they if it had not felt them, for it had sanctioned all their excesses.

Thus, on the 4th, 5th, and 6th of Germinal, the discussion degenerated into a frightful squabble. Every moment the name of a fresh member was compromised; he demanded permission to justify himself; he recriminated in his turn; and the members belonging to both parties entered into digressions equally long and dangerous. It was then decreed that the accused and the members of the commission should alone have the privilege of speaking, for the purpose of discussing the facts, article by article, and every deputy was forbidden to attempt to justify himself if his name was mentioned. To no purpose was this decree passed. Every moment the discussion again became general, and there was not an act but was bandied from one to the other with fearful violence. The commotion which existed on the preceding days kept still increasing. Only one cry was heard in the faubourgs. We must go to the Convention, to demand bread, the constitution of 1793, and the release of the patriots. Unfortunately, the quantity of flour necessary for furnishing the 1800 sacks not having arrived in Paris on the 6th, only a half ration was given out on the morning of the 7th, with a promise of the other half in the evening. The women of the section of the Graviillers, in the quarter of the Temple, refused the half ration offered them, and assembled tumultuously in the Rue du Vert-Bois. Some of them, who possessed influence, strove to form an assemblage, and, taking with them all the women whom they fell in with, set off for the Convention. While they were proceeding thither, the leaders ran to the house of the president of the section, seized by violence his bell and the keys of the hall of meeting, and set about forming an illegal assembly. They appointed a president, composed a bureau, and read several times the article of the declaration of rights, which proclaimed insurrection to be a right and a duty. The women had meanwhile pursued their way to the Convention, and were making a great noise at its doors. They desired to be introduced *en masse*, but only twenty

were admitted. One of them boldly spoke in their name, and complained that they had received only half a pound of bread. The president having attempted to reply, they shouted, "Bread! bread!" They interrupted by the same cry the explanation which Boissy-d'Anglas would have given respecting the distribution of the morning. They were at length obliged to withdraw, and the discussion relative to the accused was resumed. The committee of general safety ordered patrols to escort these women back, and sent one of its members to dissolve the assembly illegally formed in the section of the Gravilliers. Those who composed it refused at first to comply with the exhortations of the representative sent to them; but on seeing the armed force they dispersed. In the night, the principal instigators were apprehended and conveyed to prison.

This was the third attempt at commotion. On the 27th of Ventose people had rioted on account of the ration, on the 1st of Germinal on account of the petition of the Quinze-Vingts, and on the 7th on account of the insufficient distribution of provisions. Apprehensions were entertained of a general movement on the Decadi, a day of idleness, and on which the meetings of the sections were held. To prevent the dangers of an assemblage at night, it was decided that the sectional assemblies should be held between the hours of one and four. This was but a very insignificant measure, and could not possibly prevent the conflict. It was obvious that the principal cause of these commotions was the accusation preferred against the late members of the committee of public welfare, and the imprisonment of the patriots. Many deputies were disposed to drop prosecutions which, were they ever so just, were certainly dangerous. Rouzet devised a plan which would render it unnecessary to pass any sentence on the accused, and which at the same time would save their lives. This was the ostracism. When a citizen should have made his name a subject of discord, he proposed to banish him for a time. His suggestion was not listened to. Merlin of Thionville, a warm Thermidorian and an intrepid citizen, began nevertheless to think that it would be better to avoid a conflict. He proposed, therefore, to convoke the primary assemblies, to put the constitution in force immediately, and to refer the trial of the accused to the next legislature. Merlin of Douai strongly supported this advice. Guyton-Morveau* proposed a firmer course. "The proceedings in which we are now engaged," said he, "are a scandal: where should we stop, if we were to prosecute all those who have made more sanguinary motions than those with which the accused are charged? One cannot tell, indeed, whether we are finishing or recommencing our revolution." The Convention was justly startled at the idea of resigning at such a moment the supreme authority to a new assembly; neither was it disposed to give France a constitution so absurd as that of 1793. It declared, therefore, that there were no grounds for discussing the propositions of the two Merlins. As for the proceedings already commenced, their continuance gratified the revenge of too many for them to be relinquished; and it was merely decided that the Assembly, in order that

* "L. B. Guyton-Morveau, born in 1737, was chosen deputy to the legislature, to which he became secretary in 1791. In the following year he was appointed president, and employed himself in financial affairs. Being afterwards deputed to the Convention, he voted for the King's death. In 1794, after the 9th of Thermidor, he was chosen into the committee of public safety. During the session of 1795 he distinguished himself by his activity, and his reports; and shortly after entered into the council of Five Hundred. In the year 1804, he was made an officer of the Legion of Honour. Guyton-Morveau was a man of science, and we owe to him the important discovery of a method of purifying the air by reducing muriatic acid to gas."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

it might be able to attend to other business, should devote every other day only to the hearing of the accused.

Such a decision was not calculated to pacify the patriots. The Decadi was spent in reciprocally exciting one another. The sectional assemblies were very tumultuous. Still the so-much-dreaded commotion did not take place. In the section of the Quinze-Vingts a new petition was drawn up; it was bolder than the first, and was to be presented on the following day. It was accordingly read at the bar of the Convention. "Why," it asked, "is Paris without municipality? Why are the popular societies shut up? What has become of the crops? Why are assignats falling every day? Why are the young men of the Palais Royal alone allowed to assemble? Why are the patriots alone in prison? The people are at length determined to be free. They know that when they are oppressed, insurrection is the first of their duties." The petition was read, amid the murmurs of a large portion of the Assembly and the applause of the Mountain. Pelet of La Lozère, the president, received the petitioners rather roughly, and dismissed them. The only satisfaction granted was to send to the sections the list of the imprisoned patriots, that they might be enabled to judge whether there were any who deserved to be claimed.

The rest of the 11th was passed in agitations in the fauxbourgs. People said everywhere that they must go the next day to the Convention, to demand once more all that they had not yet been able to obtain from it. This opinion circulated from mouth to mouth, in all the quarters occupied by the patriots. The leaders of each section, without having any determined object, were desirous of exciting a general rising, and propelling the entire mass of the populace upon the Convention. Next day, the 12th of Germinal (April 1), men, women, and children, actually sallied forth in the section of the Cité, and beset the bakers' doors, preventing those who were there from accepting the ration, and endeavouring to draw everybody towards the Tuileries. The ringleaders at the same time circulated all sorts of rumours. They said that the Convention was on the point of starting for Châlons and leaving the people of Paris to their misery; that the section of the Gravilliers had been disarmed in the night; that the young men had assembled, to the number of thirty thousand, in the Champ de Mars, and that with their aid all the patriot sections were about to be disarmed. They forced the authorities of the section of the Cité to give up its drums; they took them away, and began to beat the *générale* in all the streets. The flame spread with rapidity: the population of the Temple and the fauxbourg St. Antoine turned out, and proceeding along the quays and the boulevard, directed its course towards the Tuileries. This formidable assemblage consisted of women, boys, and drunken men, the latter armed with bludgeons, and having this inscription on their hats—*Bread and the constitution of 1793*.

At this moment, Boissy d'Anglas was reading to the Convention a report on the various systems adopted in regard to provisions. It had but its ordinary guard around it; the mob had reached its doors; it inundated the Carrousel and the Tuileries, and obstructed all the avenues, so that the numerous patrols scattered through Paris could not come to the aid of the national representation. The crowd entered the saloon of Liberty, which preceded the hall where the Assembly met, and prepared to force its way into the latter. The ushers and the guard strove to stop them. Men, armed with cudgels, dashed forward, dispersed all who attempted to resist, rushed against the doors, burst them open, and poured like a torrent amidst the Assembly

shouting, waving their hats, and raising a cloud of dust. *Bread! bread. The constitution of 1793!* Such was the cry of the infuriated rabble. The deputies did not leave their seats, and displayed an imposing firmness. One of them suddenly rose, and cried, *The republic forever!* All followed his example, and the mob also set up the same cry, but added, *Bread! The constitution of 1793!* The members of the left only bestowed some applause, and did not seem sorry to see the populace among them. That crowd, for which no plan had been chalked out, whose leaders wished only to make use of it to intimidate the Convention, introduced itself among the deputies, and sat down beside them, but without daring to commit any act of violence. Legendre began to speak. "If ever," said he, "malice—" He was not suffered to proceed. "Down! down!" cried the rabble: "we have no bread!" Merlin of Thionville, still as courageous as at Mayence and in La Vendée, left his seat, went down among the populace, talked to several of those men, embraced and was embraced by them, and exhorted them to pay due respect to the Convention. "To thy place!" cried some of the Mountaineers. "My place," replied Merlin, "is among the people. These men have just assured me that they have no bad intention; that they have no wish to intimidate the Convention by their number: that, on the contrary, they are ready to defend it, and that they have come hither merely to make it acquainted with their wants."—"Yes, yes," cried some of the crowd; "we want bread."

At these words shouts were heard in the saloon of Liberty: another popular billow had followed the first. It was a second irruption of men, women, and boys, shouting all at once, "Bread! bread!" Legendre would have begun again what he was going to say; but he was interrupted with cries of "Down! down!"

The Mountaineers were perfectly aware that in this state the Convention, oppressed, degraded, smothered, could neither listen, nor speak, nor deliberate, and that the very aim of the insurrection was foiled, since the desired decrees could not be passed. Gaston and Duroi, both sitting on the left, rose, and complained of the state to which the Assembly was reduced. Gaston approached the populace. "My friends," said he, "you want bread, the release of the patriots, and the constitution; but for all this we must deliberate, and we cannot if you remain here." The noise prevented Gaston from being heard. André Dumont, who had succeeded the president in the chair, in vain attempted to give the same reasons to the mob. He was not heard. Hugnet, the Mountaineer, alone succeeded in gaining a hearing for a few words. "The people who are here," said he, "are not in insurrection; they are come to make a just demand—the release of the patriots. People, relinquish not your rights!" At this moment, a man went up to the bar, passing through the crowd which opened before him. It was Vanec, who commanded the section of the Cité at the epoch of the 31st of May. "Representatives," said he, "you see before you the men of the 14th of July, of the 10th of August, and of the 31st of May—" Here the tribunes, the populace, and the Mountain applauded most vehemently. "These men," continued Vanec, "have sworn to live free or die. Your divisions rend the country; it ought not to suffer from your animosities. Give liberty to the patriots and bread to the people. Do us justice upon Fréron's army and those gentlemen with cudgels. And as for thee, sacred Mountain," proceeded the speaker, turning towards the benches of the left, "for thee, who hast fought so many battles for the Republic, the men of the 14th of July, of the 10th of August, and of the 31st of May

claim thee in this critical moment; thou wilt find them ever ready to support thee, every ready to spill their blood for the country." Shouts of applause accompanied the concluding words of Vanec. One voice in the assembly seemed to be raised against him, but it was scarcely distinguishable. "Let him who has anything to say against Vanec, speak up," cried another. "Yes, yes," exclaimed Duhem, "let him say it aloud." The spokesmen of several sections succeeded one another at the bar, and made, but in more measured terms, similar demands to that of the Cité. Dumont, the president, replied with firmness that the Convention would attend to the wishes and wants of the people, as soon as it could resume its deliberations. "Let it do so immediately," replied several voices; "we are in want of bread." The tumult lasted thus for several hours. The president was exposed to remarks of all kinds. "Royalism is in the chair," said Choudieu* to him. "Our enemies are exciting the storm," replied Dumont; "they little think that the thunderbolt will fall upon their own heads."—"Yes," rejoined Ruamps, "that thunderbolt is your youth of the Palais-Royal."—"Bread! bread!" furiously shouted the women.

Meanwhile the tocsin was heard sounding from the Pavillon de l'Unité. The committees were actually calling together the sections agreeably to the new law of high police. Several of them had taken arms and were marching towards the Convention. The Mountaineers were well aware that no time ought to be lost in converting the wishes of the patriots into decrees; but for this purpose it was necessary to clear the hall of the intruders, and to give the assembly room to breathe. "President," cried Duhem, "exhort the good citizens to withdraw, that we may be able to deliberate." He then addressed the people. "The tocsin has rung," said he, "the *générale* has beaten in the sections; if you will not let us deliberate, the country is undone. Choudieu took a woman by the arm to lead her out. "We are in our own house," replied she angrily. Choudieu addressed the president, and told him that, if he was not capable of doing his duty and directing the hall to be cleared, he had only to give up the chair to another. He again turned to the people. "A snare is laid for you," said he; "retire that we may fulfil your wishes." The people, observing signs of impatience shown by the whole Mountain, began to withdraw. The example once set was gradually followed. The crowd diminished in the interior of the hall, and it began also to diminish on the outside. The groups of young men would not this day have been able to cope with so immense a multitude; but the numerous battalions of the faithful sections were already arriving from all quarters, and the mob retired before them. Towards evening, the hall was entirely cleared both within and without, and tranquillity restored in the Convention.†

* "In consequence of his attack on André Dumont, who presided in the Convention, and of whom he said that 'Royalism occupied the arm-chair,' Choudieu was put under arrest, and confined in the castle of Ham, but quitted it in consequence of the amnesty which terminated the session of the Convention. In the year 1806 he was living in obscurity in Holland as a bookseller."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† "The insurgents soon forced their way into the assembly; drunken women and abandoned prostitutes formed the advanced guard; but speedily a more formidable band of petitioners with pikes in their hands, filled every vacant space. Having penetrated to the bar, they commenced the most seditious harangues; and ascending the benches of the members, seated themselves with the deputies of the Mountain. Everything announced the approach of a crisis. The Jacobins were recovering their former audacity, and the majority of the assembly labouring under severe apprehension, were on the point of withdrawing, when fortunately a large body of the Troupe Dorée, who had assembled at the sound

No sooner was it free from the mob, than it was proposed to continue the report of Boissy d'Anglas, which had been broken off by the irruption of the populace. The assembly did not yet feel quite secure, and it wished to prove that, when free, its first thoughts were directed to the supply of the wants of the people. After he had finished his report, Boissy proposed that an armed force should be furnished by the sections of Paris, to protect in the environs the corn coming to the capital. The decree was adopted. Prieur of La Marne proposed to commence the distribution of bread with the labouring people. This suggestion was likewise adopted. The evening was already far advanced. A considerable force was collected about the Convention. A few factious men, who still resisted, had assembled in the section of the Quinze-Vingts, a few others similarly inclined, in that of the Cité. These latter had taken possession of the church of Notre-Dame, and, as it were, intrenched themselves there. No further apprehensions however were felt, and the assembly possessed power to punish the misdeeds of the day.

Isabeau presented himself in the name of the committees, and made a report on the events of the day, the manner in which the assemblages had been formed, the direction which they had received, and the measures taken by the committees to disperse them, agreeably to the law of the 1st of Germinal. He stated that Auguis the deputy, who had been commissioned to visit the different quarters of Paris, had been stopped by the factious and wounded; and that Pénrière, who was sent to extricate him, had also been wounded by a musket-shot. At this statement cries of indignation burst forth, and vengeance was demanded. Isabeau proposed, 1, to declare that on this day the freedom of the sittings of the Convention had been violated; 2, to charge the committees to institute proceedings against the authors of that outrage. The Mountaineers, seeing what an advantage would be derived against them from an attempt which had miscarried, received this proposition with murmurs. Three-fourths of the assembly arose, desiring that it should be put to the vote: they said that it was a 20th of June against the national representation; that this day the hall of the assembly had been stormed, as the King's palace was stormed on the 20th of June; and that, if they were not severe, a 10th of August would soon be prepared for the Convention. Sergeant, a deputy of the Mountain, affected to impute this commotion to the Feuillans, to the Lameths, the Duports, who, from London, strove, he said, to excite the patriots to imprudent excesses. He was told that he was digressing. Thibaudeau, who, during this scene had withdrawn from the assembly, indignant at the outrage committed upon it, rushed to the tribune. "There it is," he exclaimed pointing to the left side, "there is the minority that is conspiring! I declare that I absented myself for four hours, because I no longer saw the national representation here. I now return, and I support the *projet*. The time of weakness is past. It is the weakness of the national representation that has always compromised it, and that has encouraged a criminal faction. The salvation of the country is this day in your hands; you will lose it if you are weak." The decree was adopted amidst applause; and those paroxysms of rage and vengeance, which are excited by the recollection of dangers that have been incurred, began to burst forth on all sides. André Dumont, who had filled the chair during that stormy scene, mounted the tribune. He complained of the threats and insults to which he of the tocsin, entered the hall, chanting in loud strains the 'Réveil du Peuple.' The insurgents knew their masters, and though lately so clamorous, gradually withdrew from the Convention."—*Alison*. E.

had been exposed; he declared that Chales and Choudieu, pointing him out to the people, said that royalism was in the chair; that Fousseidoire had proposed the preceding day, in a group, to disarm the national guard. Fousseidoire contradicted him: but a great number of deputies asserted that they heard it. "For the rest," resumed Dumont, "I despise all those enemies who would have pointed the dagger against me. It is the chiefs whom you ought to strike. An attempt has to-day been made to save the Billauds, the Collots, the Barrères; I shall not propose to you to send them to the scaffold, for they are not yet tried, and the time of assassinations is past, but to banish them from the country, which they infect and agitate by seditious. I propose to you, this very night, the transportation of the four accused, whose cause has occupied you for several days past." This proposal was received with vehement applause. The members of the Mountain demanded a call of the Assembly, and several of them went to the bureau to sign the demand for it. "'Tis the last effort," said Bourdon, "of a minority whose treason is confounded. I propose to you, in addition, the arrest of Choudieu, Chales, and Fousseidoire." The two propositions were then decreed. Thus terminated in transportation the long proceedings against Billaud, Collot, Barrère, and Vadier.* Choudieu, Chales, and Fousseidoire, were put under arrest. But the assembly did not stop there. It was recollected that Huguet, addressing the populace while it was pouring into the hall, had exclaimed, "People, forget not your rights!" that Leonard Bourdon had presided at the popular meeting in the Rue du Vert-Bois, and that he instigated to insurrection by his incessant declamations; that Duhem openly encouraged the rioters during the irruption of the rabble; that on the preceding days, he was seen at the Payen coffee-house, in the section of the Invalides, drinking with the ringleaders of the Terrorists and inciting them to insurrection. A decree of arrest was consequently passed against Huguet, Leonard Bourdon, and Duhem. Many others were denounced; among these was Amar, the most obnoxious member of the old committee of general safety, and reputed to be the most dangerous of the Mountaineers. The Convention ordered the latter also to be arrested. In order to remove these leaders of the conspiracy, as they were called, from Paris, it was proposed

* "After Billaud-Varennes reached his place of transportation at Cayenne, his life was a continued scene of romantic adventures. He escaped to Mexico, and entered, under the name of Polycarpus Varennes, the Dominican convent at Porto Rico. Being obliged to fly the continent for the part he took in the disputes between the Spanish colonies and the mother country, Pethion, then president of Hayti, not only afforded him an asylum, but made him his secretary. After Pethion's death, Boyer refusing to employ him, he went to the United States, and died at Philadelphia in 1819."—*Universal Biographie*. E.

"Collot-d'Herbois died in exile at Cayenne. He was found one day lying on the ground, with his face exposed to a burning sun, in a raging fever. The negroes who were appointed to carry him from Kouron to Cayenne, had thrown him down to perish. He expired, vomiting froth and blood, and calling upon that God whom he had so often renounced."—*Piton's Voyage to Cayenne*. E.

"Barrère was employed in obscure situations by Napoleon, and was alive at Brussels, where he was living in great poverty in 1831. It was one of his favourite positions at that time, that 'the world could never be civilized till the punishment of death was utterly abolished, for no human being had the right to take away the life of another.' This was the man who said in 1792, 'The tree of liberty cannot flourish, if it is not watered by the blood of a king.' Before the Revolution Barrère was the Marquis de Vieuxac with an ample fortune."—*Falkner's Travels in Germany*. E.

"Vadier contrived to conceal himself in Paris, and thereby avoided his sentence. He continued to reside in the capital up to the law of 1816, when he was compelled to quit France. He died at Brussels in 1828 at the age of ninety-three."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

that they should be confined in the castle of Ham. The suggestion was adopted, and it was moreover decided that they should be brought to trial immediately. It was then proposed to declare Paris in a state of siege till the danger should be entirely over. General Pichegru was at this moment in Paris, and in the full lustre of his glory. He was appointed commander of the armed force during the continuance of the danger, and Barras and Merlin of Thionville were appointed his assistants. It was six o'clock in the morning of the 13th of Germinal when the assembly, exhausted with fatigue, broke up, confiding in the measures which it had taken.

The committees prepared to carry into execution without delay the decrees that had just been passed. That same morning, the three persons doomed to transportation were put into carriages, though one of them, Barrère, was extremely ill, and sent off for Brest, by way of Orleans. The same promptitude was shown in despatching the seven deputies who were to be confined in the castle of Ham. The carriages had to pass through the Champs Elysées; the patriots knew this, and a crowd had collected on their way to stop them. When the carriages came up preceded by the gendarmerie, a numerous concourse gathered round them. Some said that it was the Convention retiring to Châlons, and carrying off the money in the treasury; others said on the contrary that it was the patriot deputies unjustly torn from the bosom of the Convention, and whom no one had a right to remove from their functions. They surrounded the carriages, dispersed the gendarmerie, and conducted them to the civil committee of the section of the Champs Elysées. At the same moment, another mob rushed upon the post on duty at the Barrière de l'Etoile, seized the cannon, and pointed them upon the avenue. The officer commanding the gendarmerie attempted in vain to parley with the rioters; he was assaulted and obliged to flee. He hastened to Gros-Caillou, to demand succour; but the artillerymen of the section threatened to fire upon him unless he retired. At this moment, headed by Pichegru, several battalions of the sections and several hundred young men arrived, proud of being commanded by so celebrated a general. The insurgents fired two cannon-shot, and kept up a brisk fire of small arms. Raffet, who on that day commanded the sections, received a musket-shot close to the muzzle of the piece. Pichegru himself ran the greatest risks, and was twice aimed at. His presence, however, and the confidence which he infused into those under his command, decided the victory. The insurgents were put to flight and the vehicles proceeded without further molestation.

The assemblage in the section of the Quinze-Vingts, which had been joined by that formed at the church of Notre Dame, still remained to be dispersed. There the factious had constituted themselves a permanent assembly and were planning a new insurrection. Pichegru repaired thither, cleared the hall of the section, and completed the restoration of the public tranquillity.

On the following day he presented himself to the Convention, and informed it that its decrees were executed. Unanimous applause greeted the conqueror of Holland, who, by his presence in Paris had just rendered a fresh service to the state. "The conqueror of tyrants," replied the president, "could not fail to triumph over the factious." He received the fraternal salute and the honours of the sitting; and was exposed for several hours to the gaze of the assembly and of the public, every eye being fixed upon him alone. People did not inquire the cause of his conquests, or which of them were the effect of lucky accidents. They were struck by the results, and filled with admiration of so brilliant a career.

This daring attempt of the Jacobins, which we cannot better characterize than by calling it a 20th of June, excited redoubled irritation, and provoked fresh repressive measures. A rigid scrutiny was ordered, for the discovery of all the springs of the conspiracy, which was erroneously attributed to the members of the Mountain. These latter had no communication with the popular agitators, and their intercourse with them was confined to a few accidental meetings in coffee-houses and some encouragement in words; nevertheless, the committee of general safety was commissioned to make a report.

The conspiracy was supposed to be the more extensive, because there had been commotions in all the provinces washed by the Rhone and the Mediterranean, at Lyons, Avignon, Marseilles, and Toulon. The patriots had already been denounced as quitting the communes, where they had signalized themselves by excesses, and resorting in arms to the principal cities, either to escape the observation of their fellow-citizens, or to join their brethren there and to make common cause with them. It was asserted that they haunted the country bordering on the Rhone, that they were roving in numerous bands in the environs of Avignon, Nimes, and Arles, and in the plains of La Craux, and committing depredations on such of the inhabitants as were reputed to be royalists. To them was imputed the death of a wealthy individual, a magistrate of Avignon, who had been robbed and murdered. At Marseilles, they were scarcely repressed by the presence of the representatives, and by the measures which had been taken to place the city in a state of siege. At Toulon they had collected in great number, and formed an assemblage of several thousand persons, nearly as the federalists had done at the time of General Cartaux's arrival. By their union with the *employés* of the marine, who had almost all been appointed by the younger Robespierre after the recapture of the place, they overawed the city. They had numerous partisans among the workmen in the arsenal, who amounted to more than twelve thousand: and taken collectively they possessed the means of committing the greatest excesses. At this moment the squadron, completely repaired, was ready to sail. Letourneur,* the representative, was on board the admiral's ship: land forces had embarked in the fleet, and the expedition was said to be destined for Corsica. The revolutionists, taking advantage of the moment when there was left only a weak garrison, which was not to be relied on, and among them they numbered many partisans, had assembled riotously, and murdered seven prisoners accused of emigration, in the very arms of the three representatives, Mariette, Ritter, and Chambon. At the close of Ventose, they attempted to repeat these outrages. Twenty prisoners, taken in an enemy's frigate, were in one of the forts; they insisted that they were emigrants, whom the government intended to pardon. They raised

* "Letourneur was born in 1751 of a respectable but not noble family, and having early made some progress in mathematics, he entered the artillery corps in 1768, and attained the rank of captain. On the breaking out of the Revolution he embraced the popular party, and was appointed deputy to the legislature. He voted for the King's death; but though attached to the Mountain, was never stained with any personal crime, and, from the downfall of the Girondins to that of Robespierre, preserved silence. In 1795 he was appointed commissioner of the fleet in the Mediterranean. In the same year he was appointed one of the Directory. In the year 1800, the Consuls appointed him prefect of the Lower Loire, whence in 1804 he was recalled."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

"Letourneur had been an officer of engineers before the Revolution. He was a man of narrow capacity, little learning, and a weak mind. There were in the Convention five hundred deputies better qualified for public life, than he was; but he was a man of strict probity, and left the Directory without any fortune."—*Las Cases*. E.

the twelve thousand workmen belonging to the arsenal, and surrounded the representatives, who narrowly escaped with their lives, but were fortunately quelled by a battalion which was landed from the squadron.

These occurrences, coinciding with those in Paris, increased the alarm of the government, and redoubled the severity. It had already enjoined all the members of the municipal administrations, of the revolutionary committees, and of the popular and military commissions, and all *employés* dismissed since the 9th of Thermidor, to quit the towns to which they had repaired, and to retire to their respective communes. A still more severe decree was levelled at them. They had obtained possession of arms distributed in moments of danger. It was decreed that all those who were known in France to have contributed to the vast tyranny abolished on the 9th of Thermidor should be disarmed. To each municipal assembly, or to each sectional assembly, belonged the designation of the accomplices of that tyranny, and the task of disarming them. It is easy to conceive to what dangerous persecutions this decree must expose them, at a moment when they had excited so violent a hatred.

The government did not stop there. It determined to take from them the pretended chiefs whom they had on the benches of the Mountain. Though the three principal had been condemned to transportation, though seven more, Choudieu, Chales, Foussedoire, Leonard Bourdon, Huguot, Duhem, and Amar, had been sent to the castle of Ham, still it was thought that others quite as formidable were left. Cambon, the dictator of the finances, and the inexorable adversary of the Thermidorians, whom he never forgave for daring to attack his integrity, appeared troublesome at least. He was even supposed to be dangerous. It was asserted that on the morning of the 12th he had said to the clerks of the treasury, "There are three hundred of you here, and in case of danger you will be able to make resistance"—words which he was likely enough to have uttered, and which would prove his conformity of sentiments, not his complicity, with the Jacobins. Thuriot, formerly a Thermidorian, but who had again become a Mountaineer since the readmission of the seventy-three and twenty-two, and a deputy possessing great influence, was also considered as a chief of the faction. Under the same head were placed Crassous, who had become one of the most energetic supporters of the Jacobins; Lesaye-Sénault, who had contributed to cause their club to be shut up, but who had since taken alarm at the reaction; Lecointre of Versailles, the declared adversary of Billaud, Collot, and Barrère, and who had rejoined the Mountain since the return of the Girondins; Maignet, the incendiary of the South; Hentz, the terrible proconsul of La Vendée; Levasseur of La Sarthe, one of those who had contributed to the death of Philippeaux, and Granet of Marseilles, accused of being the instigator of the revolutions of the South. It was Tallien, who designated them, and who, after picking them out in the very tribune of the assembly, insisted on their being arrested like their seven colleagues and sent with them to Ham. Tallien's desire was complied with, and they were doomed to suffer the same imprisonment.

Thus this movement of the patriots caused them to be persecuted, disarmed throughout all France,* sent to their respective communes, and to lose a score of Mountaineers, some of whom were transported and others confined.

* "Many of the provinces of France became scenes of counter-revolutionary excesses, of the same character, and almost as terrible, as those of the revolutionary committees themselves. Massacres in mass, private assassinations, were the order of the day. Thus the infliction of cruelty and terror went its round, and was not confined to any particular class or

Every movement of a party that is not strong enough to conquer serves only to accelerate its ruin.

The Thermidorians, after they had punished persons, attacked things. The commission of seven, charged to report upon the organic laws of the constitution, declared without reserve that the constitution was so general that it wanted framing anew. A commission of eleven was then appointed to present a new plan. Unfortunately the victories of their adversaries, instead of reducing the revolutionists to order, only tended to inflame them still more, and to excite them to fresh and dangerous efforts.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

PEACE WITH HOLLAND, PRUSSIA, AND TUSCANY—NEGOTIATIONS WITH LA VENDEE AND BRETAGNE; INTRIGUES OF THE ROYALIST AGENTS; FEIGNED PEACE—STATE OF AUSTRIA AND OF ENGLAND THEIR PREPARATIONS FOR A NEW CAMPAIGN.

DURING these melancholy events, the negotiations at Basle had been interrupted for a moment by the death of Baron de Goltz. The most sinister rumours were immediately circulated. One day, it was said, the powers will never treat with a republic constantly threatened by factions; they will leave it to perish in the convulsions of anarchy, without fighting and without acknowledging it. Another day, the very contrary was asserted. Peace, it was said, is concluded with Spain; the French armies will go no farther: we are treating with England, we are treating with Prussia, but at the expense of Sweden and Denmark, who are about to be sacrificed to the ambition of Pitt and Catherine, and who will be repaid in this manner for their friendship to France. We see that malice, differing in its reports, always imagined the very contrary to that which was most consistent with the interest of the republic; it supposed raptures where peace was wished for, and peace where victories were desired. At another time again, it was pleased to report that any peace was for ever impossible, and that a protest on this subject had been placed in the hands of the committee of public welfare by the majority of the members of the Convention. It was a new sally of Duhem's that had given rise to this rumour. He pretended that it was a mere shuffling to treat with a single power, and that peace ought not to be granted to any till they should come to demand it all together. He had delivered a note on this subject to the committee of public welfare, and it was this that had given rise to the rumour of a protest.

The patriots, on their part, circulated reports not less annoying. They alleged that Prussia was spinning out the negotiations, for the purpose of getting Holland included in one common treaty with herself, in order to keep her under her influence, and to save the stadtholdership. They complained

side, but was the consequence of the maddening spirit and delirium of the time, and the hatred of the different factions towards each other."—*Hazlitt*. E.

that the fate of that republic remained so long unsettled; that the French there enjoyed none of the advantages of conquest; that the assignats were there taken at not more than half their value, and from the soldiers only; that the Dutch merchants had written to the Belgian and French merchants, that they were ready to transact business with them, but only on condition of being paid in advance, and in specie; that the Dutch had allowed the stadtholder to go off with just what he pleased, and had sent part of their wealth to London in ships belonging to the East India Company. Many difficulties had, in fact, arisen in Holland, either on account of the conditions of the peace, or owing to the excitement of the patriotic party. The committee of public welfare had sent thither two of its members, capable by their influence of terminating all the differences which had arisen. For fear of prejudicing the negotiation, it had begged the Convention to excuse it from stating either their names or the object of their mission. The Assembly had complied, and they had set out immediately.

It was natural that such important events and such high interests should excite hopes and fears, and contrary reports. But, in spite of all these rumours, the conferences were continued with success. Count Hardenberg* had succeeded Baron de Goltz at Basle, and the conditions were nearly arranged on both sides.

Scarcely had these negotiations commenced when the empire of facts was sensibly felt, and required modifications in the powers of the committee of public welfare. A perfectly open government which could not conceal anything, could not decide anything of itself, could do nothing without a public deliberation, would be incapable of negotiating a treaty with any power, how frank soever it might be. For treating, signing suspensions of arms, neutralizing territories, secrecy is most especially necessary; for a power sometimes negotiates long before it suits it to avow that fact: this is not all; there are frequently articles which must absolutely remain unknown. If a power promises, for example, to unite its forces with those of another, if it stipulates either the junction of an army, or that of a squadron, or any concurrence whatever of means, this secret becomes of the utmost importance. How could the committee of public welfare, renewed in the proportion of

* "Charles Augustus, Baron and afterwards Prince Hardenberg, Prussian chancellor of state, was born in 1750, and, after having completed his studies at Leipsic and Gottingen, entered into the civil service of his country in 1770. He passed several years in travel, particularly in England, and in 1778 was made a privy councillor, but a misunderstanding with one of the English princes induced him to resign his place in 1782 and to enter the service of Brunswick. The duke sent him to Berlin in 1786 with the will of Frederick II. which had been deposited with him. A few years afterwards Count Hardenberg was made Prussian minister of state, and then cabinet minister. In 1795 he signed the treaty of peace between the French republic and Prussia, on the part of the latter. At the commencement of the present century, Berlin became the centre of many negotiations between the northern powers, in which Hardenberg played a conspicuous part. In consequence of the disasters which Prussia met with in her contests with Napoleon, he resigned his post, but in the year 1806 once more resumed the portfolio. In 1810 the King of Prussia appointed him prime minister. In 1814 he signed the peace of Paris, and was created prince. He went to London with the sovereigns, and was one of the most prominent actors at the congress of Vienna. He was subsequently the active agent in all matters in which Prussia took part. While on a journey in the north of Italy, he fell sick at Pavia, and died in 1822. Prince Hardenberg was an active minister of the Holy Alliance; but his abolition of feudal services and privileges in Prussia will always be remembered to his honour. He patronized the sciences munificently; loved power, but was just in his administration. He wrote 'Memoirs of his own Times from 1801 to the peace of Tilsit.' He was twice married."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E

one-fourth every month, obliged to render an account of everything, and not possessing the energy or the boldness of the old committee—how could it have negotiated, especially with powers ashamed of their blunders, reluctant to admit their defeat, and all insisting on either leaving secret conditions, or not publishing their treaty until it should be signed! The necessity which it felt for sending two of its members to Holland, without making known either their names or their mission, was a first proof how essential an ingredient secrecy is in diplomatic operations. It presented, in consequence, a decree which gave rise to fresh rumours, and which conferred on it the powers indispensably necessary for treating.

A curious spectacle for the theory of governments is that of a democracy, surmounting its indiscreet curiosity, its distrust of power, and, constrained by necessity, granting to a few individuals the faculty of even stipulating secret conditions. This the National Convention did. It conferred on the committee of public welfare the power of concluding armistices, neutralizing territories, negotiating treaties, stipulating their conditions, drawing them up, and even signing them, without reserving to itself any more than was its due, that is, the ratification. It did still more. It authorized the committee to sign secret articles, on the sole condition that these articles should contain nothing derogatory to the open articles, and should be published as soon as the interest of secrecy ceased to exist. Invested with these powers, the committee prosecuted and concluded the negotiations commenced with different states.

The peace with Holland was at length signed under the influence of Rewbel,* and especially of Sieyes, who were the two members of the committee recently sent to that country. The Dutch patriots gave a brilliant reception to the celebrated author of the first declaration of rights, and paid him a deference which put an end to many difficulties. The conditions of peace, signed at the Hague on the 27th of Floreal (May 16), were the following: The French republic acknowledged the republic of the United Provinces as a free and independent power, and guaranteed its independence and the abolition of the stadtholdership. There was to be an alliance, offensive and defensive, between the two republics during the present war. This offensive and defensive alliance was to be perpetual between the two republics in all cases of war against England. That of the United Provinces placed immediately at the disposal of France twelve ships of the line and eighteen frigates, to be employed principally in the German Ocean and the Baltic. It gave, moreover, in aid of France half its land army, which indeed had dwindled almost to nothing, and required to be completely reorganized. As to the demarcations of territory, they were fixed as follows: France was to keep all Dutch Flanders, so as to complete her territory towards the sea, and to extend it to the mouths of the rivers. Towards the Meuse and Rhine, she was to have possession of Venloo and Maestricht and all the country to the south of Venloo, on both sides of the Meuse. Thus the republic relinquished

* "Rewbel," said Napoleon, "born in Alsace, was one of the best lawyers in the town of Colmar. He possessed that kind of intelligence which denotes a man skilled in the practice of the bar. His influence was always felt in deliberations; he was easily inspired with prejudices; did not believe much in the existence of virtue; and his patriotism was unged with a degree of enthusiasm. He bore a particular hatred to the Germanic system; displayed great energy in the Assemblies, both before and after the period of his being a magistrate; and was fond of a life of application and activity. He had been a member of the Constituent Assembly and of the Convention. Like all lawyers he had imbibed from his profession a prejudice against the army."—*Las Cases*. E.

the idea of extending itself on this point to the Rhine, which was reasonable. On this side, in fact, the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, blend in such a manner that there is no precise boundary. Which of these arms ought to be considered as the Rhine? We cannot tell, and on this point all is matter of convention. Besides, in this quarter, France is not threatened by any hostility but that of Holland, an hostility far from formidable, so that a marked boundary is no longer a necessary guarantee. Lastly, the territory allotted by nature to Holland consisting of tracts formed by alluvions carried to the mouths of the rivers, France, in order to extend herself to one of the principal streams, must have seized three-fourths at least of those tracts, and reduced nearly to nothing the republic which she had just liberated. The Rhine does not become a boundary for France in regard to Germany till near Wesel, and the possession of the two banks of the Meuse to the south of Venloo left that question untouched. The French republic, moreover, reserved to itself a right, in case of war towards the Rhine or Zealand, of putting garrisons into the fortresses of Grave, Bois-le-Duc, and Bergen-Op-Zoom. The port of Flushing was to belong in common to both. Thus all precautions were taken. The navigation of the Rhine, the Meuse, the Scheldt, the Hondt, and all their branches, was declared thenceforward and forever free. Besides these advantages, an indemnity of one hundred millions of florins was to be paid by Holland. To compensate the latter for her sacrifices, France promised, at the general pacification, indemnities of territory taken from the conquered countries, and in a situation most suitable for the clear demarcation of the reciprocal boundaries.

This treaty rested on the most reasonable basis. The conqueror showed himself in it equally generous and skilful. It has been vainly argued that, in attaching Holland to her alliance, France exposed her to the loss of half her vessels detained in the ports of England, and especially of her colonies, left defenceless to the ambition of Pitt. Holland, if left neutral, would neither have recovered her shipping nor retained her colonies, and Pitt would still have found a pretext for seizing them on behalf of the stadtholder. The mere retaining of the stadtholdership, without saving in a certain manner the Dutch ships or colonies, would have deprived English ambition of all pretext; but was the retaining of the stadtholdership, with the political principles of France, with the promises given to the Batavian patriots, with the spirit which animated them, or with the hopes conceived by them when they opened their gates to us, either possible, consistent, or even honourable?

The conditions with Prussia were more easy to settle. Bischoffwerder had just been thrown into confinement. The King of Prussia, delivered from mystics, had conceived a perfectly new ambition. He no longer aspired to save the principles of general order, but to become the mediator of universal pacification. The treaty with him was signed at Basle on the 16th of Germinal (April 5, 1795). In the first place, it was agreed that there should be peace, amity, and good understanding, between his majesty the King of Prussia and the French republic; that the troops of the latter should evacuate that part of the Prussian territories which they occupied on the right bank of the Rhine; that they should continue to occupy the Prussian provinces on the left bank, and that the lot of those provinces should not be definitively fixed till the general pacification. From this last condition it was very evident that the republic, without yet speaking out positively, thought of giving itself the boundary of the Rhine; but that, till it should have gained fresh victories over the states of the Empire and Austria, it deferred the solution of the difficulties to which this important determination must

have given rise. Not till then would it be able either to eject the one, or to give indemnities to the others. The French republic engaged to accept the mediation of the King of Prussia for the purpose of reconciling it with the princes and states of the German empire; it even engaged, for the space of three months, not to treat as enemies such of the princes of the right bank in whose behalf his Prussian majesty should interest himself. This was a sure way to induce the whole empire to solicit peace through the mediation of Prussia.

Accordingly, immediately after the signing of this treaty, the cabinet of Berlin caused its determination and the motives which had swayed it, to be solemnly communicated to the Empire. It declared to the diet that it tendered its good offices to the Empire if it were desirous of peace; and, if the majority of the states refused it, to such of them as should be obliged to treat for their individual safety. Austria, on her part, addressed some very severe remarks to the diet: she said that she desired peace as much as any one, but that she believed it to be impossible; that she would choose the fit moment for treating; and that the states of the Empire would find many more advantages in relying upon old Austrian faith than upon perjured powers, which had violated all their engagements. The diet, to give itself the air of preparing for war, at the same time that it solicited peace, decreed the quintuple contingent for the ensuing campaign, and stipulated that the states which could not furnish soldiers, should be released from the obligation on paying two hundred and forty florins per man. At the same time, it decided that Austria, having just contracted with England for the continuance of the war, could not be the mediatrix of peace, and resolved to confide that mediation to Prussia. There was nothing more to be settled but the form and the composition of the deputation.

Notwithstanding this strong desire to treat, the Empire could not well do so *en masse*; for it must have required for its members stripped of their territories restitutions which France could not make without renouncing the line of the Rhine. But it was evident that, in this impossibility to treat collectively, each prince would throw himself into the arms of Prussia, and through her mediation make his separate peace.

Thus the republic began to disarm its enemies and to force them to peace. None were bent upon war but those who had sustained great losses, and who had no hopes of recovering by negotiation what they had lost by arms. Such could not fail to be the dispositions of the princes of the left bank despoiled of their territories, of Austria, deprived of the Netherlands, of Piedmont, ejected from Savoy and Nice. Those, on the contrary, who had had the good sense to preserve their neutrality, congratulated themselves every day on their prudence, and the profits which it brought them. Sweden and Denmark were about to send ambassadors to the Convention. Switzerland, which had become the *entrepôt* of the trade of the continent, persisted in its wise arrangements, and addressed, through M. Ochs, these sensible observations to Barthelemy,* the envoy: "Switzerland is necessary to France, and

* "François Barthelemy, nephew of the celebrated author of the 'Travels of Anacharsis,' was brought up under the direction of his uncle, and at the commencement of the Revolution was sent as ambassador to England, to notify to the court that Louis XVI. had accepted the constitution. In 1791 he went to Switzerland in the same character; in 1795 he negotiated and signed a peace with Prussia, and in the same year a similar treaty with Spain. In 1797 he was elected into the Directory, but was involved in the downfall of the Clichy party. After the Revolution of the 18th of Brumaire, Barthelemy became a member of the conservative senate, and was soon afterwards called to the Institute."—*Biographie Moderne* F.

France to Switzerland. There is, in fact, every reason to suppose that, but for the Helvetic confederation, the wrecks of the ancient kingdoms of Lorraine, Burgundy, and Anles, would not have been united with the French dominions; and one can scarcely help believing that, but for the powerful diversion and decided interference of France, the efforts made to stifle Helvetic liberty in its cradle would have proved successful." The neutrality of Switzerland had in fact recently rendered an eminent service to France, and contributed to save her. To these observations M. Ochs added others not less elevated: "People," said he, "will perhaps some day admire that sentiment of natural justice, which, inducing us to abhor all foreign influence in the choice of our own forms of government, forbids us for that very reason to set ourselves up for judges of the mode of public administration chosen by our neighbours. Our forefathers neither censured the great vassals of the German empire for having swallowed up the imperial power, nor the royal authority of France for having curbed the great vassals. They successively saw the French nation represented by the States-general; the Richelieus and the Mazarins seize absolute power; Louis XIV. appropriate to himself the entire power of the nation; and the parliaments aspire to share the public authority in the name of the people; but never were they heard, with rash voice, recalling the French government to this or that period of its history. The happiness of France was their wish, her unity their hope, and the integrity of her territory their support."

These elevated and just principles were a severe censure of the policy of Europe, and the results which Switzerland reaped from them were a very striking demonstration of their wisdom. Austria, jealous of her commerce, strove to cramp it by a cordon; but Switzerland complained to Wurtemberg and the neighbouring states, and obtained justice.

The Italian powers wished for peace, such of them at least whose imprudence was likely to expose them some day to disastrous consequences. Piedmont, though exhausted, had lost enough to desire to have recourse once more to arms. But Tuscany, forced in spite of herself to give up her neutrality by the English ambassador, who, threatening her with an English squadron, had allowed her but twelve hours to decide, was impatient to resume her part, especially since the French were at the gates of Genoa. The grand-duke had consequently opened a negotiation, which terminated in a treaty, the easiest to conclude of any. Good understanding and friendship were re-established between the two states, and the grand-duke restored to the republic the corn which had been taken from the French in his ports, at the moment of the declaration of war. This restitution he had made of his own accord, even before the negotiation. This treaty, beneficial to France for the trade of the South, and especially that in corn, was concluded on the 21st of Pluviose (February 9).

Venice, who had withdrawn her envoy from France, intimated that she was about to appoint another, and to despatch him to Paris. The Pope expressed regret for the outrages committed on the French. The Court of Naples, led astray by the passions of an insensate queen and the intrigues of England, was far from thinking of negotiating, and promised ridiculous succours to the coalition.

Spain still had need of peace, and seemed to be only waiting to be forced into it by new reverses.

A negotiation, not less important perhaps for the moral effect which it was likely to produce, was that begun at Nantes with the insurgent provinces. We have seen that the chiefs of La Vendée, divided among themselves,

almost deserted by their peasants, accompanied only by a few determined warriors, pressed on all sides by the republican generals, compelled to choose between an amnesty and utter destruction, had been led to treat for peace. We have seen that Charette had agreed to an interview near Nantes ; that the pretended Baron de Cormatin, Puisaye's major-general, had come forward as the mediator of Bretagne ; that he travelled with Humbert, wavering between the wish to deceive the republicans, to concert with Charette, to seduce Canclaux, and the ambition to be the pacificator of those celebrated provinces. The common rendezvous was appointed at Nantes. The conferences were to begin at the castle of La Jaunaye, a league from that city, on the 24th of Pluioise (February 12).

Cormatin, on his arrival at Nantes, was anxious to put Puisaye's letter into the hands of Canclaux ; but this man, who reckoned upon tricking the republicans, was not clever enough even to keep this most dangerous letter from their knowledge. It was discovered and published, and he was obliged to declare that the letter was spurious, that he was not the bearer of it, and that he had come in all sincerity to negotiate a peace. By these professions he became more deeply implicated than ever. He dropped the part of a skilful diplomatist, duping the republicans, conferring with Charette, and seducing Canclaux ; that of peace-maker only was now left him. He saw Charette, and found him compelled by his position to treat for the moment with the enemy. From that instant, Cormatin fell to work in good earnest to bring about a peace. It was agreed that it should be a feigned one, and that, till England should fulfil her promises, they should appear to submit to the republic. They intended to obtain for the moment the best possible conditions. As soon as the conferences were opened, Cormatin and Charette delivered a note in which they demanded freedom of religion, sufficient pensions for the support of all the ecclesiastics of La Vendée, exemption from military service and taxes for ten years, in order to repair the calamities of the war, indemnities for all devastations, the discharge of the engagements contracted by the generals for the supply of their armies, the re-establishment of the old territorial divisions of the country, and its former mode of administration, the formation of territorial guards under the command of the existing commanding generals, the removal of all the republican armies, the exclusion of all the inhabitants of La Vendée who had left the country as patriots, and of whose property the royalists had taken possession, and lastly, a general amnesty for the emigrants as well as the Vendéans. Such demands were absurd and could not be admitted. The representatives granted freedom of religion, indemnities for those whose cottages had been destroyed, exemption from service for the young men of the present requisition, in order to repopulate the country, the formation of territorial guards under the direction of the administration to the number of two thousand only ; the payment of the bonds signed by the generals to the amount of two millions. But they refused the re-establishment of the old territorial divisions and the old administrations, the exemption from taxes for ten years, the removal of the republican armies, and the amnesty for the emigrants ; and they required the restoration of their property to the Vendean patriots. They stipulated, moreover that all these concessions should be introduced not into a treaty but into ordinances (*arrêtés*) issued by the representatives on mission, and that the Vendean generals, on their part, should sign a declaration recognising the republic and promising to submit to its laws. A last conference was fixed for the 29th of Pluviose (February 17,) for the truce was to end on the 30th.

It was proposed that, before peace was concluded, Stofflet should be

invited to these conferences. Several royalist officers wished this because they thought that it was not right to treat without him; the representatives wished it also, because they were desirous of including all La Vendée in the same negotiation. Stofflet was directed by the ambitious Bernier, who was far from being favourably disposed towards a peace that must deprive him of all his influence. Stofflet, moreover, disliked playing the second part, and he saw with vexation this whole negotiation begun and carried on without him. He consented, nevertheless, to attend the conferences, and he repaired to La Jaunaye with a great number of his officers.

The tumult was great. The partisans of peace and those of war were much exasperated against one another. The former gathered round Charette; they said that those who wished to continue the war were men who never went into action; that the country was ruined and reduced to extremity; that the foreign powers had done nothing for them, and that it was extremely improbable any succours would ever come from them. They added, (but this they merely whispered to one another,) that they must wait and gain time by a feigned peace, and that if England ever performed her promises they would be quite ready to rise. The partisans of war said, on the contrary, that, if the republicans offered them peace, it was only to disarm them, then violate all promises, and sacrifice them with impunity; that, if they were to lay down their arms for a moment, they should depress the courage of their people, and render any insurrection impracticable for the future; that, since the republic negotiated, it was a proof that it was also reduced to extremity; that, by waiting a moment and displaying firmness a little longer, they should be enabled to attempt great things with the assistance of the foreign powers; that it was unworthy of French gentlemen to sign a treaty with the secret intention of not fulfilling it; and that, moreover, they had no right to recognise the republic, for that would be to deny the rights of the princes for whom they had so long been fighting.

Several very animated conferences took place, at which considerable irritation was manifested on both sides. For a moment indeed violent threats were exchanged by the partisans of Charette and those of Stofflet, and they had nearly come to blows. Cormatin was not the least ardent of the partisans of peace. His fluency of speech, his agitation of body and mind, his quality of representative of the army of Bretagne, had drawn attention to him. Unfortunately for him, he had about him a person named Solilhac, whom the central committee of Bretagne had directed to accompany him. Solilhac, astonished to see Cormatin play so different a part from that which he had been directed, and which he had promised to perform, observed to him that he was deviating from his instructions, and that he had not been sent to treat for peace. Cormatin was extremely embarrassed. Stofflet and the partisans of war triumphed, when they learned that Bretagne was thinking rather of contriving a delay and of concerting with La Vendée than of submitting. They declared that they would never lay down their arms, since Bretagne had determined to support them. On the morning of the 29th of Pluaise (February 17) the council of the army of Anjou met in a separate room in the castle of La Jaunaye, to adopt a definitive determination. The chiefs of Stofflet's division drew their swords, and swore to cut the throat of the first who should talk of peace; they decided upon war. Charette, Sapinaud, and their officers, in another room, decided upon peace. At noon they were both to meet the representatives of the people in a tent pitched in the plain. Stofflet, not daring to declare to their faces the determination which he had adopted, sent to them to say that he should not accede to their proposals. About noon the meeting

was to take place. The representatives left the detachment which accompanied them at the distance agreed upon, and proceeded to the tent. Charette left his Vendéans at the same distance, and brought with him only his principal officers to the rendezvous. Meanwhile, Stofflet was seen mounting a horse, with some furious partisans who accompanied him, and galloping off, waving his hat, and shouting *Vive le Roi!* In the tent where Charette and Sapinaud were conferring with the representatives, there was nothing more to discuss, for the ultimatum of the representatives was accepted beforehand. The declarations agreed upon were reciprocally signed. Charette, Sapinaud, Cornatin, and the other officers, signed their submission to the laws of the republic; the representatives gave the ordinances containing the conditions granted to the Vendean chiefs. The greatest politeness prevailed on both sides, and everything seemed to promise a sincere reconciliation.

The representatives, with a view to give great *éclat* to the submission of Charette, prepared for him a magnificent reception at Nantes. The greatest joy pervaded that entirely patriot city. People flattered themselves that the destructive civil war was at length brought to a conclusion. They exulted in seeing a man so distinguished as Charette return into the bosom of the republic, perhaps to devote his sword to its service. On the day appointed for his formal entry, the national guard and the army of the West were under arms. All the inhabitants, full of joy and curiosity, thronged to see and to do honour to the celebrated chief. He was received with shouts of *The republic for ever! Charette for ever!* He wore his uniform of Vendean general and the tricoloured cockade. Charette was harsh, distrustful, artful, intrepid. All this was discernible in his features and in his person. Of middle stature, a small bright eye, a nose turned up in the Tartar style, and a wide mouth, gave him an expression the most singular and the most accordant with his character.* Each of those who ran to see him strove to divine his sentiments. The royalists fancied that they could read embarrassment and remorse in his face. The republicans thought him overjoyed and almost intoxicated with his triumph. Well he might be, in spite of the embarrassment of his position, for his enemies procured him the fairest and the first reward that he had yet received for his exploits.

No sooner was this peace signed, than preparations were made for reducing Stofflet and for compelling the Chouans to accept the conditions granted to Charette. The latter appeared to be sincere in his proceedings. He circulated proclamations in the country, to induce all the inhabitants to return to their duty. The people were overjoyed at this peace. The men who had irrevocably devoted themselves to war were formed into territorial guards, and the command of them was left to Charette. These were to constitute the police of the country. This was an idea of Hoche's, which had been disfigured to satisfy the Vendean chiefs, who, harbouring at once secret schemes and distrust, wished to keep the men most inured to war under their own orders. Charette even promised assistance against Stofflet, in case the latter, pressed in Upper Vendée, should fall back upon the Marais.

* "Charette was slight and of a middle height, and had a fierce air and severe look. He may justly be considered as one of the causes of the ruin of his party. His jealousy of d'Elbée and Bonchamp, who had greater political and military talents than he, disunited the forces of the royalists and injured their success; while even in his own army his severity alienated his troops; and his harshness towards priests, whom he had the indiscretion to remove from him, destroyed the enthusiasm so necessary in a war like that which he had undertaken. Such was the public interest he excited throughout France, that shortly after his death, his waistcoat and pantaloons were sold for twenty-seven guineas."—*Biographie Moderne*, E.

General Canclaux was immediately despatched in pursuit of Stofflet. Leaving only a corps of observation around Charette's country, he marched the greater part of his troops upon Layon. Stofflet, with a view to produce a sensation by a grand stroke, made an attempt on Chalonne, which was spiritedly repulsed, and fell back upon St. Florent. He proclaimed Charette a traitor to the cause of royalty, and pronounced sentence of death upon him. The representatives, who knew that such a war was to be terminated not merely by the employment of arms, but by giving the ambitious an interest in its cessation, by affording succour to men destitute of resources, had also distributed money. The committee of public welfare had opened a credit in their favour on its secret funds. They gave 60,000 francs in specie, and 365,000 in assignats, to various officers of Stofflet's. His major-general, Trotouin, received 100,000 francs, half in money, half in assignats, and separated from him. He wrote a letter addressed to the army of Anjou, exhorting them to peace, and urging such reasons as were most likely to have an effect upon them.

While such means were employed upon the army of Anjou, the representatives who had been engaged in the pacification of La Vendée repaired to Bretagne, to induce the Chouans to enter into a similar negotiation. Cornatin accompanied them. He was now attached in good earnest to the system of peace, and he was ambitious of making a triumphal entry into Rennes, as Charette had done at Nantes. Notwithstanding the truce, many acts of pillage had been committed by the Chouans. Being generally mere robbers, without attachment to any cause, caring very little about the political views which had induced their chiefs to sign a suspension of arms, they took no pains to observe it, and thought of nothing but obtaining booty. Some of the representatives, on seeing the conduct of the Bretons, began to distrust their intentions, and were already of opinion that they must renounce all idea of peace. Of these Boursault was the most decided. On the other hand, Bollet, a zealous peace-maker, conceived that, notwithstanding some acts of hostility, an accommodation was possible, and that mild means only ought to be employed. Hoche, hurrying from cantonments to cantonments, eighty leagues apart, never giving himself a moment's rest, placed between the representatives who were in favour of war and those who were in favour of peace, between the Jacobins of the towns, who accused him of weakness and treason, and the royalists who charged him with barbarity—Hoche was filled with disgust, though his zeal was by no means quenched. "You wish me another campaign of the Vosges," he wrote to one of his friends; "how would you make such a campaign against the Chouans and almost without an army?" This young officer saw his talents wasted on an ungrateful war, while generals, altogether inferior to himself, were immortalizing themselves in Holland and on the Rhine, at the head of the finest armies of the republic. He nevertheless prosecuted his task with ardour, and with a profound knowledge of men and of his own situation. We have seen that he had already given the most judicious advice, and recommended, for example, the indemnification of the insurgents who had remained peasants, and the enrolment of such as the war had made soldiers. A better acquaintance with the country had enabled him to discover the true means of appeasing the inhabitants, and of again attaching them to the republic. "We must continue," said he, "to treat with the Chouan chiefs. Their sincerity is very doubtful, but we must keep faith with them. We shall thus gain by confidence those who only need to be made easy on that point. We must gain by commissions those who are ambitious—by money those who are necessitous: we should thus

divide them among themselves; and we should commit the police to those whom we can trust, by giving them the command of the territorial guards, the institution of which has just been suffered. For the rest, we should distribute twenty-five thousand men in several camps to watch the whole country; place along the coasts a number of gun-boats which must be kept in continual motion; and transfer the arsenals, the arms, and the ammunition, from the open towns to the forts and defended places. As for the inhabitants, we must employ the influence of the priests with them, and grant some relief to the most distressed. If we could succeed in diffusing confidence by means of the priests, *chouannerie* would fall immediately." "Circulate," he thus wrote to his general officers on the 27th of Ventose, "circulate the salutary law which the Convention has just passed respecting the freedom of religion, and preach up yourselves religious toleration. The priests, certain that you will not disturb them in the exercise of their ministry, will become your friends, were it only in order to be quiet. Their character inclines them to peace: visit them, tell them that the continuance of the war will render them liable to be annoyed not by the republicans, who respect religious opinions, but by the Chouans, who acknowledge neither God nor law, and who want to domineer and to plunder without ceasing. Some of them are poor, and in general they are very selfish; do not neglect to offer them some succour, but without ostentation, and with all the delicacy of which you are capable. Through them you will learn all the manœuvres of their party, and you will induce them to keep their peasants at home and to prevent their fighting. You must be aware that, to attain this end, mildness, amenity, and frankness are requisite. Prevail upon some of the officers and soldiers to attend respectfully some of their ceremonies, taking care never to disturb them. The country expects of you the greatest devotedness; all the means by which you can serve it are good, if they accord with the laws and with republican honour and dignity." To this advice, Hoche added the recommendation not to take anything from the country for the supply of the armies for some time at least. As for the projects of the English, he proposed to thwart them by taking the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, and raising a *chouannerie* in England, that they might have something to occupy their attention at home. He was thinking of Ireland; but he wrote that on this subject he would enter into a verbal explanation with the committee of public welfare.

These means, chosen with judgment and employed in more than one place with great address, had already been completely successful. Bretagne was thoroughly divided; all the Chouans who had appeared at Rennes were caressed, paid, satisfied, and persuaded to lay down their arms. The others, more obstinate, reckoning upon Stofflet and Puisaye, were for persisting in carrying on the war. Cornatin continued to run from one to the other, with a view to bring them together at La Prévalaye, and to induce them to treat. Notwithstanding the ardour which he manifested to pacify the country, Hoche, who had discerned his character and his vanity, distrusted him, and suspected that his word given to the republicans would not be better kept than that given to the royalists. He watched him with great attention, to ascertain whether he laboured sincerely and without any secret design in the work of reconciliation.

Secret intrigues were destined to combine with all these circumstances in bringing about the pacification so earnestly desired by the republicans. We have already seen Puisaye in London, striving to prevail on the English cabinet to concur in his projects: we have seen the three French princes on the continent, one waiting at Arnheim for a part to enact, another fighting on

the Rhine, the third in his quality of regent, corresponding from Verona with all the cabinets, and keeping up a secret agency in Paris. Puisaye had followed up his schemes with equal activity and skill. Without waiting to be introduced by the old Duke d'Harcourt, the useless ambassador of the regent in London, he addressed himself directly to the British minister. Pitt, who, invisible to those emigrants who swarmed in the streets of London and beset him with plans and applications for relief, welcomed the organizer of Bretagne, and placed him in communication with Wyndham, the minister at war, a zealous friend of monarchy and anxious to support or to re-establish it in every country. The plans of Puisaye, maturely investigated, were adopted *in toto*. An army, a squadron, money, arms, and immense supplies of ammunition, were promised for a landing on the coast of France; but Puisaye was required to keep the matter secret from his countrymen, and especially from the old Duke d'Harcourt, the envoy of the regent. Puisaye, who had no higher wish than to do everything by himself, was impenetrable to the Duke d'Harcourt, to the other agents of the princes in London, and above all to the Paris agents, who corresponded with the very secretary of the duke. Puisaye merely wrote to the Count d'Artois, applying for extraordinary powers, and proposing that he should come and put himself at the head of the expedition. The Prince sent the powers, and promised to come and take the command in person. The plans of Puisaye were soon suspected, in spite of his endeavours to keep them secret. All the emigrants repulsed by Pitt, and kept aloof by Puisaye, were unanimous. Puisaye, in their opinion, was an intriguer, sold to the perfidious Pitt, and meditated most suspicious projects. This opinion, disseminated in London, was soon adopted at Verona by the councillors of the regent. Since the affair of Toulon, that little court had harboured a great distrust of England: and particular uneasiness was felt as soon as she proposed to make use of one of the princes. On this occasion it did not fail to ask with a sort of anxiety what she meant to do with M. le Comte d'Artois, why the name of Monsieur was not introduced in her plans, if she conceived that she could do without him, &c. The agents in Paris, holding their mission from the regent, sharing his sentiments concerning England, having been unable to obtain any communication from Puisaye, used the same language respecting the enterprise which was preparing in London. Another motive contributed still more to make them disapprove it. The regent thought of having recourse to Spain, and purposed removing to that country, that he might be nearer to La Vendée and to Charette, who was his hero. The Paris agents, on their part, had entered into communication with an emissary of Spain, who had prevailed upon them to make use of that power, and promised that it would do for Monsieur and for Charette what England intended to do for the Count d'Artois and for Puisaye. But it was necessary to wait till Monsieur could be conveyed from the Alps to the Pyrenees by the Mediterranean, and till a considerable expedition could be prepared. The intriguers of Paris were therefore wholly in favour of Spain. They pretended that the French were less shy of her than of the English, because her interests were less opposed to theirs; that, moreover, she had gained Tallien, through his wife, the daughter of Cabarus,* the Spanish banker; they even dared to assert that

* "Count François Cabarus, born in 1752, was destined for commerce by his father, and obtained the charge of a soap-manufactory near Madrid. Here he became acquainted with several eminent and literary characters, and suggested some financial regulations to the Spanish minister of finance, which were adopted with the greatest success. In 1782 he established the bank of San Carlos, and a company to trade with the Philippine islands. In the year

they were sure of Hoche, so little did they stick at imposture to give importance to their schemes. But Spain, her ships and her troops, were much less powerful, according to them, than the intrigues which they pretended to set on foot in the interior. Placed in the heart of the capital, they saw a movement of indignation manifest itself against the revolutionary system. This movement must be excited, said they, and if possible turned to the account of royalism: but to this end, it would have been requisite for the royalists to show themselves as little formidable as possible, for the Mountain was regaining strength from all the apprehensions inspired by counter-revolution. A victory won by Charette, a landing of the emigrants in Bretagne, would have been sufficient to restore to the revolutionary party the influence which it had lost, to make unpopular the Thermidorians, whom the royalists had need of. Charette had just made peace; but it was requisite that he should hold himself in readiness to take up arms again; it was requisite that Anjou and Bretagne should also appear to submit for a time; that, during this time, the heads of the government and the generals should be won, that the armies should be suffered to pass the Rhine and to advance into Germany; and then that the lulled Convention should be all at once surprised, and royalty proclaimed in La Vendée, in Bretagne, and in Paris itself. An expedition from Spain, bringing over the regent, and concurring with these simultaneous movements, might then decide the victory of royalty. As for England, they meant to ask her for nothing but money—for these gentry could not do without that—and to deceive her afterwards. Thus each of the thousand agents employed for the counter-revolution indulged in his own particular revery, devised means according to his own position, and aspired to be the principal restorer of monarchy. Falsehood and intrigue were the means of most of them, and money was their principal ambition.

With such ideas, it was natural that the Paris agency, while Puisaye was planning in London to carry the Count d'Artois at the head of an expedition to Bretagne, should strive, on the contrary, to thwart any expedition of the kind, to pacify the insurgent provinces, and to cause a feigned peace to be signed. By favour of the truce granted to the Chouans, Lemaitre, Brottier, and Laville-Heurnois, had just opened communications with the insurgent provinces. The regent had directed them to transmit letters to Charette. They intrusted them to an old naval officer, deprived of his commission and in want of employment. They instructed him, at the same time, to promote the pacification by exhorting the insurgents to temporize, to wait for succours from Spain and for a movement in the interior. This emissary, Duverne de Presle, repaired to Rennes, where he forwarded the regent's letters to Charette, and then recommended to every one a temporary submission. He was not the only one whom the Paris agents sent on this errand; and very soon, the ideas of peace, already generally circulated in Bretagne, spread still farther. People everywhere said that they must lay down their arms, that England was deceiving the Royalists, that they had everything to expect from the Convention, that it was itself about to re-establish monarchy, and that in the treaty signed with Charette there were secret articles, stipulating that the young orphan in the Temple, Louis XVII., should soon be acknowledged as king. Cormatin, whose position had become extremely perplexing,

1790 Cabarus was arrested, in 1792 he was released and made a nobleman, and in 1797 appointed minister plenipotentiary at the congress of Rastadt. He died in 1810 in the office of minister of finance, to which he had been appointed by King Joseph Bonaparte."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

and who had disobeyed the orders of Puisaye and of the central committee, found in the system of the Paris agents an excuse and an encouragement for the conduct which he pursued. It even appears that he was led to hope for the command of Bretagne in the place of Puisaye. With great pains he at length succeeded in bringing together the principal Chouans at La Prévalaye, and the conferences began.

At this juncture, Messrs. de Tinténiaç* and de la Roberie were sent from London by Puisaye, the former to bring the Chouans powder, money, and intelligence of a speedy expedition, the second to carry to Charette, his uncle, notice to hold himself in readiness to second the descent in Bretagne, and both to cause the negotiations to be broken off. They attempted to land with a few emigrants near the Côtes du Nord; the Chouans, apprized of their coming, had hastened to the spot; they had had an action with the republicans and been beaten; Messrs. de la Roberie and de Tinténiaç had escaped by a miracle; but the truce was compromised, and Hoche, who began to distrust the Chouans, and suspected the sincerity of Cormatin, thought of ordering him to be apprehended. Cormatin protested his sincerity to the representatives, and induced them to decide that the truce should not be broken. The conferences at La Prévalaye continued. An agent of Stofflet's came to take part in them. Stofflet, beaten, pursued, reduced to extremity, stripped of all his resources by the discovery of the little arsenal which he had in a wood, had at length begged to be permitted to treat, and sent a representative to La Prévalaye. This was General Beauvais. The conferences were extremely warm, as they had been at La Jaunaye. General Beauvais still advocated the system of war, in spite of the desperate situation of the chief who sent him; and he alleged that Cormatin, having signed the peace of La Jaunaye and acknowledged the republic, had lost the command with which Puisaye had invested him, and had no right to deliberate. M. de Tinténiaç, who, in spite of all the dangers, had reached the place where the conferences were held, would have broken them off in Puisaye's name and returned immediately to London; but Cormatin and the partisans of peace prevented him. Cormatin at length decided the majority to agree to a negotiation, by representing that they should gain time by an apparent submission, and lull the vigilance of the republicans. The conditions were the same as those granted to Charette: freedom of religion, indemnities for those whose property had been laid waste, exemption from the requisition, and the institution of territorial guards. There was an additional condition in the treaty, namely, a million and a half for the principal chiefs. Cormatin was of course to receive his share of that sum. Cormatin, says General Beauvais, that he might not cease for an instant to be guilty of insincerity, at the moment of signing, laid the sword upon his hand, and swore to take up arms again on the first occasion, and he recommended to each to maintain till fresh orders the established organization and the respect due to all the chiefs.

The royalist chiefs then repaired to La Mabilaye, a league from Rennes, to sign the treaty at a formal meeting with the representatives. Many would have declined going, but Cormatin prevailed upon them to attend. The

* "M. de Tinténiaç was, in character and talents, one of the most distinguished men that appeared during the civil war in La Vendée. He was also remarkable for his intrepid and enterprising nature. At one time he swam across the Loire, holding his despatches between his teeth; and it is asserted, that being once in the middle of the town of Nantes, and finding himself near the ferocious Carrier, he escaped, by threatening to blow out his brains."— *Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochefoucauld*. E.

meeting took place with the same formalities as at La Jaunaye. The Chouans had desired that Hoche might not be present, on account of his extreme distrust: this was agreed to. On the 1st of Floreal (April 20), the representatives signed the same ordinances as at La Jaunaye, and the Chouans signed a declaration by which they recognised the republic and submitted to its laws.

On the following day, Cormatin made his entry into Rennes, as Charette had done at Nantes. The bustle in which he had kept himself, and the importance which he had arrogated, caused him to be considered as the chief of the Breton royalists. To him was attributed everything—both the exploits of that band of unknown Chouans who had mysteriously traversed Bretagne, and that peace which had been so long desired. Applauded by the inhabitants, caressed by the women, supplied with a round sum in assignats, he reaped all the profit and all the honours of the war, as though he had long waged it. He had however only just landed in Bretagne before he undertook to play this singular part. Nevertheless, he dared no longer write to Puisaye; he could not venture to leave Rennes or trust himself in Bretagne, for fear of being shot by the malecontents. The principal chiefs returned to their divisions, wrote to Puisaye that they had been deceived, that he had only to come, and they would rise at the first signal and fly to meet him. A few days afterwards, Stofflet finding himself deserted, signed a peace at St. Florent on the same conditions.

At length, after the two Vendées and Bretagne had submitted, Charette received the regent's first letter: it was dated the 1st of February. The prince called him the second founder of the monarchy, spoke of his gratitude, of his admiration, of his desire to join him, and appointed him lieutenant-general. These intimations arrived too late. Charette, deeply moved, replied immediately that the letter with which he had just been honoured filled his soul with a transport of joy; that his attachment and his fidelity would still be the same; that necessity alone had obliged him to yield, but that his submission was only apparent; that when *the parts should be bound better together*,* he would again take up arms, and be ready to die before the face of his prince and in the most glorious of causes.

Such was the first pacification of the insurgent provinces. As Hoche had suspected, it was but apparent; yet, as he had also foreseen, it might be made prejudicial to the Vendean chiefs, by habituating the country to repose and to the laws of the republic, and by calming or directing into another channel that ardour for fighting which animated some men. Notwithstanding what Charette wrote to the regent, and what the Chouans intimated to Puisaye, all ardour was likely to be extinguished in their hearts, after a few months' tranquillity. These underhand dealings were but proofs of insincerity, excusable no doubt in the excitement of civil wars, but which take away from those who exhibit them all right to complain of the severities of their adversaries. The representatives and the republican generals were most scrupulous in the fulfilment of the conditions granted. It is assuredly superfluous to demonstrate the absurdity of the rumour then circulated and even repeated since, that the treaties which had been signed contained secret articles, and that these articles comprehended a promise to seat Louis XVII. on the throne; as if representatives could have been so mad as to enter into

* "Even at this period it is evident that there existed over all the west of France powerful elements of resistance, and if they had been united under one head, and seconded by the allied powers, it was by no means impossible to have restored the royal cause."
Jomini E.

such engagements; as if it had been possible that they could consent to sacrifice, to a few partisans, a republic which they persisted in upholding against all Europe! Besides, none of the chiefs, in their letters to the princes or to the different royalist agents, ever ventured to advance such an absurdity. Charette, subsequently tried for having violated the conditions made with him, dared not avail himself of this powerful excuse of an article that was never carried into execution. Puisaye, in his *Memoirs*, considers the assertion to be equally frivolous and false: and we should not here have referred to it, had it not been repeated by a great number of writers.

This peace afforded another advantage besides that of leading to the disarming of the country. Concurring with that of Prussia, Holland, and Tuscany, and with the intentions manifested by several other states, it produced a very great moral effect. The republic was recognised at one and the same time by its enemies at home and abroad, by the coalition, and by the royalist party itself.

Among the decided enemies of France, there were only left Austria and England. Russia was too distant to be dangerous; the empire was on the point of being dissevered, and was incapable of supporting the war; Piedmont was exhausted; Spain, taking little share in the chimerical hopes of the intriguing royalists, sighed for peace; and the anger of the court of Naples was as impotent as ridiculous. Pitt, notwithstanding the unparalleled triumphs of the republic, notwithstanding a campaign unexampled in the annals of war, was not shaken; and his strong understanding perceived that so many victories ruinous to the continent were in no respect detrimental to England. The stadtholder, the princes of Germany, Austria, Piedmont, Spain, had lost in this war part of their territories: but England had acquired an incontestable superiority at sea. She was mistress of the Mediterranean and of the Ocean; she had seized half the Dutch fleet; she forced the navy of Spain to exhaust itself against that of France; she strove to possess herself of our colonies; she had already taken all those of the Dutch, and secured for ever her Indian empire. For this purpose she still needed some time of war and of political aberrations on the part of the continental powers: it was therefore to her interest to excite hostilities by affording succour to Austria, by rousing the zeal of Spain, by preparing fresh commotions in the southern provinces of France. So much the worse for the belligerent powers if they were beaten in a new campaign: but England had nothing to fear; she would pursue her course on the seas, in India, and in America. If, on the other hand, the powers were victorious, she would be a gainer by restoring to Austria the Netherlands, which she particularly disliked to see in the hands of France. Such were the sanguinary but deep calculations of the English minister.

Notwithstanding the losses which England had sustained, either by prizes, by the defeats of the Duke of York, or by the enormous expenses which she had incurred, and the sums which she had given to Prussia and Piedmont, she still possessed resources superior to the idea which the English entertained of them, and to the idea entertained of them by Pitt himself. She complained bitterly, it is true, of the numerous captures, of the dearth, and of the high price of all articles of consumption. The English merchant-vessels, having alone continued to traverse the sea, had naturally run much greater risks of being taken by privateers than those of other nations. The insurances, in which a great deal of business was done, rendered them daring, and very often they would not wait for convoys. This it was that gave so

many advantages to our cruisers. As for the dearth, it was general all over Europe. On the Rhine, about Frankfort, a bushel of rye cost fifteen florins. The enormous consumption of the armies, the multitude of hands taken from agriculture, the troubles in unhappy Poland,* which had this year furnished scarcely any corn, had occasioned this extraordinary dearth. Besides, transport from the Baltic to England was rendered almost impossible since the French were masters of Holland. It was to the New World that Europe had been obliged to resort for provisions; she lived at this moment on the surplus produce of those virgin lands which the North Americans had just brought into cultivation. But freight was high, and bread had risen in England to an enormous price. That of meat had increased proportionably. Spanish wool ceased to arrive, since the French occupied the ports of Biscay, and the manufacture of cloth was likely to be interrupted. Thus England, while in labour with her future greatness, suffered severely. The workmen struck in all the manufacturing towns; the people called aloud for peace, and petitions were presented to parliament, subscribed by thousands of signatures, imploring an end to this disastrous war. Ireland, agitated on account of concessions which had been withdrawn from it, was about to add fresh embarrassments to those in which the government was already involved.

In this arduous situation, Pitt discovered motives and means for continuing the war. In the first place, it flattered the passions of his court; it flattered even those of the English nation, which cherished a deadly hatred against France, that could always be revived amidst the severest sufferings. In the next, notwithstanding the losses of commerce (losses which proved, however, that the English alone had continued to frequent the seas), he saw English commerce increased during the last two years by the exclusive supply of all the markets of India and America. He had ascertained that the exports had amazingly increased since the commencement of the war, and he already had a glimpse of the future prosperity of the English nation. He found in loans an expedient, at the fecundity of which he was himself astonished. The funds had not fallen; the loss of Holland had but little affected them, because, the event being foreseen, an enormous quantity of capital had been transferred from Amsterdam to London. The Dutch commercial men, though patriots, had nevertheless no confidence in events, and had sought to place their wealth in safety by transporting it to England. Pitt had talked of a new loan to a considerable amount, and in spite of the war, the offers for it were more numerous than ever. Experience has since proved that war, while it forbids commercial speculations and admits of no speculations but in the public funds, facilitates loans instead of rendering them more difficult. This must happen still more naturally in a country which, having no neighbours, never sees in war a question of existence, but merely a question of trade and markets. Pitt resolved, therefore, by means of the abundant capital of his nation, to supply Austria with funds, to strengthen his navy, to increase his land forces, for the purpose of sending them to India

* "Abandoned by all the world, distracted by internal divisions, destitute alike of fortresses and resources, crushed in the grasp of gigantic enemies, the patriots of unhappy Poland, consulting only their own courage, resolved to make a last effort to deliver it from its enemies. But the tragedy was soon at an end. Warsaw capitulated, the detached parties of the patriots melted away, and Poland was no more! In November, 1794, Suwarow made his triumphal entry into the capital. King Stanislaus was sent into Russia, where he ended his days in captivity, and the final partition of the monarchy was effected."

—*Alison*. E.

or America, and to give considerable succours to the French insurgents. He concluded a subsidiary treaty with Austria, like that which he had made in the preceding year with Prussia. That power had soldiers, and promised to keep on foot at least two hundred thousand effective men; but she was in want of money. She could no longer open loans either in Switzerland, in Frankfort, or in Holland. England engaged not to furnish the funds, but to guarantee the loan which she proposed to open in London. To guarantee the debts of a power like Austria is very much like undertaking to pay them; but the operation in this form was much more easy to justify in parliament. The loan was for 4,600,000*l.* (115 millions of francs) at 5 per cent. interest. Pitt opened at the same time a loan of 18 millions sterling on account of England at 4 per cent. The eagerness of capitalists was extreme; and, as the Austrian loan was guaranteed by the English government, and bore a higher interest, they required that for two-thirds taken in the English loan they should have one-third given them in the Austrian. Pitt, having thus made sure of Austria, strove to awaken the zeal of Spain, but he found it extinct. He took into his pay the emigrant regiments of Condé, and he told Puisaye that, as the pacification of La Vendée diminished the confidence inspired by the insurgent provinces, he would give him a squadron, the *matériel* for an army, and emigrants formed into regiments, but no English soldiers, and that if, as letters from Bretagne stated, the dispositions of the royalists were not changed, and if the expedition proved successful, he would endeavour to render it decisive by sending an army. He then resolved to raise the number of seamen from eighty to one hundred thousand. For this purpose he devised a sort of conscription. Every merchant-vessel was obliged to furnish one seaman for every seven of her crew: it was a debt which it was but fair that commerce should pay for the protection which it received from the royal navy. Agriculture and manufactures were likewise under obligations to the navy, which insured them markets; in consequence, each parish was also obliged to furnish one seaman. In this manner he secured the means of making an extraordinary addition to the strength of the English navy.* The English men-of-war were very inferior in construction to the French ships; but the immense superiority in number, the excellence of the crews, and the skill of the officers, put rivalry entirely out of the question.

With all these means combined, Pitt presented himself to the parliament. The opposition had this year gained an accession of about twenty members. The partisans of peace and of the French Revolution were more animated than ever, and they had strong facts to oppose to the minister. The language which Pitt lent to the crown, and which he himself held during this session, one of the most memorable of the English parliament on account of the importance of the questions and the eloquence of Fox and Sheridan, was extremely specious. He admitted that France had obtained unexampled triumphs, but these triumphs, instead of discouraging her enemies, ought on the contrary, he said, to impart to them more firmness and perseverance. It was still England against which France bore a grudge; it was her constitution, her prosperity, that she was striving to destroy; it was decidedly far from prudent, far from honourable, to shrink from such a rancor-

* "England now augmented her naval force to a hundred thousand seamen: one hundred and eight ships of the line were put into commission, and the land forces were raised to a hundred and fifty thousand men. New taxes were imposed, and notwithstanding the most vehement debates, Parliament concurred in the necessity, now that we were embarked in the contest, of prosecuting it with vigour."—*New Annual Register*. E.

ous animosity To lay down her arms at that moment above all, would discover, he said, a disastrous weakness. France, having no other foes than Austria and the Empire to combat, would overwhelm them; she would then come back, relieved from her continental enemies, and fall upon England, who, thenceforth single-handed, would have to sustain a tremendous shock. It was right to take advantage of the moment, while several powers were yet in the field, to crush in concert the common enemy, to oblige France to retire within her own limits, to wrest from her the Netherlands, and Holland, to drive back into her own bosom her armies, her commerce, and her mischievous principles. Moreover, it required only one more effort to overwhelm her. She had conquered, it was true, but only by exhausting herself, by employing barbarous means, which had spent themselves by their very violence. The *maximum*, *requisitions*, *assignats*, terror, had spent themselves in the hands of the chiefs of France. All these chiefs had fallen by striving to conquer at such a price. One more campaign, then, said Pitt, and Europe, England, will be avenged and secured from a sanguinary revolution. Were there any whom these reasons of honour, of safety, or of policy, failed to touch? were there any still bent on making peace? he would tell them that it would not be possible. The French demagogues would repel it with that ferocious pride which they had displayed even before they were victorious. And in order to treat with them where was one to find them? where look for the government amid those bloodthirsty factions, urging each other on to power and disappearing as soon as they had attained it? how hope for solid conditions in negotiating with such transient depositaries of a still disputed authority? It was, therefore, not honourable, it was imprudent, it was impossible to negotiate. England still possessed immense resources; her exports had wonderfully increased; her commerce sustained losses which proved its boldness and its activity; her navy had become formidable, and her great capitalists came spontaneously to offer themselves in abundance to the government, for the purpose of continuing this just and necessary war.

Such were the epithets which Pitt had given to this war from the outset, and which he affected to give it still. It is evident that amidst these reasons of declamation he could not assign the real motives; that he could not confess by what Machiavelian ways he aimed at conducting England to the highest pinnacle of power. Men shrink from the avowal of such an ambition before the face of the world.

Hence the opposition replied victoriously to the false reasons which he was obliged to assign in default of the real ones. We were told at the end of last session, said Fox and Sheridan, that one more campaign would be sufficient: that the allies had already several fortresses, from which they were to sally forth in the spring and annihilate France. But what are the facts? The French have conquered Flanders, Holland, the whole left bank of the Rhine, excepting Mayence, part of Piedmont, the greater part of Catalonia, and the whole of Navarre. Where is such a campaign to be found in the annals of Europe? They have taken, we are told, some fortresses. Show us a war in which so many fortified places have been reduced in a single campaign! If the French, struggling against all Europe, have had such success, what advantages are they not likely to gain in a conflict with Austria and England left almost alone; for the other powers are either no longer able to second us, or have made peace! We are told that they are exhausted; that the *assignats*, their sole resource, have lost all their value; that their present government has ceased to possess its former energy. Bu

the Americans saw their paper-money fall ninety per cent., and yet they were not conquered. But this government, when it is energetic, we are told is barbarous; now that it is become humane and moderate, it is said to possess no energy. We are told of our resources, of our great wealth; but the people are perishing of want, and unable to pay for either bread or meat; they are loudly demanding peace. That wonderful wealth, which seems to be created by enchantment—is it real? Can treasures be created out of paper? All those systems of finance conceal some frightful error, some immense void, which will suddenly appear. We go on lavishing our wealth on the powers of Europe; we have already wasted it on Piedmont and on Prussia; we are again going to waste it on Austria. Who will guarantee us that this power will be more faithful to her engagements than Prussia? Who will guarantee us that she will not break her promise and treat, after taking our money? We are exciting an infamous civil war; we are arming the French against their native country, and yet to our shame these French, acknowledging their error and the wisdom of their new government, have just laid down their arms. Shall we go and fan the expiring embers of La Vendée, for the purpose of producing a tremendous conflagration there? We are told of the barbarous principles of France. Is there in those principles anything more anti-social than our conduct towards the insurgent provinces? All the means of war are, therefore, equivocal or culpable. Peace, we are assured, is impossible. France hates England. But when did the violence of the French against us break forth? Was it not when we manifested the guilty intention of wresting from them their liberty, of interfering in the choice of their government, of exciting civil war among them? Peace, we are further told, would spread the pestilence of their principles. But Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, the United States, are at peace with them. Is their constitution destroyed? Peace, it is added, is impossible with a tottering government, a government that is incessantly changing. But Prussia and Tuscany have found some one to treat with; Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, and the United States, know to whom to address themselves in their relations with France; and yet we cannot negotiate with her! We ought then to have been told on commencing the war, that we should not make peace before a certain form of government had been re-established among our enemies; before the republic had been abolished among them; before they had submitted to the institutions which it pleased our fancy to give them.

Amidst this clash of reasons and of eloquence, Pitt pursued his course, and, without ever assigning his real motives, obtained all that he desired: loans, naval conscription, and the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act. With his treasures, his navy, the two hundred thousand men belonging to Austria, and the desperate courage of the French insurgents, he resolved to make a new campaign this year, certain at any rate to rule the seas, if victory on the continent should adhere to the enthusiastic nation which he was fighting.

These negotiations, these conflicts of opinion in Europe, these preparations for war, prove of what importance our country then was in the world. At this juncture, ambassadors were seen to arrive all at once from Sweden, from Denmark, from Holland, from Prussia, from Tuscany, from Venice, and from America. On their arrival in Paris they called upon the president of the Convention, whom they found lodging sometimes in a second or third story, and whose simple and polite reception had succeeded the ancient introductions at court. They were then ushered into that famous hall, where, on humble benches, and in the simplest costume, sat that Assembly which,

from the might and the grandeur of its passions, appeared no longer ridiculous but terrible. They had an arm-chair opposite to that of the president; they spoke seated; the president replied in the same manner, calling them by the titles specified in their credentials. He then gave them the fraternal salute, and proclaimed them representatives of the power by which they were sent. They had a tribune set apart for them, where they could witness those stormy discussions, which excited in strangers as much curiosity as terror. Such was the ceremonial observed in regard to the ambassadors of foreign powers. Its simplicity befitted a republic, receiving without pomp, but with decency and respect, the envoys of monarchs whom it had vanquished. The name of Frenchmen was then a glorious name. It was ennobled by splendid victories, and by the purest of all, those gained by a nation in defence of its existence and of its liberty.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

LAST CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE MOUNTAINEERS AND THE THERMIDORIANS—INSURRECTION OF PRAIRIAL AND MURDER OF FERAUD—EXECUTION OF ROMME, GOUJON, DUQUESNOI, DURAI, BOURBOTTE, AND SOUBRANY—DESTRUCTION OF THE PATRIOT PARTY—BOLDNESS OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY PARTY—SCALE OF REDUCTION FOR THE ASSIGNATS.

THE events of Germinal had produced the usual consequence of an uncertain action for the two parties which divided France; those two parties had become the more violent in consequence, and the more intent on destroying one another. In the whole of the South, and particularly at Avignon, Marseilles, and Toulon, the revolutionists, more menacing and more audacious than ever, foiling all the efforts that were made to disarm them or to send them back to their communes, continued to demand the release of the patriots, the death of all returned emigrants, and the constitution of 1793. They corresponded with the partisans whom they had in every province; they called them to their aid; they exhorted them to collect at two principal points, Toulon for the South, Paris for the North. When they should be strong enough at Toulon, they would raise the departments, they said, and advance to join their brethren in the north. This was precisely the plan adopted by the federalists in 1793.

Their adversaries, whether royalists or Girondins, had become bolder, since the government, attacked in Germinal, had given the signal for persecutions. Masters of the administrations, they made a terrible use of the decrees passed against the patriots. They imprisoned them, as accomplices of Robespierre's, or as having had the management of the public money without rendering any account of it. They disarmed them, as having participated in the tyranny abolished on the 9th of Thermidor; or, lastly, they haunted them from place to place, as having quitted their communes. It was in the South itself that these hostilities against the unfortunate patriots were most active; for violence always provokes equal violence. In the de-

partment of the Rhone, a terrible reaction was in contemplation. The royalists, being obliged to flee from the cruel violence of 1793, returned through Switzerland, crossed the frontier, entered Lyons with false passports, talked there of the King, of religion, of past prosperity, and availed themselves of the recollection of the massacres, to bring back to monarchy a city which had become wholly republican. Thus the royalists looked towards Lyons for aid, as the patriots did towards Toulon. It was said that Precy had returned and was concealed in the city, upon which he had, by his valour, brought all its calamities. A multitude of emigrants, collecting at Basle, at Berne, and at Lausanne, showed themselves more presumptuously than ever. They talked of their speedy return; they said that their friends governed; that they would soon seat the son of Louis XVI. on the throne, procure themselves to be recalled, and their property to be restored to them; and that with the exception of some Terrorists and some military officers whom it would be necessary to punish, everybody would eagerly contribute to this restoration. At Lausanne, where all the youth were enthusiastic admirers of the French Revolution, they were annoyed but were forced to hold their tongues. In other places, they were suffered to talk: people despised these vain boastings, to which they were pretty well accustomed for six years past; but they were shy of some of them, who had pensions from the Austrian police for acting as spies in the inns upon travellers who should use indiscreet language. It was towards this quarter too, that is, near Lyons, that companies were formed, which, calling themselves companies of the Sun, and companies of Jesus, were to scour the country or to penetrate into the towns, and put to death the patriots who had retired to their estates or were confined in the prisons.* The transported priests also returned by this frontier, and had already spread themselves over all the eastern provinces; they declared all that had been done by the priests who had taken the oath to be null and void; they rebaptized children, remarried couples, and excited in the people a hatred and contempt of the government. They took care to keep near the frontier in order to recross it at the first signal. Those who had not suffered transportation, and who enjoyed in France a pension for their support and the free exercise of their religion, abused the tolerance of the government as much as the transported priests. Dissatisfied at having to say mass in houses either hired or lent, they stirred up the people and instigated them to seize the churches, which had become the property of the communes. A great number of disturbances had taken place on this subject, and force had been required to compel submission to the decrees. In Paris, the journalists in the pay of royalism, stimulated by Lemaitre, wrote with more boldness than ever against the Revolution, and almost openly preached up monarchy. Racroix, the author of the *Spectateur*, had been acquitted of the charges preferred against him; and since then the herd of libellers had ceased to be afraid of the revolutionary tribunal.

Thus the two parties were arrayed against each other, and ready for a decisive engagement. The revolutionists, resolved to strike the blow of which the 12th of Germinal had been merely the threat, conspired openly. They

* "Companies of Jesus and Companies of the Sun took the place of the Companies of Marat, and exacted as severe a retribution. At Lyons, at Aix, at Tarascon, at Marseilles, they slew all those confined in the prisons who had participated in the revolutionary transactions, pursued those who had escaped into the streets, and without any other form or notice than the reproach, 'Behold a Matavin!' (the nickname they gave to their opponents,) slew them, and threw them into the river. At Tarascon they precipitated them from a high tower on a rock which bordered on the Rhine."—*Hazlitt*. E.

hatched plots in every quarter, since they had lost their principal chiefs who alone framed plans for the whole party. An association was formed at the house of a man named Lagrelet, in the Rue de Bretagne. The plan was to collect several mobs, and to put Cambon, Maribon-Montant, and Thuriot, at the head of them; to despatch some of them to the prisons to deliver the patriots, others to the committees to seize them, and others again to the Convention to extort decrees from it. When once masters of the Convention, the conspirators purposed to oblige it to reinstate the imprisoned deputies, to annul the condemnation passed upon Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, and Barrère; to exclude the seventy-three, and immediately to proclaim the constitution of 1793. Everything was prepared, even to the crowbars for breaking open the prisons, the rallying tickets for recognising the conspirators, and a piece of stuff to hang out at the window of the house from which all the orders were to be issued. A letter, concealed in a loaf and addressed to a prisoner, was intercepted. In this letter it was said, "On the day that you will receive some eggs half white and half red, you will hold yourself in readiness. The day fixed was the 1st of Floreal. One of the conspirators betrayed the plan, and communicated the secret and the details to the committee of general safety. The committee immediately caused all the chiefs who were pointed out to be apprehended, but unfortunately this did not derange the plans of the patriots; for at that time every one was a chief, and people were conspiring in a thousand places at once* Rovère, who formerly deserved the name of a Terrorist, in the time of the old committee of public welfare, and now a valiant reactor, presented a report on this plot to the Convention, and inveighed vehemently against the deputies who were to be put at the head of the assemblages. Those deputies were utter strangers to the plot, and their names had been used without their knowledge, because the conspirators had need of them, and reckoned upon their being well disposed to the plot. Already condemned by a decree to be confined at Ham, they had not obeyed, but withdrawn themselves from the operation of that decree. At the instigation of Rovère, the assembly decided that, if they did not surrender themselves immediately, they should be transported on the sole ground of their disobedience. This abortive project plainly indicated that an event was near at hand.

As soon as the journals had made known this new plot of the patriots, a great agitation was manifested at Lyons and the rage against them was redoubled. At this moment, a noted Terrorist denouncer, prosecuted by virtue of the decree passed against the accomplices of Robespierre, was put upon his trial at Lyons. The newspapers containing Rovère's report on the plot of the 29th of Germinal had just arrived. The people of Lyons began to assemble; most of them had to deplore either the ruin of their fortune or the death of relatives. They beset the hall of the tribunal. Boisset, the representative, mounted his horse; they surrounded him, and each began to enumerate the complaints that he had to make against the man who was

* "Paris was full of conspirators, for the Convention had lost its popularity, because it had evinced so little disposition to relieve the sufferings of the people, which had now become absolutely intolerable. The conspiring anarchists profited by this preferment, and did their utmost to augment it, because that class reap no harvest but in the fields of misery. France, exhausted by every species of suffering, had lost even the power of uttering a complaint; and we had all arrived at such a point of depression, that death, if unattended by pain, would have been wished for, by even the youngest human being. But it was ordained that many months and years should still continue in that state of horrible agitation, the true fore taste of the torments of hell."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E

upon his trial. The promoters of disturbance, the companies of the Sun and of Jesus, availing themselves of this manifestation, of public feeling, excited a tumult, repaired to the prisons, broke them open, and murdered seventy or eighty prisoners, reputed Terrorists.* The national guard made some efforts to prevent this massacre, but showed perhaps less zeal than it would have displayed, had it not harboured such violent resentment against the victims of that day.

Thus no sooner was the Jacobin plot of the 29th of Germinal made public, than the counter-revolutionists replied to it by the massacre at Lyons on the 6th of Floreal. The sincere republicans, though they saw the plans of the Terrorists, were nevertheless alarmed at those of the counter-revolutionists. Hitherto they had been wholly occupied in preventing a new terror, and had felt no apprehension of royalism. Royalism, in fact, appeared very remote after the executions of the revolutionary tribunal and the victories of our armies; but when they beheld it, driven as it were from La Vendée, returning by Lyons, forming companies of assassins, pushing on seditious priests into the heart of France, and dictating in Paris itself publications filled with the violence of the emigrants, they changed their opinion and thought that, to the rigorous measures adopted against the tools of terror, it would be right to add others against the partisans of royalty. In the first place, to leave those without pretext who had suffered from excesses and demanded vengeance for them, they caused the tribunals to be enjoined to exert more activity in the prosecution of persons charged with peculation, abuse of authority, and oppressive acts. They then set about devising the measures most capable of curbing the royalists. Chenier, known for his literary talents and his avowedly republican opinions, was directed to draw up a report on this subject. He drew an energetic picture of France, of the two parties which disputed the empire over her, and especially of the seditious manœuvres of the emigrants and the clergy, and he proposed to direct every returned emigrant to be immediately delivered up to the tribunals, in order that he might be dealt with according to law; to consider as an emigrant every banished person who had returned to France and should be still there at the expiration of one month; to punish with six months' imprisonment all who should violate the law relative to the exercise of religion, and who should attempt to take possession of the churches by force; to condemn to banishment every writer who should instigate to outrages against the national representation or to the restoration of royalty; lastly, to oblige all the authorities charged with disarming the Terrorists to assign the motives for disarming them.

All these measures were adopted, excepting two which occasioned some observations. Thibaudeau considered the proposition as imprudent which recommended the punishment of violators of the law relative to religious worship with six months' imprisonment; he justly remarked that the churches were fit for one purpose only, that of religious ceremonies; that the people devout enough to attend mass in private meeting-houses would always feel extremely sore at being deprived of those edifices in which it was formerly held; that, in declaring the government exempted for ever from the expense

* "One prison at Lyons was set on fire by the infuriated mob, and the unhappy inmates all perished in the flames. The people, exasperated with the blood which had been shed by the revolutionary party, were insatiable in their vengeance; they invoked the name of a parent, brother, or sister, when retaliating on their oppressors; and while committing murder themselves, exclaimed with every stroke, 'Die, assassins!' Many innocent persons perished, as in all popular tumults, during these bloody days."—*Alison*. E.

of all religious worship, it ought to have restored the churches to the Catholics, to prevent regrets, commotions, and perhaps a general rising as in Vendée. Thibaudeau's observations were not favourably received; for it was feared lest, in restoring the churches to the Catholics, even though to be kept up at their own cost, the assembly might restore ceremonies to the old clergy which were a part of its power. Tallien, who had become a journalist with Fréron, and who, either from this reason or from an affectation of justice, was induced to protect the independence of the press, opposed the penalty of banishment against writers. He insisted that this was an arbitrary plan and left too great latitude for severities against the press. He was right; but, in that state of open war with royalism, it was perhaps of importance that the Convention should declare itself strongly against those libellers who strove to bring back France so soon to monarchical ideas. Louvet, that fiery Girondin, whose distrust had done so much injury to his party, but who was one of the most sincere men in the assembly, hastened to reply to Tallien, and besought all the friends of the republic to forget their dissensions and their reciprocal grievances, and to unite against their oldest enemy, the only real one they had—namely, royalty. The testimony of Louvet in favour of violent measures was least suspicious of all, for he had braved the most cruel proscription to oppose the system of revolutionary means. The whole assembly applauded his frank and noble declaration, voted that his speech should be printed and sent to every part of France, and adopted the article to the great confusion of Tallien, who had chosen such a wrong time for supporting a just and true maxim.

Thus, at the same time that the Convention ordered the prosecution and the disarming of the patriots, and their return to their communes, it renewed the laws against the emigrants and the exiled priests, and instituted penalties against the opening of the churches and against royalist pamphlets. But penal laws are feeble guards against parties ready to rush upon one another. Thibaudeau was of opinion that the organization of the committees of government since the 9th of Thermidor was too weak and too relaxed. This organization, established at the moment when the dictatorship was just overthrown, had been devised only under the dread of a new tyranny. Thus excessive tension of all the springs had been followed by extreme relaxation. The restoration of their influence to all the committees, for the purpose of destroying the too predominant influence of the committee of public welfare, had led to skirmishing, to delays, and to a complete enfeebling of the government. In fact, if a disturbance occurred in a department, the established routine required that the committee of general safety should first be made acquainted with it: that committee summoned the committee of public welfare, and in certain cases, that of legislation; it was necessary to wait till these committees were complete before they could assemble, and then that they should have time to confer together. Thus their meetings were rendered almost impossible, and too numerous to act. If it was requisite merely to send twenty men by way of guard, the committee of general safety, charged with the police, was obliged to apply to the military committee. Now it began to be felt how wrong it was to be so exceedingly afraid of the tyranny of the old committee of public welfare, and to take such precautions against a danger that was thenceforward chimerical. A government thus organized could but very feebly resist the factions conspiring against one another, and oppose to them only a powerless authority. Thibaudeau proposed, therefore, a simplification of the government. He moved that all the committees should be confined to the mere proposition of laws, and that the measures

of execution should all be assigned to the committee of public welfare; that the latter should combine the police with its other functions, and that consequently the committee of general safety should be abolished; that, lastly, the committee of public welfare, charged thus with the whole government, should be increased to twenty-four members, in order that it might be adequate to the extent of its new duties. The cowards in the assembly, who were always ready to arm themselves against impossible dangers, cried out against this plan, and said that it was a renewal of the old dictatorship. The discussion being opened, each proposed his plan. Those who had the mania for reverting to constitutional means, or to the division of powers, proposed to create an executive power out of the assembly, in order to separate the execution from the voting of the law. Others were for selecting the members of this power from the assembly, but for depriving them, so long as they held their office, of any legislative vote.

After long digressions, the assembly felt that, having but two or three months longer to exist, that is to say, only just the time requisite for making a constitution, it was ridiculous to waste it in framing a provisional constitution, and especially to renounce its dictatorship at a moment when it had more need of strength than ever. All the propositions tending to a division of the powers were in consequence rejected; but the assembly had too great a dread of Thibaudeau's plan to adopt it. It contented itself therefore with merely clearing the track of the committees a little more. It was decided that they should be confined to the mere proposition of laws; that the committee of public welfare alone should possess the powers of execution, but that the police should remain with the committee of general safety: that the meetings of committees should take place only by the deputation of commissioners; and lastly, the assembly, in order to guard itself still more against that formidable and so much dreaded committee of public welfare, decided that it should be deprived of the initiative of the laws, and never be capable of making propositions tending to proceedings against any deputy.

While the assembly took these means for restoring a little energy to the government, it continued to pay attention to those financial questions, the discussion of which had been interrupted by the events of the month of Germinal. The abolition of the *maximum*, of requisitions, of the sequestration, of the whole apparatus of forced means, in giving back things to their natural movement, had rendered the fall of the assignats more rapid. The sales being no longer forced, and the prices having again become free, goods had risen in an extraordinary manner and consequently the assignats had fallen in proportion. The communications with foreign countries being re-established, the assignat had again entered into comparison with foreign paper, and its inferiority had been rapidly manifested by the continually increasing fall of the exchange. Thus the fall of the paper-money was complete in every respect; and, agreeably to the ordinary law of velocities, the rapidity of this fall was increased by its very rapidity. Every too abrupt change in the value of effects produces hazardous speculations, that is, jobbing. As such change never happens but from the effect of some derangement either political or financial, as consequently production suffers, as manufactures and commerce are impeded, this kind of speculation is almost the only one that is left; and then, instead of fabricating or of transporting new commodities, people hasten to speculate on the variations in price of those which exist. Instead of producing, they gamble with what is produced. Stockjobbing, which had risen to such a pitch in the months of April, May, and June, 1793, when the defection of Dumouriez, the insurrection of La Vendée, and the federalist coalition, had occasioned so considerable a fall in the assignats, again appear

ed with greater violence than ever in Germinal, Floreal, and Prairial, year III (April and May, 1795). With the horrors of scarcity the scandal of unbounded gambling was thus combined, which again contributed to increase the dearness of commodities and the depreciation of paper.* The procedure of the gamblers was the same as in 1793, the same that it always is. They bought goods, which, rising in relation to the assignat with singular rapidity, increased in value in their hands, and procured them in a few moments a considerable profit. Thus all wishes, all efforts, tended to the fall of paper. There were articles, which were sold and resold thousands of times without ever being removed. People even speculated, as usual, with what they did not possess. They bought a commodity of a seller, who had it not, but who engaged to deliver it at a specified time: when that time arrived, the seller could not deliver it, but he paid the difference between the price at which he sold and the current price of the day, if the commodity had risen; he received that difference, if it had fallen. It was at the Palais Royal, already so obnoxious to the people as the haunt of the *gilded youth*, that the jobbers met. It was impossible to pass through it without being followed by dealers, carrying in their hands stuffs, gold snuff-boxes, silver plate, rich jewellery. It was at the Chartres coffee-house that all the speculators in the metallic substances assembled. Though gold and silver were no longer considered as merchandise, and though, since 1793, they were forbidden upon very severe penalties to be sold against assignats, the traffic in them was nevertheless carried on almost openly. The louis was sold for 160 livres in paper; and in an hour the price was made to fluctuate from 160 to 200, and even 210 livres.

Thus a frightful dearth of bread, an absolute want of fuel, in weather that was still severe in the middle of spring, an excessive rise in the prices of all commodities, the impossibility of procuring them with a paper that was sinking from day to day; amidst all these evils an unbridled jobbing, accelerating the depreciation of the assignats by its speculations, and affording a spectacle of the most scandalous gambling, and sometimes of sudden fortunes springing up out of the general distress—such was the vast theme of grievances presented to the patriots for exciting the people to commotion.† It behoved the government, as well for the relief of the public distresses, as for preventing a commotion, to redress these grievances—but therein lay the everlasting difficulty.

One expedient was deemed indispensable, as we have seen, to raise the assignats by withdrawing them from circulation; but, in order to withdraw them, it was necessary to sell the domains, and people persisted in shutting their eyes to the real difficulty, that of furnishing purchasers with the means of paying for one-third of the territory. The Assembly had rejected violent means, that is to say, the demonetisation and the forced loan; but it hesitated between the two voluntary means, namely, a lottery and a bank. The proscription of Cambon decided the preference in favour of the plan of Johannot, who had proposed the latter. But, till this chimerical expedient could be made to succeed, an expedient which, even if it did succeed, never

* "The rapidity of the decline of the assignat gave rise to numerous speculations on the exchange of Paris; and the people in the midst of the horrors of famine, were exasperated by the sight of fortunes made out of the misery which they endured."—*Alison*. E.

† "The daily crowds which were in the habit of assembling on account of the distribution of bread, and of the popular fermentation, did not allow the Convention to perceive the preparations that the patriots were making for a general commotion, nor consequently to organize any measures with respect to it."—*Mignet*. E.

could raise the assignats to a par with money, the greatest evil, that of a difference between a nominal value and the real value still existed. Thus the creditor of the state, or other persons, took the assignat at par, and could only pay it away again for one-tenth at most. Proprietors, who had let their lands, received but one-tenth of the rent. Instances were known of farmers who paid their rent with a sack of corn, a fat hog, or a horse. The treasury, in particular, sustained a loss which contributed to the ruin of the finances, and consequently of the paper itself. It took the assignat at its nominal value from the taxpayer, and received per month about fifty millions, which were at most only worth five. To supply this deficit, and to cover the extraordinary expenses of the war, it was obliged to issue assignats to the amount of not less than eight hundred millions per month, on account of their great depreciation. The first thing to be done, until measures should be devised for withdrawing and raising them, was to re-establish the relation between their nominal value, and their real value, so that the republic, the creditor of the state, the land-owner, the capitalist, in short, all persons paid in paper, might not be ruined.

Johannot proposed an expedient, namely to return to metals as the measure of value. The worth of the assignats in proportion to gold and silver was to be ascertained every day, and they were no longer to be received but at that rate. A person to whom one thousand francs were owing was to be paid ten thousand in assignats, if the assignats were worth only one-tenth of the metals. Taxes, rents, income of all kinds, the purchase-money of the national domains, were to be paid in specie or in assignats at their current value. An objection was made to this adoption of specie as the general standard of all property, in the first place, from an old grudge against metals, which were charged with having ruined paper, and, in the next, because the English, having a great quantity of them, could, it was said, make them vary at pleasure, and would thus be masters of the course of the assignats. These reasons were very paltry; but they decided the Convention to reject metals as the standard of worth. Jean-Bon St.-André then proposed to adopt corn, which among all nations was the essential standard of value to which all other effects must bear a proportion. Thus the quantity of corn that could be procured for any sum at the time of making a bargain was to be calculated, and such an amount was to be paid in assignats as would be required to purchase at the moment the same quantity of corn. The person who owed rent or taxes to the amount of one thousand francs, at a time when one thousand francs represented one hundred quintals of corn, was to pay the current value of one hundred quintals of corn in assignats. But to this an objection was urged. The calamities of the war and the losses of agriculture had caused the price of corn to rise considerably in proportion to all other articles of consumption or merchandise, and it was worth four times as much. According to the existing currency of the assignats, it ought to have cost but ten times as much as in 1790, namely, one hundred francs per quintal; but it really cost four hundred. The person who owed one thousand francs in 1790 would owe at that moment ten thousand francs if he paid according to the standard of specie, and forty thousand if he had to pay according to the standard of corn; so that he would have to give a value which had become four times too great. The Assembly was, therefore, puzzled what standard of value to adopt. Raffron proposed that from the 30th of the month assignats should fall one per cent. every day. An immediate outcry was raised that this would be a bankruptcy, as if it were not one to reduce the assignats to the standard of specie or of corn, that is, to saddle them at once with a

loss of ninety per cent. At the instigation of Bourdon, who talked continually of financial matters without understanding them, a decree was passed, declaring that the Convention would not listen to any proposition tending to bankruptcy.

The reduction of the assignat to the currency must, however, have been attended with one most serious inconvenience. If, in all payments, either of taxes, or rent, or debts due, or for national domains, the assignat were to be taken no longer but at the standard to which it was daily sinking, the fall would have no end, for nothing could stop it. In the actual state of things, in fact, the assignat, being still capable of serving, from its nominal value, for the payment of taxes, of rents, of all sums due, had an employment which still gave a certain reality to its value; but if it was to be taken everywhere only at the standard of the day, it must sink indefinitely and without limit. The assignat issued to-day for one thousand francs, might to-morrow be worth but one hundred francs, but one franc, but one centime; it would, indeed, no longer ruin any one, either private individuals or the state, for all would take it merely for what it was worth: but its value, being in no case compulsory, would instantly sink to nothing. There was no reason why a nominal thousand millions should not fall to one real franc, and then the resource of paper-money, still indispensable to the government, would be entirely cut off.

Dubois-Crancé, considering all these plans as dangerous, opposed the reduction of the assignats to the currency, and overlooking the sufferings of those who were ruined by payment in paper, merely proposed to levy the land-tax in kind. The state might thus secure the means of subsisting the armies and the great communes, and spare the issue of three or four thousand millions in paper, which it expended in procuring supplies. This plan, which at first appeared attractive, was afterwards rejected upon mature examination: it became necessary to seek some other.

Meanwhile the evil was daily increasing: riots broke out in all parts on account of provision and fuel; bread was put up for sale at the Palais Royal at twenty-two francs per pound; and boatmen, at one of the passages of the Seine, had offered forty thousand francs for a service for which they formerly paid one hundred. A kind of despair seized every one: people cried out that an end must be put to this state of things, and that measures of some sort must absolutely be devised. In this distressing situation, Bourdon of the Oise, a very ignorant financier, who talked upon all these questions like one possessed, hit no doubt by accident on the only suitable expedient for getting out of the dilemma. It would have been difficult, as we have seen, to reduce the assignats to the currency, for nobody could tell whether specie or corn ought to be taken for a standard, and besides, it would have been stripping them immediately of all their value and exposing them to a depreciation without end. To raise by absorbing them would have been just as difficult, for that would have required the sale of the domains, and to find purchasers for so great a quantity of immovable property would have been almost impossible.

There was, however, one way of selling the domains, and that was, to place them within the reach of purchasers, by requiring only such a value as they could give for them in the existing state of the public fortune. The domains were then sold by auction: the consequence was, that offers were proportioned to the depreciation of paper, and that it was necessary to give in assignats five or six times the price of 1790. Still it was paying but half the value which land realized in money at that period; but it was far too

much for the present time, for land was in reality not worth half, nor a fourth, of what it was in 1790. There is nothing absolute in value. A thing is worth no more than it will fetch in exchange for other objects. In America, in extensive continents, lands are of little value, because their mass is far superior to that of moveable capital. Such was in some measure the case in France in 1795. It was requisite therefore to insist no longer on the fictitious value of 1790, but to be content with that which could be obtained in 1795, for the real value of a thing is just as much as can be paid for it.

In consequence, Bourdon of the Oise suggested that the domain should be disposed of, without sale and by mere verbal agreement, to any one who should offer three times the value of 1790 in assignats. In case of competition the preference was to be given to the first applicant. Thus a property valued at one hundred thousand francs in 1790 was to be sold for three hundred thousand. Assignats having fallen to one-fifteenth of their value, three hundred thousand francs represented in reality but twenty thousand effective francs: a purchaser, therefore, paid twenty thousand francs for a property which in 1790 was worth one hundred thousand. This was not losing four-fifths if no more could be obtained for it. Besides, had the sacrifice been real, it would have been wrong to hesitate, for the advantages were immense.

In the first place, it obviated the inconveniences of the reduction to the current value, which would have destroyed the paper. We have seen, in fact, that the assignat reduced to the current value in payment for everything, even of the domains, would cease to have any fixed value whatever, and that it would fall to nothing. When, on the contrary, it could be paid for domains on giving thrice the valuation of 1790, it would have a fixed value, for it would represent a certain quantity of land; as it would always be capable of procuring that, it would always have the value of it, and not perish any more than it. Thus the annihilation of the paper would be avoided. But there was another advantage: it is proved by what happened two months afterwards that all the domains might have been sold immediately, on condition of paying for them in paper thrice their value in 1790. All the assignats, or almost all, might thus have been withdrawn; those which should remain out, would have recovered their value; the state would have had it in its power to issue more and to make fresh use of this resource. It is true that, in demanding only thrice the valuation of 1790, it would be obliged to give much more land in order to withdraw the circulating mass of paper; but it would still have enough left to supply new extraordinary wants. Moreover, the taxes, now reduced to nothing, because they were paid in depreciated assignats, would recover their value if the assignat were either withdrawn or raised. The domains, consigned immediately to individual industry, would begin to be productive both for the owners and for the treasury; in short, the most frightful catastrophe would be averted, for the just relation of values would be re-established.

The plan of Bourdon of the Oise was adopted, and preparations were immediately made for carrying it into execution; but the storm which had been so long gathering, and of which the 12th of Germinal had been only a forerunner, had become more threatening than ever: it had overspread the horizon and was ready to burst. The two adverse parties acted each in its own way. The counter-revolutionists, predominating in certain sections, got up petitions against the measures recommended in Chenier's report, and particularly against that which punished with banishment the abuse of the press by the royalists. The patriots, on their part, reduced to extremity,

were meditating a desperate project. The execution of Fouquier-Tinville, condemned with several jurymen of the revolutionary tribunal for the manner in which he had performed his functions, had increased their irritation to the highest pitch. Though discovered in their plan of the 29th of Germinal, and recently thwarted in an attempt to place all the sections in permanent deliberation upon pretext of the dearth, they were nevertheless conspiring in various populous quarters. They had finally formed a central committee of insurrection, the seat of which was in the Rue Mauconseil between the quarters of St. Denis and Montmartre. It was composed of old members of the revolutionary committees and various persons of the same kind, almost all unknown out of their own quarter. The plan of insurrection was sufficiently marked out by all the occurrences of the same nature: to put the women in front, to cause them to be followed by an immense concourse, to surround the Convention by such a multitude as to prevent its being relieved, to force it to turn out the seventy-three, to recall Billaud, Collot, and Barrère, to release the deputies confined at Ham, to put in force the constitution of 1793, and thus give a new commune to Paris, to recur anew to all the revolutionary measures, the *maximum*, requisitions, &c.—such was the plan entertained by all the patriots.* They embodied it in a manifesto, consisting of eleven articles, and published it in the name of the sovereign people which had resumed its rights. They caused it to be printed and circulated in Paris in the evening of the 30th of Floreal (May 19). It enjoined the inhabitants of Paris to repair in a body to the Convention, with this inscription upon their hats—*Bread and the constitution of 1793!* The whole night between the 30th of Floreal and the 1st of Prairial (May 19 and 20) was passed in uproar, shouts, and threats. The women ran about the streets, declaring that they must go the next day to the Convention, that it had put Robespierre to death merely to step into his place, that it starved the people, protected the shopkeepers who sucked the blood of the poor, and sent all the patriots to the scaffold. They encouraged one another to march in the front, because, they said, the armed force would not dare fire upon women.

Accordingly, next morning, at daybreak, there was a general tumult in the fauxbourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau, in the quarter of the Temple, in the Rues St. Denis and St. Martin, and more particularly in the Cité. The patriots caused all the bells which they could get at to be rung; they beat the *générale*, and fired cannon. At the same moment, the tocsin sounded in the Pavillon de l'Unité, by order of the committee of general safety, and the sections assembled; but those who were in the plot had assembled very early, and were already marching in arms long before the others were roused by the signal. The mob, which kept constantly increasing, advanced slowly towards the Tuileries. A great number of women, intermixed with drunken men, shouting *Bread and the constitution of 1793!* Bands of ruffians armed with pikes, sabres, and all sorts of weapons, a torrent of the lowest rabble, lastly, some battalions of the sections regularly armed, composed this concourse, and marched without order towards the point indicated

“The patriots resolved to make one last attempt to establish a new municipality to serve as a common centre; to seize upon the barriers, the telegraph, the alarm-gun, the tocsin, and the drums; and not to stop until they had secured subsistence and repose, happiness and liberty to the French nation. They invited the cannoniers, the gendarmes, and the troops, horse and foot, to enrol themselves under the banners of the people; and they marched upon the Convention.”—*Mignet*. E.

to all—the Convention. About ten o'clock they reached the Tuileries, beset the hall of the Assembly, and closed all the outlets.

The deputies, hastily assembled, were at their post. The members of the Mountain, who were not in communication with that obscure committee of insurrection, had not been forewarned, and, like their colleagues, knew nothing of the commotion except by the shouts of the populace and the pealing of the tocsin. They even suspected that the committee of general safety had laid a snare for the patriots, and excited them to riotous proceedings that it might have occasion for persecuting them. No sooner had the Assembly met, than Isabeau the deputy read the manifesto of the insurrection. The tribunes, occupied very early by the patriots, immediately rang with boisterous applause. On seeing the Convention thus surrounded, a deputy exclaimed, that it would know how to die at its post. "Yes! yes!" cried all the deputies, rising immediately. One of the tribunes, filled with persons of a class superior to the others, applauded this declaration. At this moment the uproar increased on the outside; the living waves of the populace were heard roaring: the deputies, meanwhile, succeeded each other in the tribune, offering various observations. All at once, a swarm of women rushed into the tribunes, trampling over those who occupied them, and shouting *Bread! bread!* Vernier, the president, put on his hat, and commanded silence, but they continued shouting *Bread! bread!* Some shook their fists at the Assembly, others laughed at its distress. A great number of members rose for the purpose of speaking; they could not make themselves heard. They desired the president to enforce respect for the Convention; the president endeavoured to do so, but without success. André Dumont, who had presided with firmness on the 12th of Germinal, succeeded Vernier in the chair. The uproar continued; the shouts of *Bread! bread!* were repeated by the women who had taken possession of the tribunes. André Dumont declared that he would have them turned out: he was greeted with yells on the one hand, and with applause on the other. At this moment the noise of violent blows given to the door on the left of the bureau were heard, and the tumult of a multitude striving to break it open. The hinges of the door creaked, and pieces of plaster began to fall. In this perilous situation the president addressed a general, who had appeared at the bar with a company of young men, to present a very discreet petition in the name of the section of Bon-Conseil. "General," said he, "I charge you to protect the national representation, and I appoint you provisional commandant of the armed forces." The Assembly, by its applause, confirmed the appointment. The general declared that he would die at his post, and withdrew to fly to the scene of the combat. At this moment, the noise that was made at one of the doors ceased, and some degree of quiet was restored. André Dumont, addressing the tribunes, enjoined all the good citizens who occupied them to withdraw, declaring that force would be immediately employed to clear them. Many citizens went out, but the women remained, shouting as before. Presently, the general charged by the president to protect the Convention returned with an escort of fusiliers and a number of young men, who had provided themselves with postboys' whips. They went up to the tribunes, and, laying about them with their whips, soon cleared them of the women, who fled with tremendous screams, amidst the loud applause of part of the spectators. No sooner were the tribunes cleared, than the noise at the left-hand door redoubled. The mob had returned to the charge; it made a fresh attack on the door, which could not withstand the violence, and was burst open and

broken. The members of the Convention retired to the upper benches; the gendarmerie forming a line around them for their protection. Armed citizens of the sections immediately entered the hall by the right-hand door to turn out the populace. They drove it back at first and seized some women; but they were soon repulsed in their turn by the victorious populace. Fortunately, the section of Grenelle, which was the first to hasten to the assistance of the Convention, arrived at this moment and furnished a useful reinforcement. Anguis, the deputy, was at its head, with drawn sword. "Forward!" he cried. His men closed, advanced, crossed bayonets, and drove back, without wounding, the multitude of the assailants, who gave way at the sight of the arms. One of the rioters was seized by the collar, dragged to the foot of the bureau, searched, and his pockets were found full of bread. It was now two o'clock. Quiet being somewhat restored in the Assembly, it declared that the section of Grenelle had deserved well of the country. All the foreign ambassadors had repaired to the tribune which was reserved for them, as if to share, in some measure, the dangers of the Convention, and witnessed this scene. It was decreed that mention should be made in the bulletin of their courageous devotedness.

Meanwhile the crowd around the hall kept increasing. No more than two or three sections had yet had time to come up and to throw themselves into the national palace, but they could not withstand the constantly increasing host of the assailants. Others arrived, but they could not penetrate into the interior. They had no communication with the committees, they had received no orders, they knew not what use to make of their arms. At this moment the mob made a fresh attempt on the saloon of liberty, and penetrated to the broken door. Shouts of *To arms!* were renewed, and the force within the hall hastened to the door which was threatened. The president put on his hat; the Assembly continued calm. The parties closed with one another, and a battle ensued before the very door. The defenders of the Convention crossed bayonets. The assailants on their part fired, and the balls struck the walls of the hall. The deputies rose, crying *The Republic for ever!* Fresh detachments arrived, crossed from right to left, and assisted to repel the attack. The firing became brisker; the combatants charged, intermingled, and fought hand to hand with swords. But an immense crowd in the rear of the assailants propelled them, and pushed them in spite of themselves upon the bayonets, overthrowing all the obstacles that opposed it, and penetrating into the Assembly. Feraud, a young deputy, full of courage and self-devotion, who had recently returned from the army of the Rhine, and had been for a fortnight running about in the vicinity of Paris to hasten the arrival of supplies, flew to meet the rioters, and besought them not to advance farther. "Kill me," cried he, baring his bosom; "you must pass over my body before you shall enter." According, he threw himself on the ground to endeavour to stop them; but the furious wretches, without heeding him, stepped over his body and rushed towards the bureau. It was now three o'clock. Drunken women, men armed with swords, pikes, and muskets, having on their hats the words, *Bread—the constitution of 93!* filled the hall. Some seated themselves on the lower benches which the deputies had left on retiring to the upper ones; others covered the floor, placed themselves before the bureau, or ascended the small flights of steps leading to the president's chair. A young officer of the sections, named Mally, who was standing on the steps of the bureau, snatched the inscription which was on the hat of one of these men. He was instantly fired at, and fell wounded in several places. At this moment, all the pikes, all the bayo-

nets, were turned towards the president. A fence of iron was placed around his head. It was Boissy-d'Anglas who had succeeded André Dumont; he remained calm and immovable. Feraud, who had risen, hastened to the foot of the tribune, tore his hair, beat his breast for grief, and, on perceiving the danger of the president, rushed towards him for the purpose of covering him with his own body. One of the pikemen pulled him back by the coat; an officer, with a view to release Feraud, struck with his fist the man who held him; the latter returned the blow by firing a pistol-shot which wounded Feraud in the shoulder. The unfortunate young man fell; he was dragged away, trampled upon, carried out of the hall, and his dead body consigned to the populace.*

Boissy-d'Anglas continued calm and unshaken during this frightful transaction; bayonets and pikes still surrounded his head. At this moment commenced a scene of confusion which baffles description. Every one attempted to speak, and shouted to no purpose to make himself heard. The drums beat to restore silence; but the mob, enjoying the uproar, bawled, stamped, and shook with delight, on seeing the state to which that sovereign assembly was reduced. It was not in this manner that the events of the 31st of May had been effected, when the revolutionary party, headed by the commune, the staff of the sections, and a great number of deputies, to receive and give the word, surrounded the Convention with a mute and armed multitude, and, besieging without breaking into it, obliged it to pass, with an apparent dignity, the decrees which it desired to obtain. On the present occasion there were no arrangements for acting in concert, or for extorting at least the apparent sanction of the wishes of the patriots. A gunner, surrounded by fusiliers, ascended the tribune, for the purpose of reading the plan of insurrection. His voice was every moment drowned by shouts, by abuse, and by the rolling of the drums. A man attempted to address the multitude. "My friends," said he, "we are all here for the same cause. The danger is pressing, we want decrees: allow your representatives to pass them."

Shouts of "Down! down!" were the only reply; Rhul, the deputy, a venerable looking old man, and a zealous Mountaineer, endeavoured to say a few words from his place, with a view to obtain silence; but he was interrupted by fresh vociferations. Romme, an austere man, a stranger to the insurrection, like the whole Mountain, but who desired that the measures demanded by the people might be adopted, and saw with pain that this tremendous confusion would be without result, like that of the 12th of Germinal—Romme asked leave to speak, as did Duroi also from the same motive; but neither of them could obtain it. The tumult recommenced and lasted for more than another hour. During this scene, a head was brought in on the point of a bayonet. The deputies fixed their eyes on it with horror; they could not recognise it. Some said that it was the head of Fréron, others that it was Feraud's. It was in fact the head of Feraud, which some ruffians had cut off and stuck upon the point of a bayonet. They carried it about in the hall, amidst the yells of the rabble. Their fury against the president, Boissy-d'Anglas, was again excited; again he was in danger; his head was encompassed with bayonets; pieces were levelled at him on all sides; he was threatened with a thousand deaths.†

* "Feraud was one of the most devoted and intrepid members of the Convention. It has been justly observed that it was his tragical end which contributed more than anything else to the final downfall of the Mountain."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† "On this memorable morning we were awakened by loud shouts in the streets; the tocsin sounded to arms, and another day of blood was added to the calendar which took its

It was already seven in the evening. Apprehensions were felt in the Assembly lest this mob, among which were sanguinary ruffians, should proceed to the last extremities, and murder the representatives of the people amidst the darkness of night. Several members of the centre begged certain Mountaineers to speak and to exhort the multitude to disperse. Vernier told the rioters that it was late, that they ought to think of retiring, and that they were likely to expose the people to the want of bread by delaying the expected arrivals. "It is humbug," replied the mob; "you have told us that tale these three months." Several voices were then successively raised amidst the crowd. One demanded the release of the patriots and of the arrested deputies; another the constitution of 93; a third, the apprehension of all the emigrants; a multitude of others, the permanence of the sections, the re-establishment of the commune, the appointment of a commander of the armed Parisian force, domiciliary visits to search for hidden articles of consumption, assignats at par, &c. One of these men, who succeeded in gaining a hearing for a few moments, insisted on the immediate appointment of a commander of the Parisian armed force, and that Soubrany should be chosen. Lastly, another, not knowing what to demand, cried out, *The arrest of the rogues and the cowards!* and for half an hour he kept repeating from time to time, *The arrest of the rogues and the cowards!*

One of the ringleaders, at length aware of the necessity of doing something, proposed to make the deputies descend from the upper benches on which they had seated themselves, to collect them in the middle of the hall, and to make them deliberate. The suggestion was instantly adopted. They were thrust from their seats, forced to descend, and driven like a flock of sheep into the space between the tribune and the lower benches. Here they were surrounded by men who enclosed them with a chain of pikes. Vernier took

date from 1789. Enough has already been said of this dreadful day. I recollect that terror reigned everywhere. The conspirators had promised a day of pillage to the three faux-bourgs, and particularly to that of St. Antoine. The whole population of this last district was in arms. They were in extreme misery. There was greater reason to dread the issue of this, than of any preceding insurrection. It was not a castle or a court against which the animosity of the people was directed; but everything elevated above the lowest grade of society was marked out for proscription. This it was that saved France and the Convention. All those who had anything to lose enrolled themselves into corps, which were very superior to unorganized masses, acting without plan, and apparently without leaders. While the most frightful scenes were passing in the Convention, the respectable inhabitants of Paris shut themselves up in their houses, concealed their valuables, and awaited with fearful anxiety the result. Towards evening, my brother, whom we had not seen during the day, came home to get something to eat; he was almost famished, not having tasted food since the morning. Disorder still raged, and we heard the most appalling cries in the streets, mingled with the roll of the drums. The fauxbourg St. Antoine, which had been regularly armed, in pursuance of the proposition of Tallien, excited the most serious alarm. My brother had scarcely finished his hasty repast, when Bonaparte arrived to make a similar demand on our hospitality. He also told us he had tasted nothing since the morning, for all the restaurateurs were closed. He contented himself with what my brother had left; and while eating he told us the news of the day. It was most appalling! My brother had informed us but of part. He did not know of the assassination of the unfortunate Feraud, whose body had been cut almost piecemeal. 'They took his head,' said Napoleon, 'and presented it to poor Boissy-d'Anglas, and the shock of this fiend-like act was almost death to the president in the chair. Truly,' added he, 'if we continue thus to sully our Revolution, it will be a disgrace to be a Frenchman.—*Duchess d'Abrantes.* E.

"With the view of terrifying Boissy-d'Anglas, the wretches held up to him the bloody head of Feraud; he turned aside with horror; they again presented it, and he bowed before the remains of the martyr; nor would he quit the chair till compelled by the efforts of his friends; and the insurgents, awed with respect, allowed him to retire unmolested."—*Lacretelle* E.

the chair, instead of Boissy-d'Anglas, who was exhausted with fatigue after so perilous a presidency of six hours. It was now nine o'clock. A sort of deliberation was held; it was agreed that the populace should remain covered, and that the deputies alone should take off their hats in token of approbation or disapprobation. The Mountaineers began to hope that the decrees might be passed, and prepared to speak. Romme, who had already spoken once, demanded a decree for the release of the patriots. Duroi said that, ever since the 9th of Thermidor, the enemies of the country had exercised a baneful reaction: that the deputies arrested on the 12th of Germinal had been illegally arrested, and that they ought to be recalled. The president was required to put these various propositions to the vote; hats were taken off, and cries of *Adopted! adopted!* were raised amidst a tremendous uproar, though nobody could distinguish whether the deputies had really given their votes or not. Goujon succeeded Romme and Duroi, and said that it was necessary to insure the execution of the decrees; that the committees absented themselves; that it was right to inquire what they were doing; that they ought to be summoned to give an account of their operations; and that an extraordinary commission ought to be instituted in their stead. Herein lay, in fact, the peril of the day. Had the committees continued free to act, they could have come and delivered the Convention from its oppressors. Albitte, the elder, observed that the deliberation was not carried on with sufficient order, that the bureau was not formed, and that they ought to form one. The bureau was immediately composed. Bourbotte demanded the arrest of the journalists. An unknown voice was raised, and said that, in order to prove that the patriots were not cannibals, they ought to abolish the punishment of death. "Yes, yes," cried another, "except for the emigrants and the forgers of assignats." This proposition was adopted in the same form as those which had preceded. Duquesnoi, reverting to Goujon's proposition, renewed the demand for the suspension of the committees, and the appointment of an extraordinary commission of four members. Bourbotte, Prieur de La Marne, Duroi, and Duquesnoi were immediately selected. These four deputies accepted the functions deputed to them. Let them be ever so perilous, they were determined, they said, to fulfil them, or to die at their post. They withdrew for the purpose of repairing to the committee and possessing themselves of all the powers. There lay the difficulty, and on the result of this operation depended entirely the fortune of the day.

It was nine o'clock. Neither the insurrectional committee nor the committees of the government appear to have acted during this long and awful day. All that the former had had the spirit to do was to urge the populace upon the Convention; but, as we have already observed, obscure chiefs, such as are left in the end of a party, having at their disposal neither the commune, nor the staff of the sections, nor a commandant of the armed force, nor deputies, had not been able to direct the insurrection with the prudence and the vigour requisite to insure success. They had instigated furious wretches, who had perpetrated atrocious outrages, but not done anything that they ought to have done. No detachment had been sent to suspend and paralyze the committees, to open the prisons, and to deliver the resolute men whose succour would have been so serviceable. They had merely possessed themselves of the arsenal, which the gendarmerie of the tribunals, composed entirely of Fouquier-Tinville's soldiery, had given up to the first comers. Meanwhile, the committees of the government, surrounded and defended by the *gilded youth*, had been exerting all their efforts to assemble

the sections. This was no easy task, with the tumult that prevailed, with the consternation that had seized many of them, and even the ill-will that was manifested by some. They had at the outset collected two or three, whose efforts, as we have seen, had been repulsed by the assailants. They had subsequently succeeded in bringing together a greater number, thanks to the zeal of the section Lepelletier, formerly called Filles St. Thomas, and they were preparing towards night to seize the moment when the people, wearied out, should begin to disperse, to fall upon the rioters and to deliver the Convention. Foreseeing clearly that, in this long period of duration, the mob would have wrung from the Assembly the decrees which it was unwilling to pass, they had adopted a resolution declaring that they should not consider as authentic the decrees issued on that day. These arrangements being made, Legendre, Anguis, Chénier, Delecloi, Bergoeng, and Kervelegan, had repaired, at the head of strong detachments, to the Convention. On their arrival, they agreed to leave the doors open, that the mob, pressed on one side, might be able to retreat on the other. Legendre and Delecloi had then undertaken to penetrate into the hall, to mount the tribune in spite of all dangers, and to warn the rioters to retire. "If they will not comply," said those deputies to their colleagues, "charge, without concerning yourselves about us. Keep pushing on, even though we should perish in the fray."

Legendre and Delecloi actually penetrated into the hall, at the moment when the four deputies appointed to form the extraordinary commission were retiring. Legendre ascended the tribune, assailed with insults and blows, and began to speak amidst hooting. "I exhort the Assembly to remain firm," said he, "and the citizens who are here to withdraw."—"Down! down!" was the cry. Legendre and Delecloi were obliged to retire. Duquesnoi then addressed his colleagues of the extraordinary commission, and desired them to follow him, in order to suspend the committees which, as they saw, were adverse to the operations of the Assembly. Soubrany urged them to lose no time. All four were then going out, but they met the detachment headed by Legendre, Kervelegan, and Anguis, the representatives, and Raffet, the commandant of the national guard. Prieur of La Marne asked Raffet if he had obtained the president's order for entering. "I am not accountable to you," replied Raffet advancing. The mob was then ordered to retire; the president enjoined it to do so in the name of the law: it replied with yells. The bayonets were immediately lowered; the detachment entered; the unarmed rabble gave way, but armed men among the crowd resisted for a moment. They fled, shouting, "This way, sans-culottes!" Part of the patriots returned at this cry, and charged with fury the detachment which forced its way in. They obtained a momentary advantage: Kervelegan was wounded in the hand. Bourbotte, Peyssard, and Gaston, the Mountaineers, shouted "Victory!" But the charge-step was heard in the outer hall; a considerable reinforcement had arrived, who rushed upon the insurgents, repulsed, and pursued them with swords and fixed bayonets. They fled, crowding to the doors, clambering up the tribunes, or escaping by the windows. The hall was at length cleared. It was now midnight.

* "Legendre, with some of his adherents, penetrated with fixed bayonets into the hall, where the conspirators were still engaged in active consultation, and Legendre called out, 'In the name of the law, I command the armed citizens to retire.' For some time, the insurgents refused, but the arrival soon afterwards of battalions, which entered at all the doors, intimidated them, and they finally evacuated the hall with the disorder of flight."—*Mignet*. E.

The Convention, delivered from the assailants who had carried violence and death into its bosom, took a short time to recover itself. Tranquillity was at length restored. "It is then true," exclaimed a member, "that this Assembly, the cradle of the republic, had once more well-nigh been its tomb. Fortunately, the crime of the conspirators is prevented. But, representatives, you would not be worthy of the nation, if you were not to avenge it in a signal manner." Applause burst from all sides, and, as on the 12th of Germinal, the night was spent in punishing the misdeeds of the day; but facts of a different kind of importance called for measures of a different sort of severity. The first thing done was to repeal the decrees proposed and passed by the rioters. "Repeal is not the proper word," it was observed to Legendre, who had made this motion. "The Convention did not, could not vote, while one of its members was murdered before its face. All that has been done was not its act, but that of the ruffians who controlled it, and of some guilty representatives who made themselves their accomplices." All that had been done was then declared null and void. The secretaries burned the minutes of the decrees passed by the rioters. The eyes of the deputies sought those of their colleagues who had spoken during that terrible sitting. They were pointed out with the finger—they were called upon with vehemence. "There is no longer," said Thibaudeau, "any hope of reconciliation between us and a factious minority. Since the sword is drawn, we must fight this faction, and avail ourselves of circumstances for restoring peace and security for ever to this Assembly. I move that you decree forthwith the arrest of those deputies, who, betraying their duty, have endeavoured to realize the wishes of rebellion and moulded them into laws. I propose that the committees immediately submit to you the severest measures against those representatives unfaithful to their country and to their oaths." They were then named. There were Rhul, Romme, and Duroi, who had commanded silence for the purpose of opening the deliberation; Albitte, who had proposed the appointment of a bureau; Goujon and Duquesnoi,* who demanded the suspension of the committees, and the formation of an extraordinary commission of four members; Bourbotte and Prieur of La Marne, who, with Duroi and Duquesnoi, had accepted appointments to that commission; Soubrany, whom the rebels nominated commandant of the Parisian army; and Peyssard, who shouted victory during the combat. Duroi and Goujon attempted to speak. They were prevented—they were called assassins; a decree was instantly issued against them, and it was suggested that they ought not to be allowed to escape, as most of those had done against whom a decree had been passed on the 12th of Germinal. The president directed the gendarmerie to secure them and bring them to the bar. Romme, who did not come forward, was sought for; Bourdon pointed him out, and he was dragged to the bar with his colleagues. Vengeance did not stop there. It aimed at reaching all the Mountaineers who had rendered themselves conspicuous by extraordinary missions in the departments. "I demand," cried one voice, "the arrest of Lecarpentier, the executioner of La Manche."—"Of Pinet the elder," cried another, "the executioner of the people of Biscay."—"Of Borie," cried a third, "the devastator of the South and of Fayau, one of the exterminators of La Vendée." These propositions were decreed, with shouts of "The Convention for ever! the republic for ever!"—"Let us have no more half measures," said Tallien. "The aim

* "Goujon was a man who, since the opening of the Convention, had rendered himself remarkable for his private virtues and republican sentiments; Duquesnoi also was distinguished by his statesmanlike qualities."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

of the movement of this day was to re-establish the Jacobins, and particularly the commune: we must destroy what remains of them; Pache and Bouchotte ought to be arrested. This is only the prelude to the measures which the committee will submit to you. Vengeance, citizens, vengeance against the murderers of their colleagues and of the national representation! Let us profit by the unskilfulness of these men, who fancy themselves the equals of those who overthrew the throne, and strive to rival them; of these men, who aim at producing revolutions and can produce nothing but riots. Let us profit by their unskilfulness; let us lose no time in punishing them, and thus put an end to the Revolution." The proposition of Tallien was applauded and adopted. In this paroxysm of vengeance there were voices which denounced Robert Lindet, whose virtues and whose services had hitherto protected him from the fury of the reaction. Lehardi demanded the arrest of *that monster*; but so many voices were raised to extol Lindet's humanity, to attest that he had saved communes and whole departments, that the order of the day was adopted. After these measures, the disarming of the Terrorists was again ordained. It was decreed that, on the following Quintidi, the sections should assemble, and proceed immediately to the *disarming of the assassins, of the quaffers of blood, of the robbers, and of the agents of the tyranny which preceded the 9th of Thermidor*. They were even authorized to cause all those to be apprehended who ought in their opinion to be brought before the tribunals. It was decided at the same time that, till a new order, women should not be admitted into the tribunals. It was now three in the morning. The committees sent word that all was quiet in Paris, and the sitting was adjourned to ten o'clock.

Such was the insurrection of the 1st of Prairial. No day of the revolution had exhibited so fearful a spectacle.* If, on the 31st of May and the 9th of Thermidor, cannon had been pointed at the Convention, still the place of its sittings had not been invaded, stained with blood spilt in battle, traversed by balls, and sullied by the murder of a representative of the people. The revolutionists had this time acted with the awkwardness and violence of a party long beaten, deprived of accomplices in the government from which it is excluded, robbed of its chiefs, and directed by obscure, compromised, and desperate men. Without knowing how to make use of the Mountain, without even apprizing it of the movement, they had endangered and exposed to the scaffold, upright deputies, strangers to the excesses of terror, attached to the patriots by the fear of reaction, and who had spoken merely to prevent greater calamities, and to accomplish some wishes which they shared.

The rioters, however, seeing the fate that awaited them all, habituated, moreover, to revolutionary conflicts, were not people to disperse all at once. They assembled on the following day at the commune, proclaimed themselves in permanent insurrection, and endeavoured to rally around them the sections devoted to their cause.† But, conceiving that the commune was not

* "From the affair of this terrible day, one of the most terrible that had occurred during the Revolution, it is very clear that an immense physical force and a determinate design are not sufficient to insure success; but that chiefs and an authority to support and direct an insurrection are also requisite. One single legal power now only existed; and the party which possessed its favour triumphed."—*Mignet*. E.

† "These disorderly risings of the common people might be mischievous, but they were no longer formidable. They wanted the clubs, they wanted the terrible municipality, with Henriot at its head, knocking at the gates of the Convention, and crying out with a voice of thunder and a front of brass, 'the sovereign People is at hand.' They wanted public opinion on their side; and, above all, they wanted Prussian manifestoes and the dread of the

a good post, though it was situated between the quarter of the Temple and the city, they deemed it preferable to establish the centre of the insurrection in the fauxbourg St. Antoine. Thither they removed in the middle of the day, and prepared to renew their attempt. This time they strove to act with more order and caution. They despatched three battalions, completely armed and organized: they were those of the sections of the *Quinze-Vingts*, of Montreuil, and of Popincourt, all three composed of stout working men, and directed by intrepid chiefs. They advanced alone, without the concourse of people which accompanied them on the preceding day, met some of the sections which adhered to the Convention, but were not strong enough to stop them, and in the afternoon drew up with their cannon before the National Palace. The sections of Lepelletier, of the *Butte-des-Moulins*, and others, immediately ranged themselves opposite, to protect the Convention. It was, nevertheless, doubtful, in case a battle should ensue, whether victory would favour the defenders of the national representation. Unfortunately, too, for them, the gunners, who in all the sections were working men and warm revolutionists, abandoned the other sections drawn up before the Palace, and went with their cannon to join those of Popincourt, Montreuil, and the *Quinze-Vingts*. Shouts of "To arms!" were heard. The muskets were loaded on both sides, and everything seemed to forebode a bloody conflict. The dull rolling of the guns was heard in the Assembly. Many of its members rose to speak. "Representatives!" exclaimed Legendre, "be calm, and remain at your post. Nature has decreed that we must all die: whether a little sooner or a little later is of no consequence. Good citizens are ready to defend you. Meanwhile, the most becoming motion is to keep silence." The whole Assembly again seated itself, and showed the same imposing calmness as it had displayed on the 9th of Thermidor, and on so many other occasions in the course of this stormy session. Meanwhile, the adverse forces were face to face in the most threatening attitude. Before they came to blows, some persons exclaimed that it was a frightful thing for good citizens to slaughter one another, that they ought at least to come to some explanation, and endeavour to accommodate matters. They left their ranks and stated their grievances. Members of the committees, who were present, introduced themselves among the battalions of the hostile sections, talked to them, and, finding that much might be effected by conciliatory means, they sent to the Assembly to desire that twelve of its members might be deputed to fraternize. The Assembly, regarding this step as a kind of weakness, was by no means disposed to assent to it; still, as it was assured that the committees deemed it serviceable for preventing the effusion of blood, the twelve members were sent, and introduced themselves to the three sections. The ranks were soon broken on both sides, and became intermixed. The uncultivated man of the lower class is always sensible of the amicable demonstrations of the man who is placed above him by dress, language, and manners. The soldiers of the three adverse battalions were touched, and declared that they would neither spill the blood of their fellow-citizens, nor violate the respect due to the National Convention. The ring-leaders, nevertheless, insisted on obtaining a hearing for their petition. General Dubois, commanding the cavalry of the sections, and the twelve representatives sent to fraternize, consented to introduce at the bar a deputation of the three battalions.

Allied Powers hanging imminent over Paris, and threatening them with military execution and lasting servitude. The brain pressed on that nerve, started into sudden phrensy; otherwise, it was tame and light enough."—*Hazlitt*. E.

They accordingly did present it, and solicited a hearing for the petitioners. Some of the deputies were for refusing it; at last, however, it was granted. "We are commissioned to demand of you," said the spokesman, the constitution of 1793, and the release of the patriots." At these words the tribunes began to hoot and to shout, "Down with the Jacobins!" The president imposed silence on these interrupters. The speaker continued, and said that the citizens assembled before the Convention were ready to retire into the bosom of their families, but that they would die rather than forsake their post, if the claims of the people were not listened to. The president replied with firmness to the petitioners that the Convention had just passed a decree relative to articles of consumption, and he would read it to them. He actually did read it, and then added that the Assembly would consider of their demands, and judge in its wisdom what it ought to decide upon. He invited them to the honours of the sitting.

Meanwhile, the three hostile sections were still mingled with the others. They were told that their petitioners had been received, that their demands would be investigated and that they must await the decision of the Convention. It was eleven o'clock. The three battalions found themselves surrounded by the immense majority of the citizens of the capital; the day, moreover, was far advanced, especially for working men; and they resolved to retire to their fauxbourgs.

This second attempt of the patriots had not been more successful than the former. They nevertheless remained assembled in the fauxbourgs, keeping up their hostile attitude, and not yet desisting from the demands which they had made. Since the morning of the 3d, the Convention had passed several decrees which circumstances required. To impart more unity and energy to the employment of these means, it gave the direction of the armed force to the representatives, Gillet, Aubry,* and Delmas, and authorized them to resort to arms for the purpose of maintaining the public tranquillity: it decreed the penalty of six months' imprisonment for any one who should beat the drum without order, and of death for such as should beat the *générale* without being authorized to do so by the representatives of the people. It ordered the formation of a military commission for the immediate trial and execution of all the prisoners taken from the rioters on the 1st of Prairial. It converted into a decree of accusation the decree of arrest issued against Duquesnoi, Duroi, Bourbotte, Prieur of La Marné, Romme, Soubrany, Goujon, Albitte the elder, Peyssard, Lecarpentier of La Manche, Pinet the elder, Borie, and Fayau. It came to the same decision respecting the deputies arrested on the 12th and 16th of Germinal, and enjoined the committees to present to it a report respecting the tribunal that was to try them all.

The three representatives lost no time in collecting in Paris the troops dispersed in the environs to protect the arrivals of corn: they made the sec-

* François Aubry, member of the Convention, voted for the King's death. In the year 1795 he entered into the committee of public safety, and in this station took an active part in the measures which occupied the government till the days of Prairial. At the time of the division between the Directory and the Councils, he made himself remarkable in the party called that of Clichy. Being afterwards involved in the fall of his party, he was condemned to banishment and put on board at Rochefort. He contrived to escape from Guiana in the year 1798 in a canoe, with Pichegru and several other exiles. He arrived at Demerara where he died of vexation and illness at the age of forty-nine. Aubry, before the Revolution, was a captain of artillery. He was one of the most active members of the council of Five Hundred, but was too much addicted to pleasure."—*Biographie Moderne*. F.

tions attached to the Convention remain under arms and kept around them a great number of the young men who had never quitted the committees during the whole insurrection. The military commission entered upon its functions the very same day. The first person whom it tried was the murderer of Feraud, who had been apprehended on the preceding day. It sentenced him to death, and directed that his execution should take place in the afternoon of the same day, the 3d. The culprit was actually conveyed to the scaffold; but, the patriots being apprized of the circumstance, some of the most resolute of them assembled round the place of execution, rushed upon the scaffold, dispersed the gendarmerie, delivered the condemned man, and carried him off to the fauxbourg. They put themselves under arms, pointed their cannon upon the Place de la Bastille, and thus awaited the consequence of the daring deed.

As soon as this event was known to the Convention, it decreed that the fauxbourg St. Antoine should be summoned to give up the condemned, and to surrender its arms and its cannon, and that, in case of refusal, it should be immediately bombarded. At this moment, it is true, the force which had been collected gave the Convention a right to use more imperative language. The three representatives had found means to bring together three or four thousand troops of the line; they had besides twenty thousand men of the armed sections, to whom the fear of seeing the Reign of Terror re-established imparted great courage, and lastly, the devoted troop of the young men. They immediately invested General Menou with the command of this collective force, and prepared to march against the fauxbourg. On that same day, while they were advancing, the *gilded youth* determined, by way of bravado, to be the first to enter the Rue St. Antoine. This rash band consisted of a thousand or twelve hundred persons. The patriots suffered them to advance without opposing any resistance, and then surrounded them on all sides. These daring youths soon saw in their rear the formidable battalions of the fauxbourg; they perceived at the windows a multitude of incensed women, ready to hurl upon them a shower of stones; and they concluded that they were about to atone for their imprudent bravado. Luckily for them, the armed force was approaching; besides, the inhabitants of the fauxbourg had no intention to murder them; and they permitted them to leave their quarter after giving some of them a thrashing. At this moment General Menou came up with twenty thousand men: he caused all the outlets of the fauxbourg to be occupied, and especially those which communicated with the patriot sections. He ordered the cannon to be pointed and the insurgents to be summoned. A deputation appeared, and came to receive his ultimatum, which consisted in requiring the delivery of the arms and the murderer of Feraud. The manufacturers and all the peaceable and wealthy people of the fauxbourg, dreading a bombardment, lost no time in using their influence over the population, and decided the three sections to surrender their arms. Those of Popincourt, the Quinze-Vingts, and Montreuil according delivered up their cannon and promised to search for the culprit who had been rescued. General Menou returned in triumph with the cannon of the fauxbourg, and from that moment the Convention had nothing to fear from the patriot party. Overthrown for ever, it figured thenceforward only as undergoing vengeance.

The military commission immediately began to try all the prisoners that could be taken. It doomed to death some gendarmes who had sided with the rebels, some working men, and shopkeepers, members of revolutionary committees, and taken in the fact on the 1st of Prairial. In all the sections,

the disarming of the patriots and the apprehension of the most conspicuous individuals commenced; and, as one day was not sufficient for this operation, permanence was granted to the sections to enable them to continue it.

But it was not in Paris alone that the despair of the patriots produced an explosion. In the South it broke forth in not less melancholy events. We have seen them, to the number of seven or eight thousand, taking refuge in Toulon, surrounding the representatives several times, wresting from them prisoners accused of emigration, and striving to involve the workmen of the arsenal, the garrison, and the crews of the ships, in their revolt. The squadron was ready to sail, and they wished to prevent it. The crews of the ships which had come from Brest to join the Toulon division, for the expedition which was meditated, were wholly adverse to them, but they could rely on the sailors belonging to the port of Toulon. They chose nearly the same time as the patriots of Paris. Charbonnier, the representative, who had solicited leave of absence, was accused of being their secret director. They rose on the 25th of Floreal, marched upon the commune of Souliés, seized fifteen emigrant prisoners, returned in triumph to Toulon, and nevertheless consented to give them up to the representatives. But, in the following days, they assembled riotously, roused the workmen in the arsenal, secured the arms which it contained, and surrounded Brunel, the representative, to extort from him an order for the release of the patriots. Nion, the representative, who was on board the fleet, hastened ashore, but the rioters were victorious. The two representatives were forced to sign the order for release. Brunel, ashamed of having given way, blew out his brains; Nion sought refuge on board. The insurgents then thought of marching for Marseilles, to excite a rising, they said, of the whole South. But the representatives on mission at Marseilles caused a company of artillery to be posted on the route, and took every precaution to prevent the execution of their designs. On the 1st of Prairial, they were masters of Toulon, without the power, it is true, of extending themselves farther, and striving to gain the crews of the squadron, one part of which resisted them, while the other, composed entirely of seamen of Provence, appeared decided to join them.

The report of these events was submitted to the Convention on the 8th of Prairial. It could not fail to produce fresh excitement against the Mountaineers and the patriots. It was said that the events in Toulon and Paris were concerted; the Mountaineer deputies were accused of being their secret organizers, and they were persecuted with redoubled fury. The arrest of Charbonnier, Escudier, Ricord, and Salicetti,* accused all four of agitating the South, was immediately ordered. The deputies placed under accusation

* "On the 21st of this month, my mother expected a party of friends to dinner. Bonaparte was to be one of the guests. It was six o'clock. One of our friends had arrived, and my mother was conversing with him in the drawing-room, when Mariette came and whispered to her that there was somebody in her chamber who wished to speak with her alone. My mother immediately rose and went to her chamber, and beheld near the window a man half concealed by a curtain. He made a sign to her with his hand. My mother called me, and, desiring me to shut the door, advanced towards the stranger, whom, to her astonishment, she discovered to be Salicetti. He was as pale as death; his lips were as white as his teeth; and his dark eyes appeared to flash fire. He was truly frightful. 'I am ordered to be arrested,' he said to my mother in an under-tone, 'and, if found, I shall be condemned to death. Madame Permon,' he continued, 'may I rely on your generosity? Will you save me? I need not, I am sure, remind you that I once saved your son and husband.' My mother took Salicetti by the hand, and concealed him in the next room, which was my bed-chamber"—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

on the 1st of Prairial, and whose judges were not yet appointed, were treated with aggravated severity. They were handed over, without any regard to their quality of representatives of the people, to the military commission constituted for trying the abettors and accomplices of the insurrection of the 1st of Prairial. The only one excepted was old Ruhl, whose discretion and virtues were attested by several members. Pache, the ex-mayor, Audouin, his son-in-law, Bouchotte, formerly minister at war, and his assistants, Daubigny and Hassenfratz, were sent to the tribunal of Eure and Loire, as were likewise the principal agents of Robespierre's police, Heron, Marchand, and Clémence. It would have been supposed that the sentence of transportation, pronounced against Billaud, Collot, and Barrère had acquired the force of a definitive judgment; no such thing. In these days of rigour, that punishment was deemed too mild; it was decided that they should be tried anew and sent before the tribunal of the Lower Charente, that they might be consigned to the fate destined for all the chiefs of the Revolution. Hitherto the remaining members of the old committees appeared to be pardoned; the signal services of Carnot, Robert Lindet, and Prieur of the Côte-d'Or, seemed to protect them from their enemies: they were now denounced with terrific violence by Henri Larivière, the Girondin. Robert Lindet, defended by a great number of members acquainted both with his merits and with his services, was nevertheless ordered to be put under arrest. "Carnot was the man who *organized victory*," cried a multitude of voices. The furious reactors durst not pass a decree against the conqueror of the coalition. No notice was taken of Prieur of the Côte-d'Or. As for the members of the old committee of general safety, all those who had not before been apprehended were now arrested. David, whose genius had obtained his acquittal, was arrested with Jagot, Elie Lacoste, Lavicomterie, Dubarran, and Bernard of Saintes. The only exception made was in favour of Louis of the Bas-Rhin, whose humanity was too well known. Lastly, the report already ordered against all those who had executed missions, and who were called proconsuls, was demanded immediately. Proceedings were commenced against Artigoyte, Mallarmé, Javognes, Sergeant, Monestier, Lejeune, Allard, Lacoste, and Baudot. Preparations were made for investigating successively the conduct of all those who had fulfilled any missions whatever. Thus none of the heads of that government which had saved France was pardoned: members of committees, deputies on mission, were all subjected to the general law. Carnot alone was spared, because the esteem of the armies commanded forbearance towards him; but Lindet, a citizen quite as useful and more generous, was struck, because victories did not protect him against the baseness of the reactors.

There was assuredly no need of such sacrifices to satisfy the manes of young Feraud: it should have sufficed that touching honours were paid to his memory. The Convention decreed a funeral sitting for him. The hall was hung with black; all the representatives went in full dress and in mourning. Soft and mournful music opened the sitting. Louvet then delivered a panegyric on the young representative, so devoted, so courageous, so soon torn away from his country. A monument was voted to perpetuate the memory of his heroism. Advantage was taken of this occasion to order a commemorative festival in honour of the Girondins. Nothing could be more just. Victims so illustrious, though they had compromised their country, deserved homage; but it would have been sufficient to scatter flowers on their tombs; they needed not to be sprinkled with blood. It was nevertheless spilt in torrents, for no party, not even that which takes humanity for

its motto, is wise in its vengeance. It seemed in fact as though the Convention, not content with its losses, was determined itself to add new ones to them. The accused deputies, confined at first in the castle of Taureau, to prevent any attempt on their behalf, were brought to Paris, and proceedings against them commenced with the greatest activity. The aged Rhul, who had alone been excepted from the decree of accusation, spurned this pardon; he considered liberty as undone, and put an end to his life with a dagger. Moved by so many melancholy scenes, Louvet, Legendre, and Fréron, proposed that the deputies delivered up to the commission should be sent before their natural judges; but Rovère, formerly a Terrorist, and now a flaming royalist, and Bourdon of the Oise, implacable as a man who has been frightened, insisted on the execution of the decree, and caused it to be confirmed.

The deputies were brought before the commission on the 29th of Prairial. In spite of the most assiduous researches, no fact proving their secret connivance with the insurgents had been discovered. Difficult, indeed, would it have been to discover any, for they knew nothing of the movement, nay, they knew nothing of one another: Bourbotte alone was acquainted with Goujon, from having met with him during a mission to the armies. It was merely proved that, when the insurrection was accomplished, they desired to give the sanction of law to some of the wishes of the people. They were nevertheless condemned; for a military commission, to which a government sends accused persons of importance, never knows how to send them back to it absolved. The only one acquitted was Forestier. He had been associated with the condemned, though not a single motion had been made by him in the noted sitting. Peyssard, who had merely uttered a cry during the combat, was sentenced to transportation. Romme, Goujon, Duquesnoi, Duroi, Bourbotte, and Soubrany, were condemned to death. Romme was a simple and austere man; Goujon was young, handsome, and endowed with excellent qualities; Bourbotte, as young as Goujon, combined extraordinary courage with the most polished education; Soubrany, formerly a noble, was sincerely devoted to the cause of the Revolution. At the moment when their sentence was pronounced, they delivered to the secretary, letters, packets, and portraits, to be transmitted to their families. They were ordered to be removed, and placed in a particular room till they should be conducted to the scaffold. That journey they hoped to spare themselves. They had left among them only one knife and one pair of scissors, which they had concealed in the lining of their clothes. In going down stairs, Romme was the first who stabbed himself, and, fearing that he had not done it effectually, he inflicted several more wounds in the breast, the throat, and the face. He delivered the knife to Goujon, who, with steady hand, gave himself a mortal blow, and fell lifeless. From the hand of Goujon, the instrument of liberation passed to those of Duquesnoi, Duroi, Bourbotte, and Soubrany. The last three had unfortunately not succeeded in inflicting mortal wounds; they were dragged, streaming with blood, to the scaffold.* Soubrany, weltering

* "One day my brother returned home dreadfully agitated. He had witnessed an awful scene. Romme, Soubrany, Duroi, Duquesnoi, Goujon, and Bourbotte, were condemned. During their trial they had exhibited the most admirable fortitude, feeling, and patriotism. The conduct of Romme in particular, is said to have been sublime. When sentence was pronounced on them, they surveyed each other calmly; and on descending the staircase which was lined with spectators, Romme looked about, as if seeking somebody. Probably the person who had promised to be there had not the courage to attend. 'No matter,' said he, 'with a firm hand this will do. Vive la Liberté!' Then drawing from his pocket a

in his blood, nevertheless retained, in spite of his sufferings, the composure and proud attitude for which he had always been distinguished. Duroi was exceedingly mortified at having failed to accomplish his purpose. "Enjoy," he exclaimed, "enjoy your triumph, messieurs royalists!" Bourbotte retained all the serenity of youth, and talked with imperturbable calmness to the people. At the moment when he was about to receive the fatal stroke, it was perceived that the blade had not been drawn up; it was necessary to put the instrument to rights: he availed himself of this interval to utter a few words more. He declared that none could die more devoted to his country, and more anxious for its prosperity and liberty. There were but few spectators at this execution. The period of political fanaticism was past; the work of slaughter was no longer carried on with that fury which formerly rendered people insensible. All hearts revolted on learning the details of this execution, and the Thermidorians reaped from it merited disgrace. Thus, in that long succession of conflicting ideas, all had their victims. The very ideas of clemency, humanity, reconciliation, had their holocausts; for in revolutions none can remain unstained by human blood.

Thus was the Mountaineer party entirely destroyed. The patriots had just been conquered at Toulon. After a very bloody battle, fought on the road to Marseilles, they had been obliged to give up their arms, and to surrender the place on which they hoped to support themselves for raising France. They were, therefore, no longer an obstacle; and, as usual, their fall occasioned that of several revolutionary institutions. The celebrated tribunal, which had been almost reduced, since the law of the 8th of Nivose, to an ordinary tribunal, was abolished. All the accused were delivered to the criminal tribunals, trying according to the procedure of 1791; conspirators alone were to be tried according to the procedure of the 8th of Nivose, and without appeal. The word revolutionary, as applied to institutions and establishments, was suppressed. The national guards were reorganized on the old footing; working men, domestic servants, citizens in narrow circumstances, the populace, in short, were excluded from them; and thus the duty of watching over the public tranquillity was committed anew to that class which was most interested in maintaining it. In Paris, the national guard, organized by battalions, by brigades, and commanded alternately by each *chef de brigade*, was placed under the direction of the military committee. Lastly, the concession most ardently desired by the Catholics, the restitution of the churches, was granted; they were restored to them on condition that they should maintain them at their own cost. This measure, though the result of the reaction, was at the same time supported by men of the most enlightened minds. They deemed it very proper to pacify the Catholics, who would never think that they had recovered the freedom of worship, so

very large penknife, or perhaps it might more properly be called a small poniard, he plunged it into his heart, and, drawing it out again, gave it to Goujon, who in like manner, passed it to Duquesnoi. All three fell dead instantly, without uttering a groan. The weapon of deliverance, transmitted to Soubrany by the trembling hands of Duquesnoi, found its way to the noble hearts of the rest; but they were not so fortunate as their three friends. Grievously wounded, but yet alive, they fell at the foot of the scaffold, which the executioner made them ascend, bleeding and mutilated as they were. Such barbarity would scarcely have been committed by savages. My brother stood so near to Romme, to whom he wished to address a few words of friendship and consolation, that the blood of the unfortunate man spouted on him. Yes, my brother's coat was stained with the scarcely cold blood of a man who, only a few days before, was seated in the very chamber, perhaps in the very chair, in which Albert was then sitting!"—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

ong as they had not possession of the edifices in which they had been accustomed to celebrate its ceremonies.

The financial discussions interrupted by the events of Prairial were still the most urgent and the most arduous. The Assembly had resumed them, as soon as tranquillity was restored. It had anew decreed that there should be but one sort of bread, to deprive the lower classes of an occasion to censure the luxury of the rich; it had also ordered statements of the quantity of corn in the country, to secure the surplus of each department for the supply of the armies and great communes; lastly, it had repealed the decree permitting the free traffic in gold and silver. Thus the pressure of circumstances had brought it back to some of those revolutionary measures which had been so violently attacked. Jobbing had been carried to the highest pitch of mania. There were no longer bakers, butchers, grocers, following their distinct trades; everybody bought and sold bread, meat, grocery, oil, &c. The garrets and cellars were filled with goods and eatables, in which every one speculated. At the Palais Royal white bread was sold at the rate of twenty-five or thirty francs per pound. The monopolists fell upon the markets and bought up all the fruits and vegetables brought by the country people, for the purpose of selling them again immediately at a higher price. People went and bought standing crops, or herds of cattle, in order to speculate afterwards on a rise in the prices of them. The Convention forbade monopolists to appear in the markets before a certain hour. It was obliged to decree that the licensed butchers alone should have a right to buy cattle; and that corn could not be bought before it was cut. Thus everything was turned upside down: everybody, not excepting persons the most averse to speculation of every kind, was on the watch for every variation of the assignat, in order to make the loss fall upon another, and to obtain for himself a higher value for an article of consumption or a commodity.

We have seen that among the various projects, either for reducing the assignat to the current value or for levying the taxes in kind, the Convention had preferred that of selling the domains, not by auction, but at thrice their value in 1790. This was, as we have observed, the only mode of selling them; for sale by auction raised the price of the domains in proportion to the fall of the assignat, that is, to such a height as to be beyond the reach of the public. As soon as the law was passed, the quantity of offers was extraordinary. When it was known that it was sufficient to make the first offer, in order not to pay more for domains than thrice the value of 1790 in assignats, people thronged from all parts. For some estates there were several hundred offers; at Charenton there were three hundred and sixty for a domain which had formerly belonged to the Fathers of Mercy; and so many as five hundred were made for another. The inns in the country were crowded. Mere clerks, men of no property, but who happened to have sums in assignats in their hands at the moment, hastened away to make offers for domains. As they were obliged to pay down no more than one-sixth, and the remainder in several months, they bought with small sums very considerable estates, with a view to sell them again at a profit to those who had made less haste. Owing to this eagerness, domains which were not known by the administrations to have become national property, were pointed out as such. The plan of Bourdon of the Oise was therefore completely successful, and there was reason to hope that great part of the domains would soon be sold; and that the assignats would be either withdrawn or raised in value. It is true that by these sales the republic sustained losses which, calculated in figures, were considerable. The valuation of 1790, founded on the apparent revenue,

was frequently inaccurate; for the possessions of the clergy and all those of the order of Malta were let very low; the farmers paid a certain amount over and above the rent by way of *douceur*, which was frequently equal to four times the rent. A farm, let ostensibly at 1000 francs, produced in reality 4000; according to the estimate of 1790 this estate was worth 25,000 francs; it might therefore be bought for 75,000 in assignats, which were worth in reality only 7500 francs. At Honfleur, salt magazines, the building of which had cost more than 400,000 livres, were sold in reality for 22,500. According to this calculation the loss was great; but there was no help for it, unless it had been reduced by demanding four or five times the value of 1790, instead of three.

Rewbel and a great number of deputies could not comprehend this; they considered only the apparent loss. They alleged that it was a wanton waste of the treasures of the republic, which was thus deprived of its resources. An outcry was raised on all sides: those who did not understand the question, and those who saw with pain the property of the emigrants disposed of, united to obtain a suspension of the decree. Balland and Bourdon of the Oise warmly defended it; they were unable to assign the essential reason, namely, that it was useless to ask more for domains than the buyers could afford to give; but they asserted, what was very true, that the numerical loss was not so great in reality as it appeared to be; that 75,000 francs in assignats were worth no more than 7500 in specie, but that specie was worth thrice as much as formerly, and that 7500 francs represented certain 15,000 or 20,000 francs in 1790. They said also that the actual loss was counterbalanced by the advantage of putting an end immediately to that financial catastrophe, of withdrawing or raising the assignats, of putting a stop to jobbing in merchandise by diverting the paper to lands, of giving up forthwith the mass of the national domains to individual industry, and lastly, of taking away all hope from the emigrants.

The decree was nevertheless suspended. The administrations were ordered to continue to receive orders, that all the national possessions might thus be denounced from private interest, and that a more accurate statement of them might be drawn up. A few days afterwards, the decree was repealed altogether, and it was decided that the national domains should continue to be sold by auction.

Thus, after discovering the way to put an end to the crisis, the government abandoned it, and fell back into the frightful distress from which it might have extricated itself. Meanwhile, as nothing was done to raise the assignats, it was not possible to persist in the cruel fallacy of their nominal value, which was ruining the republic and the individuals paid in paper. It was absolutely necessary to return to the proposition already made to reduce the assignats. The proposal to reduce them to the currency of money was rejected, because the English, it was said, abounding in specie, would be masters of the currency; neither would the government consent to reduce them to the standard of corn, because the price of corn had risen considerably; it had refused to take time for a standard, and to reduce paper a certain amount every month, because that, it was alleged, would be demonsting and committing bankruptcy. All these reasons were frivolous, for it would demonetise in what way soever it proceeded, whether it chose money, corn, or time, to determine the reduction of the paper. The bankruptcy did not consist in reducing the value of the assignat between private individuals, for that reduction had already taken place, and to recognise it was only to prevent robbery; but the bankruptcy, if there was any, consisted in

re-establishing the principle of auction in the sale of the domains. What the republic had promised, indeed, was not that the assignats should be worth this or that sum between private individuals, for this did not depend upon it; but that they should procure a certain quantity of domains. Now, when the sale by auction was re-established, the assignat would no longer procure a certain quantity of domains; it became impotent in regard to domains as in regard to articles of consumption; it experienced the same fall from the effect of competition.

A different standard from money, corn, or time, was chosen for reducing the assignat, namely the quantity of issues. It is true in principle that the increase of the circulating medium produces a proportionate increase in the prices of all commodities. Now, if an article was worth one franc when there were two thousand millions of money in circulation, it must be worth two when there were four, three when there were six, four when there were eight, five when there were ten. Supposing the present circulation of assignats to amount to ten thousand millions, people would at this moment be obliged to pay five times as much for anything as when there were only two thousand millions. A scale of proportion was established, commencing from the period when there were but two thousand millions of assignats in circulation, and it was decided that in all payments made in assignats one-fourth should be added for every 500 millions added to the circulation. Thus for a sum of 2000 francs, stipulated for when there were 2000 millions in circulation and paid when there were 2500 millions, 2500 francs were to be paid; 3000 francs were to be paid for it when there were 3000 millions; and lastly, 10,000 francs at the present moment, when there were 10,000 millions.

Those who considered the demonetisation as a bankruptcy were not likely to be satisfied with this measure, for instead of demonetising in the proportion of specie, corn, or time, it demonetised in that of the issues, which amounted to the same thing, with the exception of one inconvenience, which was here found in addition. Thanks to the new scale, each issue would diminish the value of the assignat by a fixed and known quantity. In issuing five hundred millions the state would take from the holder of the assignat a fourth, a fifth, a sixth, and so on, of what he possessed.

This scale, however, which had its inconveniences like all the other reductions to the course of specie or of corn, ought at least to have been applied to all transactions; but the government durst not venture upon this step, it was applied to the taxes and their arrears. A promise was given that it should be applied to the public functionaries when their number should have been reduced, and to the creditors of the state, when the first receipts of the taxes should admit of their being paid on the same footing. The government durst not extend the benefit of the scale to creditors of all kinds, to the owners of houses in town or country, the proprietors of forges, &c. The only class of persons favoured were the landowners. The farmers, making excessive profits upon the articles of consumption, and paying by means of the assignats only a tenth or a twelfth of the amount of their rent, were obliged to pay it according to the new scale. They were to furnish a quantity of assignats proportionate to the quantity issued since the time when their rent became due.

Such were the measures adopted for the purpose of trying to check jobbing, and to put an end to the fluctuation in the value of all things. They consisted, as we have seen, in forbidding speculators to forestall the consumer

in the purchase of eatables and articles of consumption, and in proportioning the payments in assignats to the quantity of paper in circulation.

The closing of the Jacobins in Brumaire had begun the ruin of the patriots, the event of the 12th of Germinal had advanced it, but it was completed by that of Prairial.* The mass of the citizens, who were hostile to them, not from royalism, but from the dread of a new Terror, were more inveterate than ever, and treated them with the utmost severity. All who had ardently served the Revolution were imprisoned or disarmed. Acts as arbitrary as had ever been exercised towards the suspected, were committed in regard to them. The prisons were crowded, as before the 9th of Thermidor, but they were crowded with revolutionists. The number of the prisoners amounted not as then to nearly one hundred thousand persons, but to twenty or twenty-five thousand. The royalists triumphed. The disarming or imprisonment of the patriots, the execution of the Mountaineer deputies, the proceedings commenced against a great number of others, the suppression of the revolutionary tribunal, the restitution of the churches to the Catholic religion, and the recomposition of the national guard, were all measures that filled them with joy and hope. They flattered themselves that they should soon oblige the Revolution to destroy itself, and that they should see the republic shut up, or put to death, all those who had founded it. To accelerate this movement, they intrigued in the sections, they excited them against the revolutionists, and instigated them to the greatest excesses. A vast number of emigrants returned, either with false passports or upon pretext of soliciting their erasure. The local administrations, renewed since the 9th of Thermidor, and filled with men either weak or hostile to the republic, lent themselves to all the official falsehoods required of them. Whatever was done to mitigate the lot of those who were called the victims of terror was by them deemed allowable. They thus furnished a multitude of enemies of their country with the means of returning to tear it in pieces. At Lyons, and in the whole of the South, the royalist agents continued to appear again secretly. The companies of Jesus and of the Sun had committed fresh murders. Ten thousand muskets, destined for the army of the Alps, had been distributed to no purpose among the national guard of Lyons; it had done nothing, and suffered a great number of patriots to be slaughtered on the 25th of Prairial. Human bodies had again floated down the Saone and the Rhone. At Nimes, Avignon, and Marseilles, similar massacres had taken place. In the last city, the mob had gone to Fort St. Jean, and there renewed the horrors of September against the prisoners.

The ruling party in the Convention, composed of Thermidorians and Girondins, while defending itself against the revolutionists, kept an eye on the royalists, and felt the necessity of curbing them. It immediately obtained a decree that the city of Lyons should be disarmed by a detachment of the army of the Alps, and that the authorities, who had suffered the patriots to be murdered, should be removed. At the same time the civil committees of the sections were enjoined to revise the lists of imprisoned persons, and to order the release of those who were confined without sufficient motives. The sections, excited by intriguing royalists, immediately bestirred themselves.

* "The patriots, in consequence of this last blow were entirely excluded from the government of the State. The revolutionary committees who formed their assemblies were destroyed; the cannoniers who constituted their troops were disbanded; the constitution of 1793, which was their code, was abolished; and the government of the multitude was at an end. From this period the middle class resumed the conduct of the Revolution out of doors." — *Mignet*. E.

They went and addressed threatening petitions to the Convention, complaining that the committee of general safety was liberating Terrorists and putting arms into their hands again. The sections of Lepelletier and of the Théâtre Français (Odeon), always the most violent against the revolutionists, asked if the Assembly meant to raise again the overthrown faction, and if it was to cause Terrorism to be forgotten that people began to talk about royalism to France.

To these petitions, often far from respectful, persons interested in disorder added such rumours as were most likely to agitate the public mind. They reported that Toulon had been delivered up to the English; that the Prince of Condé and the Austrians were about to enter by Franche-Comté, while the English were to land in the West; that Pichegru was dead; that articles of consumption would soon be very scarce, because the free trade in them was about to be restored; lastly, that there had been a general meeting of the committees, which, alarmed at the public dangers, had deliberated on the re-establishment of the system of Terror. The journals devoted to royalism excited and circulated all these reports; and, amidst this general agitation, it might truly be said that the reign of anarchy was come. The Thermidorians and the counter-revolutionists were wrong when they gave the name of anarchy to the system which had preceded the 9th of Thermidor: that system had been a frightful dictatorship; but anarchy had begun from the time that two factions, nearly equal in strength, were combating one another, while the government was not powerful enough to put them down.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

STATE OF THE ARMIES—TREASON OF PICHEGRU—THE QUIBERON EXPEDITION—PEACE WITH SPAIN—PASSAGE OF THE RHINE.

THE situation of the armies was but little changed, and, though half the summer was gone, no important event had occurred. Moreau had been appointed to the command of the army of the North, encamped in Holland: Jourdan to that of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, placed upon the Rhine towards Cologne; Pichegru to that of the army of the Rhine, cantoned from Mayence to Strasburg. The troops were in a state of penury, which had been greatly increased by the relaxation of all the springs of the government, and by the ruin of paper money. Jourdan had no bridge equipage for crossing the Rhine, nor a horse to draw his artillery and baggage. Kleber, before Mayence, had not a fourth of the train necessary for besieging that place. The soldiers all deserted to the interior. Most of them thought that they had done enough for the republic, in carrying its victorious banners to the Rhine. The government knew not how to feed them; neither did it know how to rekindle and find employment for their ardour by great operations. It durst not bring back by force those who deserted their colours. It was known that the young men of the first requisition, who had returned into the interior, were neither sought after nor punished; nay, in Paris, they were in favour with the committees, and frequently formed their volunteer soldiery. The number of desertions was consequently considerable; the armies had lost a fourth of their effective strength, and there ensued that general relaxation which detaches the soldier from the service, renders the officers discontented, and puts their fidelity in jeopardy. Aubry, the deputy, charged as a member of the committee of public welfare with the *personnel* of the army, had effected in it an absolute reaction against all the patriot officers, in favour of those who had not served in the two glorious years 1793 and 1794.

If the Austrians had not been so demoralized, this would have been the time for them to revenge their reverses; but they were reorganizing themselves behind the Rhine, and durst not attempt anything for preventing the only two operations undertaken by the French army—the siege of Luxemburg and that of Mayence. Those two fortresses were the only points retained by the coalition on the left bank of the Rhine. The fall of Luxemburg would complete the conquest of the Netherlands and render it definitive; that of Mayence would deprive the Imperialists of a *tête-de-pont*, which always enabled them to cross the Rhine in safety. Luxemburg, blockaded during the whole winter and spring, surrendered on account of famine on the 6th of Messidor (June 24). Mayence could not be reduced without a siege, but artillery was wanting; it was necessary to invest the place on both banks, and for this purpose either Jourdan or Pichegru must cross the Rhine—a difficult operation in presence of the Austrians, and impracticable without bridge equipage. Thus our armies, though victorious, were stopped by the Rhine, which they could not pass for lack of means; and they, like all the

parts of the government, felt the effects of the weakness of the ruling administration.

On the frontier of the Alps, our situation was still less satisfactory. On the Rhine, we had at least made the important conquest of Luxemburg, but we had fallen back on the Italian frontier. Kellermann commanded the two armies of the Alps; they were in the same state of penury as all the others; and they had been weakened not only by desertion but by various detachments. The government had planned a ridiculous *coup-de-main* upon Rome. With a view to revenge the murder of Basseville, it had put ten thousand men on board the Toulon squadron, the damages of which had been completely repaired by the old committee of public welfare, with the intention of sending them to the mouth of the Tiber, for the purpose of levying a contribution on the papal city, and of then returning with all speed to their ships. Fortunately, an action with Lord Hotham,* after which both squadrons sheered off equally damaged, had prevented the execution of this plan. The division taken from the army of Italy had been sent back to it; but it had been found necessary to despatch a corps to Toulon, to quell the Terrorists, and another to Lyons, to disarm the national guard, which had suffered the patriots to be murdered. In this manner the two armies of the Alps had been deprived of part of their force, in presence of the Piedmontese and the Austrians; strengthened by ten thousand men from the Tyrol. General Devins, taking advantage of the moment when Kellermann had just detached one of his divisions for Toulon, had actually attacked his right towards Genoa. Kellermann, unable to resist a superior effort, had been obliged to fall back. Still occupying with his centre the Col de Tende, on the Alps, he had ceased to extend himself by his right to Genoa, and had taken a position behind the line of Borghetto. There was one great disadvantage in no longer communicating with Genoa; on account of the trade in corn, which would have to encounter great obstacles as soon as the Riviera di Ponente should be occupied by the enemy.

In Spain nothing decisive had taken place. Our army of the Eastern Pyrenees still occupied Catalonia as far as the banks of the Fluvia. Useless actions had been fought on the banks of that river, without enabling the French to take a position beyond it. At the Western Pyrenees, Moncey was organizing an army thinned by disease, with the intention of entering Guipuscoa, and advancing into Navarre.

Though our armies had lost nothing except in Italy, though they had even reduced one of the strongest fortresses in Europe, they were, as we see, badly administered, feebly conducted, and affected by the general anarchy which pervaded all the departments of the administration.

This was the moment, not for conquering them, for danger would have rekindled their energy, but for making attempts on their fidelity, and trying plans of counter-revolution. We have seen the royalists and the foreign cabinets concerting various enterprises upon the insurgent provinces; we have seen Puisaye and England proposing to enter by Bretagne; the Paris agents and Spain meditating an expedition into La Vendée: to these projects were added others for penetrating into France at another point. While these expeditions, to be attempted by Spain and England were to be directed

* "Lord Hotham by a skilful manœuvre succeeded in cutting off two of the thirteen ships which constituted the Toulon fleet; and the remainder of that fleet after a severe but partial action was compelled to fall back to the Isles des Hieres, and disembark the land troops which were on board."—*Alison*: E.

against the West, another, to be made on the eastern frontier of France, had been projected. The Prince of Condé had his head-quarters on the Rhine, where he commanded a corps of 2500 foot and 1500 horse. All the emigrants dispersed over the continent were to be ordered to join him, upon pain of being no longer suffered by the powers to remain in their territories. His corps would thus be augmented by all the emigrants who had hitherto remained useless; and, leaving the Austrians occupied on the Rhine to keep the republican armies in check, he was to endeavour to penetrate by Franche-Comté and to march upon Paris, while Count d'Artois, with the insurgents of the West, should advance towards it on that side. If they should not succeed, they had at least hopes of a capitulation like that which had been granted to the Vendéans; they had the same reasons for obtaining it. "We are Frenchmen,"—thus the emigrants who might have joined in this expedition could have argued—"who have had recourse to civil war, but in France, and without admitting foreigners into our ranks." The only way, so said the partisans of this plan, for the emigrants to return to France, was either by counter-revolution, or by an amnesty.

The English government, which had taken the corps of Condé into its pay, and earnestly desired a diversion towards the East, while it should be operating on the West, insisted that the Prince of Condé should make some attempt, no matter what. Through Wickham, its ambassador in Switzerland, it promised him success in money, and the means necessary for forming new regiments. The intrepid prince desired nothing better than to have some enterprise to attempt: he was utterly incapable of directing either a matter of business or a battle; but he was ready to rush headlong upon danger, the moment it was pointed out to him.

The idea of making a trial to gain Pichegru, who commanded the army of the Rhine, was suggested to him. The terrible committee of public welfare no longer awed the generals; its eye was no longer upon them, its hand was no longer uplifted over them. The republic, paying its officers in assignats, gave them scarcely wherewithal to satisfy their most urgent wants. The disorders which had arisen in its bosom raised doubts of its stability, and alarmed the ambitious who were afraid of losing with it the high dignities which they had attained. It was known that Pichegru was addicted to women and dissipation; that the four thousand francs which he received per month in assignats, worth scarcely two hundred on the frontiers, could not defray his expenses, and that he was disgusted of serving a tottering government. It was recollected that in Germinal he had employed main force against the patriots in the Champs Elysées. All these circumstances suggested the idea that Pichegru might perhaps be accessible to splendid offers. In consequence, the prince had recourse for the execution of this scheme to M. de Montgaillard,* and he to M. Fauche-Borel, a bookseller of Neuchâtel,

* The following is Montgaillard's own account of these curious overtures which were made by order of the Prince of Condé to General Pichegru:

"The Prince de Condé called me to Mülheim, and knowing the connexions I had had in France, proposed that I should sound General Pichegru, whose head-quarters were at Altkirch, and where he then was, surrounded by four representatives of the Convention. I immediately went to Neuchâtel, taking with me four or five hundred louis. I cast my eyes on Fauche-Borel, the King's printer at Neuchâtel, and I selected, as his colleague, M. Courant, a native of Neuchâtel. On the 13th of August, Fauche and Courant set out for the head-quarters at Altkirch. They remained there eight days without finding an opportunity to speak to Pichegru, who was surrounded by representatives and generals. Pichegru observed them, and seeing them continually wheresoever he went, conjectured that they had something to

who, the subject of a wise and happy republic, did not hesitate to make him self the obscure servant of a dynasty under which he was not born. This

say to him, and he called out in a loud voice while passing them, *'I am going to Huningen.'* Fauche contrived to throw himself in his way at the end of a corridor. Pichegru observed him, and fixed his eyes upon him, and although it rained in torrents, he said aloud, *'I am going to dine at the chateau of Madame Salomon.'* This chateau was three leagues from Huningen, and Madame Salomon was Pichegru's mistress.

"Fauche set off directly to the chateau, and begged to speak with General Pichegru. He told the general that, being in the possession of some of J. J. Rousseau's manuscripts, he wished to publish them, and dedicate them to him. 'Very good,' said Pichegru; 'but I should like to read them first; for J. J. Rousseau professed principles of liberty, in which I do not concur, and with which I should not like to have my name connected.'—'But,' said Fauche, 'I have something else to speak to you about.'—'What is it, and on whose behalf?'—'On behalf of the Prince de Condé.'—'Be silent, then, and follow me.'

"He conducted Fauche alone into a retired cabinet, and said to him, 'Explain yourself; what does Monseigneur the Prince de Condé wish to communicate to me?' Fauche was embarrassed, and stammered out something unintelligible. 'Compose yourself,' said Pichegru; 'my sentiments are the same as those of the Prince de Condé. What does he desire of me?' Fauche, encouraged by these words, replied, 'The prince wishes to join you. He is confident in you, and wishes to connect himself with you.'—'These are vague and unmeaning words,' observed Pichegru. 'All this amounts to nothing. Go back, and ask for written instructions, and return in three days to my head-quarters, at Altkirch. You will find me alone precisely at six o'clock in the evening.'

"Fauche immediately departed, arrived at Bâle, hastened to me, and joyfully informed me of all that had passed. I spent the night in writing a letter to General Pichegru. The Prince de Condé, who was invested with all the powers of Louis XVIII., except that of granting the cordon-bleu, had, by a note in his own handwriting, deputed to me all his powers, to enable me to maintain a negotiation with General Pichegru. I therefore wrote to the general, stating, in the outset, everything that was calculated to awaken in him that noble sentiment of pride, which is the instinct of great minds; and after pointing out to him the vast good it was in his power to effect, I spoke of the gratitude of the King, and the benefit he would confer on his country by restoring royalty. I told him that his majesty would make him a marshal of France, and governor of Alsace, as no one could better govern the province than he, who had so valiantly defended it. I added, that he would have the cordon-rouge—the Château de Chambord—with its park, and twelve pieces of cannon taken from the Austrians—a million of ready money—two hundred thousand livres per annum—and a hotel in Paris;—that the town of Arbois, Pichegru's native place, should bear his name, and be exempt from all taxation for twenty-five years;—that a pension of two hundred thousand livres would be granted to him, with half reversion to his wife, and fifty thousand livres to his heirs for ever, until the extinction of his family. Such were the offers, made in the name of the King, to General Pichegru. (Then followed the boons to be granted to the officers and soldiers, an amnesty to the people, &c.) I added, that the Prince de Condé desired that he would proclaim the King in the camps, surrender the city of Huningen to him, and join him for the purpose of marching on Paris.

"Pichegru, having read the letter with great attention, said to Fauche, 'This is all very well; but who is this M. de Montgaillard who talks of being thus authorized? I neither know him nor his signature. Is he the author?'—'Yes,' replied Fauche. 'But,' said Pichegru, 'I must, before making any negotiation on my part, be assured that the Prince de Condé, with whose handwriting I am well acquainted, approves of all that has been written in his name by M. de Montgaillard. Return directly to M. de Montgaillard, and tell him to communicate my answer to the prince.'

"Fauche immediately departed, leaving M. Courant with Pichegru. He arrived at Bâle at nine o'clock in the evening. I set off directly for Mülheim, the Prince de Condé's head-quarters, and arrived there at half-past twelve. The prince was in bed, but I awoke him. He made me sit down by his bed-side and our conference then commenced.

"After having informed the prince of the state of affairs, all that remained was to prevail on him to write to General Pichegru, to confirm the truth of what had been stated in his name. This matter, which appeared so simple, and so little liable to objection, occupied the whole night. It required nine hours' hard exertion to get him to write to General Pichegru a letter of nine lines. 1st. He did not wish it to be in his handwriting.—2d He objected

M. Fauche-Borel repaired to Altkirch, where Pichegru's head-quarters were. After he had followed him in several reviews, he at length attracted his notice by watching him so closely, and ventured to accost him in a corridor. He began by talking of a manuscript work which he was desirous of dedicating to him, and, Pichegru having in some measure encouraged his communications, he at last explained his errand. Pichegru required a letter from the Prince of Condé himself, that he might know with whom he had to deal. Fauche-Borel returned to M. de Montgaillard, and the latter to the prince. A whole night was spent in obtaining from the prince a letter of eight lines. Now he would not call Pichegru general, lest he should recognise the republic: and then he objected to seal the envelope with his arms. At last the letter was finished; Fauche-Borel set out again, was admitted to Pichegru, who, on seeing the handwriting of the prince, immediately entered into negotiation. He was offered himself the rank of marshal, the government of Alsace, a million in money, the chateau and park of Chambord, with twelve pieces of cannon taken from the Austrians, and a pension of two hundred thousand francs, with the reversion to his wife and children. For his army he was offered the confirmation of all ranks, a pension for the commandants of fortresses who should give them up, and exemption from taxes for fifteen years for such towns as should open their gates. But it was required that Pichegru should hoist the white flag, that he should deliver up the fortress of Huningen to the Prince of Condé, and that he should march with him upon Paris. Pichegru was too cunning to accede to such demands. He would neither deliver Huningen nor hoist the white flag in his army: that would have been going a great deal too far and committing himself. He wished to be allowed to cross the Rhine with a corps of picked men; there he promised to hoist

to dating it.—3d. He was unwilling to call him *General* Pichegru, lest he should recognise the republic by giving that title.—4th. He did not like to address it, or affix his seal to it. At length he consented to all, and wrote to Pichegru that he might place full confidence in the letters of the Comte de Montgaillard. When all this was settled, after great difficulty, the prince next hesitated about sending the letter; but at length he yielded. I set off for Bâle, and despatched Fauche to Altkirch, to General Pichegru. The general, after reading a letter of eight lines, and recognising the handwriting and signature, immediately returned it to Fauche, saying, 'I have seen the signature: that is enough for me. The word of the prince is a pledge with which every Frenchman ought to be satisfied. Take back his letter.' He then inquired what was the prince's wish. Fauche explained that he wished—1st. That Pichegru should proclaim the King to his troops, and hoist the white flag.—2d. That he should deliver up Huningen to the prince. Pichegru objected to this:—'I will never take part in such a plot,' said he, 'I wish to do nothing by halves. There must be a complete end of the present state of things. France cannot continue a republic. She must have a king, and that king must be Louis XVIII. But we must not commence the counter-revolution, until we are certain of effecting it. "Surely and promptly" is my motto. The prince's plan leads to nothing. He would be driven from Huningen in four days, and in fifteen I should be lost. That done, as soon as I shall be on the other side of the Rhine, I will proclaim the King, and hoist the white flag. Condé's corps and the emperor's army will then join us. I will immediately repass the Rhine, and re-enter France. The fortresses will be surrendered, and will be held in the King's name by the imperial troops. Having joined Condé's army, I immediately advance. All my means now develop themselves on every side. We march upon Paris, and in a fortnight shall be there. But it is necessary that you should know that you must give the French soldier wine and a crown in his hand if you would have him cry *Vive le Roi!* Nothing must be wanting at the first moment. My army must be well paid as far as the fourth or fifth march in the French territory. There, go and tell all this to the prince, show my handwriting, and bring me back his answer.'

"The Prince de Condé, after reading the plan, rejected it *in toto*." E

the white flag, to take with him the corps of Condé, and then to march upon Paris. It is not very evident in what respect his scheme could have gained by this; for it would have been as difficult to seduce the army beyond as on this side of the Rhine; but he would not have run the risk of delivering up a fortress, of being surprised when delivering it, and of having no excuse to assign for his treason. On the contrary, in crossing to the other side of the Rhine, it was at his own option not to consummate the treason, if he could not come to a satisfactory arrangement with the prince and the Austrians; or, if he were discovered too soon, he might avail himself of the passage obtained to execute the operations commanded by his government, and say that he had listened to the enemy's overtures merely to turn them against him. In both cases, he reserved to himself the means of betraying either the republic or the prince with whom he was treating. Fauche-Borel returned to those who had employed him, but he was sent back again to insist on the same propositions. He went several times to and fro, without being able to accommodate the difference, which consisted in this, that the prince wanted to obtain Huningen, and Pichegru the passage of the Rhine. Neither would take the first step and give the other so great an advantage. The motive which prevented the prince, in particular, from acceding to the demand made upon him, was the necessity of recurring to the Austrians for authority to grant the passage; he wished to act without their concurrence, and to secure for himself alone all the honour of the counter-revolution. It appears, however, that he was obliged to refer the matter to the Aulic Council; and during this interval, Pichegru, watched by the representatives, was obliged to suspend his correspondence and his treason.

Meanwhile, the agents in the interior, Lemaitre, Brotier, Despomelles, Laville-Heurnois, Duverne-Depresle, and others, continued their intrigues. The young prince, son of Louis XVI., had died of a tumour at the knee, arising from a scrofulous taint.* The royalist agents asserted that he had been poisoned, and they had eagerly sought after books relative to the ceremonial of the coronation, for the purpose of sending them to Verona. The regent had become king for them, and was called Louis XVIII. The Count d'Artois had become Monsieur.

The pacification in the insurgent countries had been only apparent. The

* "The ninth of Thermidor came too late to save the infant King of France, Louis XVII. His gaoler, Simon, was indeed beheaded, and a less cruel tyrant substituted in his place; but the temper of the times would not at first admit of any decided measures of indulgence in favour of the heir to the throne. The barbarous treatment he had experienced from Simon had alienated his reason, but not extinguished his feelings of gratitude. On one occasion that inhuman wretch had seized him by the hair and threatened to dash his head against the wall; the surgeon, Naulin, interfered to prevent him, and the child next day presented him with two pears which had been given him for his supper the preceding evening, lamenting at the same time that he had no other means of testifying his gratitude. Simon and Hebert had put him to the torture, to extract from him an avowal of crimes connected with his mother, which he was too young to understand; after that cruel day he almost always preserved silence, lest his words should prove fatal to some of his relations. This resolution and the closeness of his confinement soon preyed upon his health. In February, 1795, he was seized with a fever, and visited by three members of the committee of public safety; they found him seated at a little table making castles of cards. They addressed to him the words of kindness, but could not obtain any answer. In May the state of his health became so alarming, that the celebrated surgeon, Dessault, was directed by the Convention to visit him. His generous attentions assuaged the sufferings of the child's latter days, but could not prolong his life."—*Alison*. E.

inhabitants, who began to enjoy a little tranquillity and security, were, it is true, disposed to remain at peace; but the chiefs and the men habituated to war, who surrounded them, only waited for an occasion to take up arms again. Charette, having under his command those territorial guards, among whom he had admitted only such persons as had a decided predilection for war, aimed solely, under the pretext of attending to the police of the country, at preparing the nucleus of an army with which to take the field again. He had not for some time quitted his camp at Belleville, and was continually visited there by royalist emissaries. The Paris agents had forwarded to him a letter from Verona, in reply to that in which he sought to excuse the pacification. The pretender assured him that he need not make any excuses; he continued to him his confidence and favour, appointed him lieutenant-general, and announced the speedy arrival of succours from Spain. The Paris agents, enlarging upon the expressions of the prince, flattered Charette's ambition with the most magnificent prospects; they promised him the command of all the royalist country, and a considerable expedition which was to sail from the Spanish ports with succours for the French Princes. As for that which was preparing in England, they affected to put no faith in it. The English, they said, had always promised and always deceived; it was right, nevertheless, to make use of their means if possible, but to make use of them in a very different way from that which they purposed. It was necessary to induce them to land in La Vendée the succours which should be destined for Bretagne, and to subject that country to Charette, who alone enjoyed the confidence of the reigning king. Such ideas could not fail to flatter at once the ambition of Charette, his hatred of Stofflet, his jealousy of the recent importance of Puisaye, and his resentment against England, which he accused of never having done anything for him.

As for Stofflet, he was much less disposed to resume arms than Charette, though he had shown much greater reluctance to lay them down. His district felt the advantages of peace much more sensibly than the others, and manifested a strong aversion to war. He was himself deeply hurt at the preference shown to Charette. He was quite as deserving of the rank of lieutenant-general, which was conferred on his rival, and he was much disgusted by the injustice done him, as he conceived. Bretagne, organized as before, was quite ripe for insurrection. The chiefs of the Chouans had obtained; like the Vendean chiefs, the organization of their best soldiers into regular companies, under pretext of enforcing the police of the country. Each of these chiefs had assigned to himself a company of chasseurs, wearing a green coat and pantaloons and a red waistcoat, and composed of the most intrepid Chouans. Cormatin, continuing his part, had assumed a ridiculous importance. He had established what he called his head-quarters at La Prévalaye; he issued publicly orders to all the Chouan chiefs, dated from those head-quarters; he went from one division to another, to organize the chasseurs; he affected to repress infractions of the truce, when any had been committed, and seemed to have become in reality the governor of Bretagne. He frequently went to Rennes in his Chouan uniform, which had been brought into vogue; in the companies there he received tokens of the consideration of the inhabitants and the caresses of the women, who looked upon him as an important personage, and the chief of the royalist party.

At the same time he continued in secret to dispose the Chouans to war, and to correspond with the royalist agents. His part, in regard to Puisaye, was embarrassing. He had disobeyed him, he had betrayed his confidence,

and thenceforward he had no other resource than to throw himself into the arms of the Paris agents, who had encouraged him to hope for the command of Bretagne, and included him in their plans with Spain. That power had promised 1,500,000 francs per month, on condition that the royalists should act without England. Nothing could be more agreeable to Cormatin than a plan which would enable him to break with England and Puisaye.* Two other officers whom Puisaye had sent from London to Bretagne, Messrs. de Vieuville and Dandigné, had entered into the system of the Paris agents, and persuaded themselves also that England meant to deceive as at Toulon, to make use of the royalists in order to possess herself of a seaport, to make Frenchmen fight against Frenchmen, but not to afford any real succour capable of raising the party of the princes and securing their triumph. While part of the Breton chiefs harboured these notions, those of Morbihan, Finistère, and the Côtes-du-Nord, long connected with Puisaye, and accustomed to serve under him, organized by his efforts, and strangers to the Paris intriguers, had remained attached to him, called Cormatin a traitor, and wrote to London that they were ready to resume their arms. They made preparations, purchased ammunition and stuff for making black collars, seduced the republican soldiers, and prevailed on them to desert. In this they were successful, because, being masters of the country, they had abundance of provisions, and the republican soldiers, scantily supplied, and having nothing but assignats to make up for their deficient rations, were obliged to forsake their colours in quest of subsistence. Besides, many Bretons had been imprudently left in the regiments which were serving against the royalist districts, and it was but natural that they should transfer themselves to the ranks of their countrymen.

Hoche, ever vigilant, was attentively observing the state of the country. He saw the patriots persecuted under pretext of the law for disarming them; the royalists full of exultation; articles of consumption kept back by the farmers; the roads very unsafe; the public vehicles obliged to travel in convoys in order to obtain escorts; the Chouans forming secret assemblies; and frequent communications kept up with the Channel Islands: and he had written to the committee and to the representatives that the pacification was an egregious deception, that the republic was duped, and that everything indicated the speedy resumption of arms. He had employed the time in forming moveable columns, and in distributing them all over the country, to insure tranquillity, and to be ready to rush upon the first assemblage that should be formed. But the number of his troops was inadequate to the surface of the country and the immense extent of coast. Every moment, the fear of a rising in some part of the country, or of the appearance of the English fleet on a part of the coast, required the presence of his columns, and they were worn out by incessant marches. For such a service there was required, on his part and on that of his army, a resignation a hundred times as meritorious as the courage to confront death. Unfortunately, his soldiers compensated themselves for their fatigues by excesses: he was deeply afflicted on account of them, and he had as much trouble to repress them as to watch the enemy.

* "The Marquis de Puisaye, an enterprising, but fickle and intriguing soldier, induced the English government to believe that if a small army, well supplied with ammunition and muskets, were landed, a general rising would take place in Brittany. In consequence of his representation, the British ministry prepared an expedition which was joined by the most enterprising emigrants, almost all the officers of the old marine, and all those who, weary of exile and an unsettled life, were desirous of trying their fortune for the last time."—*Mignet*. E.

He soon had occasion to surprise Cormatin in the very fact. Despatches sent by him to several Chouan chiefs were intercepted, and thus a substantial proof of his underhand dealings was obtained. Having learned that he was to be on a fair-day at Rennes with a number of disguised Chouans, and fearing lest it might be his intention to make an attempt on the arsenal, Hoche caused him to be apprehended on the evening of the 6th of Prairial, and thus put an end to his proceedings. The different chiefs immediately raised a great outcry and complained that the truce was violated. Hoche, by way of reply, printed Cormatin's letters, and sent him with his accomplices to the prison of Cherbourg: at the same time he kept all his columns in readiness to rush upon the first rebels that should show themselves. In the Morbihan, chevalier Desilz, having risen, was immediately attacked by General Josnet, who killed three hundred of his men and completely routed his forces: the chief himself perished in the action. In the Côtes-du-Nord, Bois-Hardi also rose; his corps was dispersed, and he was himself taken and put to death. The soldiers, enraged at the bad faith of this young chief, who was the most formidable in the whole country, cut off his head and carried it on the point of a bayonet. Hoche, indignant at this want of generosity, addressed a truly noble letter to his soldiers, and ordered search to be made for the culprits, that they might be punished. This sudden destruction of the two chiefs, who had made an attempt at insurrection, overawed the others. They remained quiet, awaiting with impatience the arrival of that expedition which had been so long announced. Their cry was, *The King, England, and Bonchamp forever!*

At this moment, great preparations were going forward in London. Puisaye had made precise arrangements with the English ministers. They had not granted him all that they had at first promised, because the pacification had diminished confidence; but they gave him the emigrant regiments and a considerable train of artillery to attempt a landing; they promised him more over all the resources of the kingdom, if the expedition proved successful in the outset. The interest alone of England forbade a doubt of the sincerity of these promises; for, driven from the continent ever since the conquest of Holland, she would recover a field of battle, she would transfer this field of battle to the very heart of France, and compose her armies with Frenchmen. The means with which Puisaye was furnished were these. The emigrant regiments of the continent had been, ever since the opening of the present campaign, taken into the service of England; those which formed the corps of Condé were, as we have seen, to remain on the Rhine; the others, which were mere wrecks, were to embark at the mouth of the Elbe and to be conveyed to Bretagne. Besides these old regiments, which wore the black cockade, and were deeply disgusted with the unprofitable and destructive service in which they had been employed by the powers, England had agreed to form nine new regiments, which should be in her pay, but which should wear the white cockade, that their destination might appear to be more French. The difficulty consisted in recruiting them; for if, in the first moment of fervour, the emigrants had consented to serve as private soldiers, they would not do so now. It was proposed to pick up on the continent French deserters or prisoners. As for deserters, none were to be found, for the conqueror never deserts to the conquered: recourse was then had to prisoners. Count d'Hervilly, having met in London with Toulonese refugees, who had formed a regiment, enrolled them in his own, and thus raised it to eleven or twelve hundred men, that is to more than two-thirds of the complement. Count d'Hector composed his of seamen who had emigrated.

and collected five or six hundred men. Count du Dresnay found in the prisons a number of Bretons, enrolled against their will at the time of the first requisition, and made prisoners during the war. He got together four or five hundred of them. But these were all the French that could be collected to serve in those regiments with the white cockade. Thus, out of the nine, three only were formed, one having only two-thirds of its complement, and two only one-third of theirs. There was also in London, Lieutenant-colonel Rothalier, who commanded four hundred Toulonese gunners. With these was formed a regiment of artillery, to which were added some French engineers, with whom a corps of engineers was composed. As for the multitude of emigrants who would not serve unless in their former ranks, and who could not find soldiers to compose regiments for themselves, it was resolved to form with them skeletons, which should be filled up in Bretagne with insurgents. There, men being plentiful, and experienced officers rare, they would find their proper level. They were sent to Jersey, to be organized and held in readiness to follow the expedition. While the troops were forming, Puisaye turned his attention to his finances. England promised him money to a sufficient amount to begin with; but he determined to supply himself with assignats. To this end he obtained from the French princes an authority to forge assignats to the amount of three thousand millions, and in this operation he employed idle ecclesiastics who were unfit to wield the sword. The Bishop of Lyons, judging of this measure very differently from Puisaye and the princes, forbade ecclesiastics to have any hand in it. Puisaye then had recourse to other agents, and fabricated the sum which he had resolved to carry with him. He also wished to take with him a bishop, to fill the part of papal legate to the Catholic districts. He recollected that an adventurer, the pretended Bishop of Agra, by assuming that usurped character, in the first Vendean insurrection, had exercised an extraordinary influence over the minds of the peasantry. He took with him the Bishop of Dol, who had a commission from Rome. He then procured from the Count D'Artois the powers necessary for commanding the expedition, and appointing officers of all ranks until he should arrive. The English ministry on its part conferred on him the direction of the expedition; but, having some misgiving on account of his temerity and his extreme ardour to land, it invested Count d'Hervilly with the command of the emigrant regiments till the moment that the landing should be effected.

All these arrangements being made, d'Hervilly's regiment and d'Hector's, and du Dresnay's two regiments, all wearing the white cockade, the four hundred Toulonese artillerymen commanded by Rothalier, and an emigrant regiment of old formation, that of La Châtre, known by the name of Loyal Emigrant, and reduced by the war on the continent to four hundred men, were put on board a squadron. This last valiant relic was reserved for decisive engagements. The squadron also carried out provisions for an army of six thousand men for three months, one hundred saddle and draught horses, seventeen thousand complete infantry uniforms, four thousand cavalry uniforms, twenty-seven thousand muskets, ten field-pieces, and six hundred barrels of powder. Puisaye was furnished with ten thousand louis in gold and letters of credit on England, to add to his forged assignats more substantial means of finance. The squadron which carried this expedition consisted of three ships of the line of 74 guns each, two frigates of 44, four of 30 to 36, and several gun-boats and transports. It was commanded by Commodore Warren, one of the most gallant and distinguished officers in the British navy. This was the first division. It was agreed that immedi

ately after its departure another naval division should go to Jersey for the emigrants organized in skeletons of regiments; that it should cruise for some time off St. Malo, where Puisaye had his correspondents, and which traitors had promised to deliver up to him; and after this cruise, if St. Malo were not delivered up, it was to follow Puisaye and carry the skeletons to join him. Transports were to proceed at the same time to the mouth of the Elbe, to fetch the emigrant regiments with the black cockade and convey them to Puisaye. It was calculated that these different detachments would arrive nearly about the same time as himself. If all that he had said were realized, if the landing were effected without difficulty, if part of Bretagne hastened to meet him, if he could gain a solid position on the coast of France, either by the delivery into his hands of St. Malo, L'Orient, Port Louis, or any seaport whatever, then a new expedition, carrying an English army, further supplies of artillery, and Count d'Artois, was to sail immediately. Lord Moira had actually gone to the continent to fetch the prince.

There was but one fault to be found with these arrangements, that is, that the expedition was divided into several detachments, and especially that the French prince was not put at the head of the first.

The expedition sailed towards the end of Prairial (the middle of June). Puisaye took with him the Bishop of Dol, a numerous clergy, and forty gentlemen, all bearing illustrious names and serving as mere volunteers. The point of landing was a secret except to Puisaye, Commodore Warren, and Messrs. de Tinteniac and d'Allègre, whom Puisaye had despatched to announce his coming.

After long deliberation, the south of Bretagne had been preferred to the north, and the bay of Quiberon was fixed upon. This was one of the best and safest bays of the continent, and the English were thoroughly acquainted with it, because they had long been accustomed to lie there. While the expedition was under sail, Sir Sidney Smith and Lord Cornwallis made demonstrations on all the coasts, to mislead the republican armies as to the point of landing; and Lord Bridport, with the squadron stationed off the Isle of Ushant, protected the convoy. The French naval force in the ports of the Atlantic had not been very formidable since the unfortunate cruise of the preceding winter, during which the Brest fleet had suffered dreadfully from the weather. Villaret-Joyeuse had nevertheless received orders to sail with the nine ships of the line lying in Brest, and to call out a division blockaded at Belle-Isle to join him. He sailed accordingly, and, after being joined by that division, and having given chase to some English ships, he was returning to Brest, when he was overtaken by a gale, which for a moment dispersed his squadron. He lost no time in collecting it again, and, during this interval, he fell in with the expedition destined for the coast of France. He was superior in number, and might have taken the whole of it; but Commodore Warren, perceiving the danger, hoisted all sail, and placed his convoy at a distance so as to give it the appearance of a second line; at the same time he despatched two cutters in quest of the strong squadron under Lord Bridport. Villaret, conceiving that he could not attack with advantage, pursued his course towards Brest, according to the instructions which he had received. At that moment Lord Bridport came up, and immediately attacked the republican fleet.*

* "A short time after the Brest fleet put to sea, Lord Bridport, with fourteen ships of the line and eight frigates, hove in sight, and, after two days' manœuvring, succeeded in compelling the enemy to engage. The British admiral bore down in two columns on the hostile fleet, who, instead of awaiting the contest, immediately fell into confusion, and strained every

It was the 5th of Messidor (June 23). Villaret, keeping pace with the *Alexandre*, which was a bad sailer, lost irreparable time in manœuvring. The line fell into confusion: he lost three ships, the *Alexandre*, the *Formidable*, and the *Tigre*, and, unable to regain Brest, he was obliged to throw himself into L'Orient.

A naval victory having signalized its outset, the expedition made sail for the bay of Quiberon. A division of the squadron went and summoned the garrison of Belle-Isle, in the name of the King of France; but it received from General Boucret nothing but an energetic answer and cannon balls. The convoy came to an anchor in the bay of Quiberon, on the 7th of Messidor (June 25). Puisaye, according to the information which he had procured, knew that there were very few troops on the coast. He wanted, in his ardour, to land immediately. Count d'Hervilly, who was brave, capable of cleverly training a regiment, but incapable of cleverly directing an operation, and above all extremely punctilious in matters of authority and duty, said that he was commander of the troops, that he was responsible to the English government for their safety, and that he should not hazard them upon a hostile and unknown coast till he had made a reconnoissance. He lost a whole day in examining the coast with a telescope, and, though not a soldier was to be seen, he refused to put the troops on shore. Puisaye and Commodore Warren having determined on the landing, d'Hervilly at last assented; and on the 9th of Messidor (June 27) those Frenchmen, blind and imprudent, landed full of joy in a country to which they brought civil war, and where they were destined to meet such a deplorable fate.

The bay in which they landed is formed on the one hand by the coast of Bretagne, on the other by a peninsula, nearly a league in breadth and two in length. This is the noted peninsula of Quiberon. It is joined to the main land by a narrow stripe of sand, a league in length, called La Falaise. Fort Penhiève, situated between the peninsula and La Falaise, forbids approach from the land side. In this fort there was a garrison of seven hundred men. The bay formed by this peninsula and the coast offers to ships one of the safest and most sheltered roads of the continent.

The expedition had disembarked at the bottom of the bay, at the village of Carnac. At the moment of its arrival, several chiefs, Dubois-Berthelot, d'Allègre, George Cadoudal,* Mercier, apprized by Tinteniach, hastened up

nerve to escape. In the running fight three ships of the line were captured by the English: and, if the wind had permitted all their squadron to take part in the action, there can be no doubt that the whole French fleet would have been taken and destroyed. As it was, they were so discomfited that they crowded all sail till they reached the harbour of l'Orient, and made no attempt during the remainder of the season to dispute with the British the empire of the seas."—*Alison*. E.

* "George Cadoudal, a Chouan chief, was the son of a village miller. When Bretagne took up arms, he entered the service as a common horseman, and in 1795 was considered the head of the plebeian party. In 1796 and the three ensuing years he continued in arms, and was the only general-in-chief who was not noble. His division was that most frequently sent against the republicans. In 1800 he concluded peace with the French government. He afterwards went to Paris, on the invitation of Bonaparte; and then to London, where he was favourably received by the English ministers. The idea of the infernal machine is said to have originated with him, though he denied it. In 1803 George and Pichegru landed on the coast of Normandy to execute a plan of assassinating the First Consul. The conspiracy however, was frustrated, and George was condemned and executed at Paris in 1804. He was thirty-five years old, and showed during his trial the greatest coolness."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

"When George Cadoudal came to Paris, the First Consul received him at a private audi-

with their troops, dispersed some detachments which were guarding the coast, drove them back into the interior, and proceeded to the shore. They brought with them four or five thousand men inured to war, but ill armed, ill clothed, not marching in ranks, and looking more like plunderers than soldiers. These Chouans had been joined by peasants of the neighbouring country, shouting *Vive le Roi!* and bringing eggs, poultry, and provisions of all kinds, to this liberating army, which came to restore to them their prince and their religion. Overjoyed at this sight, Puisaye felt confident that all Bretagne was ready to rise. Very different were the impressions of the emigrants who accompanied him. Having lived in courts or served in the finest armies of Europe, they looked with disgust and very little confidence at those soldiers who were to be given to them to command. Jeers and complaints began already to circulate. Chests of muskets and uniforms were brought; the Chouans fell upon them; sergeants of d'Hervilly's regiment endeavoured to maintain order; a quarrel ensued, and, but for Puisaye, it might have had fatal consequences. These first occurrences were not at all likely to establish confidence between the insurgents and the regular troops, which, coming from England, and belonging to that power, were, as such, rather suspicious to the Chouans. Meanwhile, the bands were armed as they arrived. Their numbers amounted in two days to ten thousand. Red coats and muskets were given to them, and Puisaye's next care was to give them leaders. He was in want of officers, for the forty gentlemen volunteers were quite inadequate; he had not yet the skeletons at his disposal, for they had orders to cruise off St. Malo; he purposed, therefore, to take a few officers from the regiments, in which they were very numerous, to distribute them among the Chouans, then to march rapidly upon Vannes and Rennes, not to give the republicans time to look about them, to raise the whole country, and then to advance and to take a position behind the important line of the Mayenne. There, master of forty leagues of country, and having raised the whole population, Puisaye conceived that it would be time to organize the irregular troops. D'Hervilly, brave, but standing on trifles, methodical, and despising the irregular Chouans, refused those officers. Instead of giving them to the Chouans, he proposed to select from among the latter men to complete the regiments, and then to advance, making reconnoissances and choosing positions. That was not Puisaye's plan. He threatened to use his authority; d'Hervilly denied it, saying that the regular troops belonged to him, that he was responsible for their safety to the English government, and that he ought not to compromise them. Puisaye

ence. Rapp introduced him into the grand saloon leading into the garden. I saw Napoleon and George walk from the window to the bottom of the saloon, then return, then go back again. This lasted for a long time. The conversation appeared very animated, and I overheard several things, but without any connexion. There was occasionally a good deal of ill-humour displayed in their tones and gestures. The interview ended in nothing. George had the manners and bearing of a rude soldier; but under his coarse exterior he concealed the soul of a hero."—*Bourrienne*. E.

"One day I asked Napoleon's opinion of George Cadoudal. 'George,' said he, 'had courage, and that was all. After the peace with the Chouans I endeavoured to gain him over, as then he would have been useful to me, and I was anxious to calm all parties. I sent for, and spoke to him a long time. His father was a miller, and he was an ignorant fellow himself. I asked him, Why do you want to restore the Bourbons? If you were even to succeed in placing them on the throne, you would still be only a miller's son in their eyes. They would hold you in contempt because you were not of noble birth. But I found that he had no hear:—in fact, that he was not a Frenchman.'"—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

represented to him that he held this command during the voyage only; that, on landing in Bretagne, he, Puisaye, was to be commander-in-chief and to direct the operations. He immediately despatched a cutter to London, to obtain an explanation concerning their respective powers; and, meanwhile, he besought d'Hervilly not to cause the miscarriage of the enterprise by fatal divisions. D'Hervilly was brave and full of sincerity, but he was unfit for civil war, and he felt an invincible dislike to those ragged insurgents. All the emigrants thought with him that they were not made to *chouanner*; that Puisaye compromised them by bringing them into Bretagne; that it was in Vendée they ought to have landed; and that there they would have found the illustrious Charette and undoubtedly different sort of soldiers.

Several days had been lost in disputes of this kind. The Chouans were divided into three corps, for the purpose of taking advanced positions, so as to occupy the roads from L'Orient to Hennebon and to Auray. Tinteniac, with a corps of 2500 Chouans, was placed on the left at Landevant; Dubois-Berthelot, on the right towards Auray, with a nearly equal force. Count de Vauban, one of the gentlemen volunteers who had accompanied Puisaye, and one of those whose reputation and merit placed them in the first rank, was directed to occupy a central position at Mendon, with four thousand Chouans, so as to be able to succour Tinteniac or Dubois-Berthelot. He had the command of this whole line, defended by nine or ten thousand men, and advanced four or five leagues into the interior. The Chouans finding themselves placed there, immediately asked why troops of the line were not put along with them; saying that they reckoned more upon those troops than upon themselves; that they had come to range themselves around them, to follow them, to support them, but they counted upon their advancing first to receive the formidable onset of the republicans. Vauban applied for only four hundred men, either to withstand a first attack, in case of need, or to impart confidence to his Chouans, to set them an example, and to prove that there was no intention of exposing them alone to danger. D'Hervilly at first refused, then delayed, and at last sent this detachment.

Five days had elapsed since the landing, and they had as yet advanced only three or four leagues inland. Puisaye was extremely dissatisfied, but he repressed his vexation, hoping to overcome the delays and obstacles thrown in his way by his companions in arms. Conceiving that, at all events, he ought to secure a point of support, he proposed to d'Hervilly to gain possession of the peninsula by surprising Fort Penthievre. Once masters of this fort, which was the key to the peninsula on the land-side, supported on both sides by the English squadron, they would have an impregnable position: and that peninsula, a league broad and two long, would then afford a footing as secure and more convenient than that of St. Malo, Brest, or L'Orient. The English might there land all the men and stores that they had promised. This measure of safety was of such a nature as to please d'Hervilly: he assented to it, but was for a regular attack on the fort. Puisaye would not listen to him, and arranged a plan to take it by storm: and Commodore Warren, full of zeal, offered to second him with all the guns of his squadron. They began to cannonade on the 1st of July (13th of Messidor), and fixed the decisive attack for the 3rd (15th of Messidor). While preparations were making for it, Puisaye sent out emissaries over all Bretagne, to rouse Scépeaux, Charette, Stofflet, and all the chiefs of the insurgent provinces.

The news of the landing spread with extraordinary rapidity. In two days

it was known over all Bretagne, and in a few more throughout all France. The royalists, full of joy, the revolutionists of rage, already figured to themselves the emigrants in Paris. The Convention immediately sent two extraordinary commissioners to Hoche; it selected Blad and Tallien. The presence of the latter at the threatened point was intended to prove that the Thermidorians were as hostile to royalism as to terror. Hoche, cool and resolute, wrote forthwith to the committee of public welfare, to dispel its apprehensions. "Coolness," said he, "activity, provisions, of which we are in want, and the twelve thousand men whom you promised me so long ago." He immediately gave orders to the chief of his staff: he directed General Chabot to be placed between Brest and L'Orient, with a corps of four thousand men, that he might fly to the assistance of either of those ports which should be threatened. "Keep your eye more particularly upon Brest," said he; "in case of need, shut yourself up in the place and defend yourself to the last extremity. He wrote to Aubert-Dubayet, who commanded the coasts of Cherbourg, to send off troops for the north of Bretagne, in order to guard St. Malo and the coast. To secure the south, he begged Canclaux, who was still watching Charette and Stofflet, to send General Lemoine with reinforcements to him by Nantes and Vannes. He then collected all his troops about Rennes, Ploermel, and Vannes, and moved then *en échelon* upon those three points to guard his rear; after which he advanced to Auray with all the force that he had at hand. On the 14th of Messidor (July 2d), he was already in person at Auray, with three or four thousand men.

All Bretagne was thus enveloped. The illusions which the first insurrection of La Vendée had generated were about to be dispelled. Because in 1793 the peasants of La Vendée, encountering only national guards, composed of tradesmen who knew not how to handle a musket, had made themselves masters of all Poitou and Anjou, and then formed in their ravines and on their heaths an establishment which it was difficult to destroy, it was imagined that Bretagne would rise at the first signal of England. But the Bretons were far from having the ardour of the first Vendéans; a few banditti only, under the name of Chouans, were bent upon war, or to speak more correctly, on pillage; and, moreover, a young commander, whose activity was equal to his genius, having practised troops at his disposal, repressed the whole population with a firm and steady hand. Could Bretagne rise under such circumstances, unless the army that came to support it advanced rapidly, instead of groping about on the sea-shore?

This was not all. Part of the Chouans, who were under the influence of the royalist agents in Paris, were waiting for a prince to appear along with Puisaye before they would join him. The cry of the agents and of all those who were in their intrigues was that the expedition was inadequate and fallacious,* and that England had come to Bretagne to repeat the events of Toulon. They no longer said that she meant to give the crown to the Count d'Artois, since he was not there, but to the Duke of York. They wrote, desiring that no aid should be afforded to the expedition, but that it should be obliged to re-embark and to go and land near Charette. This was the highest wish of the latter. To the solicitations of Puisaye's agents he

* "The expedition to Quiberon-bay was ill-timed, and that was in a great measure owing to those unfortunate gentlemen engaged, who impatient of inactivity, and sanguine by character, urged the British ministry, or rather Mr. Wyndham, to authorize the experiment, without fully considering more than their own zeal and courage."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

replied that he had sent M. de Scépeaux to Paris, to claim the execution of one of the articles of his treaty ; that he must of course wait the return of that officer, and not expose him to the danger of being arrested by resuming arms. As for Stofflet, who was much more favourably disposed towards Puisaye, he sent word that, if the rank of lieutenant-general were conferred on him, he would march immediately and make a diversion on the rear of the republicans.

Thus everything concurred against Puisaye ; views opposite to his entertained by the royalists of the interior, jealousies among the Vendean chiefs, and lastly, a skilful adversary, having at his disposal organized forces, quite adequate to repress any royalist zeal that existed among the Bretons.

It was on the 15th of Messidor (July 3) that Puisaye had resolved to attack Fort Penhièvre. The soldiers who defended it had been without bread for three days. Threatened with an assault, cannonaded by the ships, and badly officered, they surrendered and delivered up the fort to Puisaye. But, at this very moment, Hoche, who was at Auray, caused all the advanced posts of the Chouans to be attacked, in order to re-establish the communication of Auray with Hennebon and L'Orient. He had ordered a simultaneous attack on Landevant and towards the post of Auray. Tinteniac's Chouans, vigorously assailed by the republicans, could not stand against troops of the line. Vauban, who was placed intermediately at Mendon, hastened with part of his reserve to the assistance of Tinteniac, but he found the band of the latter dispersed, and his own separated on seeing the rout. He was obliged to flee, and even to swim across two arms of the sea to rejoin the remainder of his Chouans at Mendon. On his right, Dubois-Berthelot had been repulsed : he thus saw the republicans advancing on his right and on his left, and it was likely that he would soon find himself *en flèche* between them. At the moment, the four hundred men of the line whom he had demanded would have been of great service for supporting his Chouans and bringing them back to the fight ; but d'Hervilly had just recalled them for the attack of the fort. He, nevertheless, infused some courage into his soldiers, and decided them to profit by the opportunity for falling upon the rear of the republicans, who had advanced very far in pursuit of the fugitives. He then threw himself upon their left and rushed upon a village which the republicans had just entered at the heels of the Chouans. They had not expected this brisk attack, and were obliged to fall back. Vauban then returned to his position at Mendon ; but he was left alone there. All around him had fled, and he was obliged to fall back too, but in order, and after an act of vigour which had checked the rapidity of the enemy.

The Chouans were indignant at having been exposed alone to the attack of the republicans. They complained bitterly that the four hundred men of the line had been taken from them. Puisaye found fault with d'Hervilly, who replied that he had recalled them for the attack of the fort. These reciprocal complaints did not mend matters, and each party continued to be greatly irritated against the other. Puisaye, however, was master of Fort Penhièvre. He directed all the stores sent by the English to be landed on the peninsula, where he fixed his head-quarters ; there he collected all his troops, and there he resolved to establish himself solidly. He ordered the engineers to perfect the defences of the fort, and to add advanced works to them. There he hoisted the white flag beside the English colours, in token of alliance between the kings of France and England. Lastly, it was decided that each regiment should contribute to the garrison a detachment

proportionate to its strength. D'Hervilly, who was very anxious to complete his, and to complete it with good troops, proposed to the republicans who had been taken prisoners to enter his service, and to form a third battalion in his regiment. Money, provisions, of which they had lately known the want, dislike to remain prisoners, the hope of being able to get away again to Hoche, decided them, and they were enrolled in d'Hervilly's corps.

Puisaye, who still thought of marching forward, and who had stopped to take the peninsula merely to secure a position on the coast, spoke sharply to d'Hervilly, gave him the best reasons to induce him to second his views, and even threatened to demand his removal if he refused to comply. D'Hervilly appeared for a moment to fall in with his plans. The Chouans, according to Puisaye, had need only of being supported to display bravery; the troops of the line ought to be distributed on their front and on the rear, and they to be thus placed in the middle, and, with twelve or thirteen thousand men, nearly three thousand of whom were of the line, they might run over the corps of Hoche, who had at the moment scarcely five or six thousand. D'Hervilly assented to this plan. At this instant Vauban, finding his position extremely perilous, having lost that which he at first occupied, asked for orders and succour. D'Hervilly sent him an order, worded in the most pedantic manner, in which he directed him to fall back upon Carnac, and prescribed such movements as could only have been executed by the most practised troops in Europe.

On the next day, July 5th (17th of Messidor), Puisaye left the peninsula to review the Chouans, and d'Hervilly also quitted it with his regiment, to prepare for the execution of the plan formed the preceding day, of marching forward. Puisaye found nothing but dejection, discouragement, and ill-humour, among those men who, a few days before, were full of enthusiasm. They said that there was an evident intention to expose them alone, and to sacrifice them to the troops of the line. Puisaye appeased them as well as he could, and endeavoured to revive their courage. D'Hervilly, on his part, seeing those soldiers clothed in red, whose uniforms sat so ill on them, and who carried their muskets so awkwardly, said that nothing was to be done with such troops, and marched his regiment back again. Puisaye met him at the moment, and asked if that was the way to execute the plan agreed upon. D'Hervilly replied that he never would risk himself by marching with such soldiers; that all they could do was to embark again, or to shut themselves up in the peninsula, and there wait for fresh orders from London; which, according to his notions, signified orders to land in La Vendée.

Next day, July 6th (18th of Messidor), Vauban received a secret intimation that he should be attacked along his whole line by the republicans. He found himself in a most dangerous situation. His left was supported upon a post called St. Barbe, which communicated with the peninsula; but his centre and his right extended along the Carnac, and had no other retreat than the sea. Thus, if he were briskly attacked, his right and his centre might be driven into the sea; while his left alone could retreat by St. Barbe to Quiberon. His Chouans, disheartened, were incapable of standing their ground; he had, therefore, but one course to pursue, namely, to make his centre and his right fall back upon his left, and file off by the beach to the peninsula. But they would then be shutting themselves up on this stripe of land without having the power to leave it, for the post of St. Barbe, which would be thus abandoned, was defenceless on the land side but impregnable towards the beach, which it entirely commanded. Thus this retreat would be equivalent to the determination to shut themselves up in the

peninsula of Quiberon. Vauban, therefore, applied for succour, that he might not be obliged to retire. D'Hervilly sent him a fresh order, full of the pomposity of military phraseology, enjoining him to keep his ground at Carnac to the last extremity. Puisaye immediately desired d'Hervilly to send some troops, which he promised to do.

On the following day, July 7th (19th of Messidor), at daybreak, the republicans advanced in deep columns, and attacked the ten thousand Chouans along the whole line. The latter looked towards the beach, but no regular troops were coming. They then became enraged against the emigrants, who left them without succour. Young George Cadoudal, whose men refused to fight, begged them not to disperse, but they would not listen to him. George, enraged in his turn, cried out that those rascally English and emigrants had only come to ruin Bretagne, and he wished that the sea had swallowed them up, before it had brought them to that coast. Vauban then ordered his right and his centre to fall back on his left, that they might retire by the beach to the peninsula. The Chouans rushed thither confusedly, most of them followed by their families, fleeing from the vengeance of the republicans. Women, children, old men, carrying their goods, and intermixed with several thousand Chouans in red uniform, covered that long, narrow stripe of land, washed on both sides by the sea, and already annoyed by balls and bullets. Vauban, then rallying all the chiefs around him, endeavoured to collect the bravest of the men, exhorted them not to bring ruin upon themselves by a precipitate flight, and conjured them, for their safety and their honour, to make an orderly retreat. They would, he said, make those troops of the line, who left them alone exposed to all the danger, ashamed of themselves. By degrees, he roused their courage, and prevailed upon them to face the enemy, to support his fire, and to return it. Then, owing to the firmness of the chiefs, the retreat began to be effected with regularity. The ground was disputed foot by foot. Still Vauban was not sure that he should be able to withstand a vigorous charge, and that he should not be driven into the sea; but, fortunately, the brave Commodore Warren coming up with his ships and gun-boats, poured such a fire from both sides of La Falaise upon the republicans, as prevented them for that day from pushing their advantages any further.

The fugitives hurried to the entrance of the fort, but admittance was for a moment denied them; they then fell upon the palisades, pulled them down, and rushed pell-mell into the peninsula. At that instant d'Hervilly came up with his regiment. Vauban met him, and in a fit of passion told him that he should call him to account for his conduct before a council of war. The Chouans spread themselves over the whole peninsula, in which were several villages and hamlets. All the lodgings were occupied by the regiments; quarrels took place; at last, the Chouans lay down on the ground; a half-ration of rice was given them, which they ate raw, having no means of cooking it.

Thus this expedition, which was so speedily to carry the standard of the Bourbons and the English to the banks of the Mayenne, was shut up in a peninsula two leagues in length. There were now twelve or fifteen thousand more mouths to feed, and it was impossible to furnish them either with lodging, fuel, or utensils for cooking their victuals. That peninsula, defended by a fort at its extremity, lined on either side by the English squadron, was capable of opposing an invincible resistance; but it became at once extremely weak from the want of provisions. No more had been brought than were

sufficient to feed six thousand men for three months, and there were now eighteen or twenty thousand to subsist. To get out of this position by a sudden attack on St. Barbe was scarcely possible; for the republicans, full of ardour, were intrenching that post in such a manner as to render it impregnable on the side next to the peninsula. While confusion, animosity and dejection pervaded the confused mass of Chouans and emigrants, in Hoche's camp on the contrary, men and officers laboured assiduously in throwing up the intrenchments. "I saw," says Puisaye, "officers themselves stripped to their shirts, and distinguished only by their stock, handling the spade, and hastening the operations of their soldiers."

Puisaye, however, determined upon a sortie for that very night, in order to interrupt those operations; but the darkness and the cannon of the enemy produced confusion in his ranks, and he was obliged to return. The Chouans, driven to despair, complained that they had been deceived. They regretted their old method of warfare, and desired to be taken back to their woods. They were perishing of hunger. D'Hervilly, with the intention of forcing them to enlist in the regiments, had ordered that only a half-ration should be distributed among the irregular troops. They revolted. Puisaye, without whose knowledge this order had been issued, revoked it, and a whole ration was allowed.

Puisaye was distinguished not only by superior intelligence but by invincible perseverance: he was nevertheless discouraged. He conceived the idea of picking out the best of the Chouans, and landing them in two divisions for the purpose of scouring the country in the rear of Hoche, raising the chiefs of whom he had yet no tidings, and directing them *en masse* upon the camp of St. Barbe, so as to take it in rear, while the troops in the peninsula should attack it in front. He should thus relieve himself from six or eight thousand mouths, rekindle the nearly extinguished zeal of the Breton chiefs, and prepare an attack on the rear of the camp of St. Barbe. Having formed this plan, he selected the best of the Chouans, gave four thousand of them to Tinteniac, with three intrepid chiefs, George, Mercier, and d'Allègre, and three thousand to Messrs Jean-Jean and Lantivy. Tinteniac was to be put on shore at Sarceau, near the mouth of the Vilaine, and Jean-Jean and Lantivy near Quimper. The two divisions, after making a considerable circuit, were to form a junction at Baud, on the 14th of July (26th of Messidor), and to march on the morning of the 16th upon the rear of the camp of St. Barbe. At the moment when they were about to start, the chiefs of the Chouans went to Puisaye, and besought their old leader to accompany them, saying that these English traitors would be his ruin. It was not possible that Puisaye could comply. They set out, and were landed without accident. Puisaye immediately wrote to London that everything might be repaired, but that provisions, ammunition, troops, and the French prince must be sent to him without delay.

During these occurrences in the peninsula, Hoche had already collected eight or ten thousand men at St. Barbe. Aubert Dubayet* had sent him

* "Aubert Dubayet, at the beginning of the Revolution was hostile to its principles, but the patriots soon brought him over by flattering his ambition and his philosophical ideas. In 1791 he was deputed to the legislature, and in 1793 served as general of brigade at the defence of Mayence. Being afterwards sent into the Western departments, he seconded Hoche in the pacification of La Vendée, and with the Chouans. In 1795 he was appointed to the war-ministry, and in the following year was appointed ambassador to the Ottoman Porte. In 1797 he was attacked with a malignant fever, of which he died. Aubert Dubayet was, at the end of his career, a zealous republican, and equally ardent in the admiration of his own talents. He delighted to talk of himself and his works."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

from the coast of Cherbourg troops to guard the north of Bretagne; Canclaux had despatched from Nantes a considerable reinforcement under the command of General Lemoine. The representatives had put a stop to all the intrigues tending to deliver up L'Orient and St. Malo. The affairs of the republic were therefore improving every day. Meanwhile, Lemaître and Brothier were, by their intrigues, still contributing with all their might, to thwart the expedition. They had immediately sent letters to Bretagne: the expedition, according to them, had a dangerous object, since the French prince was not there, and no one ought to second it. Agents had, in consequence, spread themselves over the country, and given orders, in the name of the King, not to attempt any movement; and they had desired Charette to persist in his inaction. Agreeably to their system of profiting by the succour of England and then deceiving her, they had devised a plan on the very spot. Mixed up in the intrigue for the delivery of St. Malo to Puisaye, they were for summoning thither the emigrant skeleton regiments cruising on board the English fleet, and taking possession of the port in the name of Louis XVIII., while Puisaye, they said, was perhaps acting at Quiberon for the Duke of York. The intrigue of St. Malo having failed, they fell back upon St. Brieuc, kept off that coast the squadron with the emigrants on board, and immediately sent emissaries to Tinteniace and Lantivy, whom they knew to have landed, to desire them to march to St. Brieuc. Their aim was to form a counter-expedition in the north of Bretagne, more sure, according to them, than that of Puisaye in the south.

Tinteniace had landed safely, and, after taking several republican posts, had arrived at Elven. There he found the injunction, issued in the King's name, to proceed to Coëtlogon, where he should receive fresh orders. He objected to no purpose the commission of Puisaye, and the necessity of not frustrating his plan by going to a different place from that to which he had been ordered. At length, however, he yielded, hoping that by means of a forced march he might yet be in the rear of St. Barbe on the 16th. Jean-Jean and Lantivy, who likewise landed without accident, prepared to march towards Baud, when they found orders addressed to them to proceed to St. Brieuc.

Meanwhile Hoche, alarmed about his rear, was obliged to send off fresh detachments to stop the bands, of whose march he was apprized, but he left in St. Barbe a force sufficient to resist any sudden attack. He was much annoyed by the English gun-boats, which fired upon his troops the moment they appeared on the beach, and he reckoned upon nothing but famine for reducing the emigrants.

Puisaye, on his part, made preparations for the 16th (28th of Messidor). On the 15th, a new naval division arrived in the bay. It was that which had been to the mouth of the Elbe to bring away the emigrant regiments that had been taken into the pay of England and were known by the name of regiments with the black cockade. It brought the legions of Salm, Damas, Béon, and Périgord, reduced altogether to eleven hundred men by the losses of the campaign, and commanded by a distinguished officer, M. de Sombreuil.* The squadron brought also fresh supplies of provisions and ammu-

* "M. de Sombreuil distinguished himself in the beginning of the Revolution by the boldness with which he forced his friend, the young Polignac, out of the hands of the seditious populace. In 1792 he served in the Prussian army, and rendered himself so conspicuous by his courage, that the King gave him the order of military merit. In 1793 he covered the retreat of the Austrian army, and the year after, at the head of a body of French emigrants protected the retreat of the Batavian forces. Being chosen in 1795, by the English govern-

dition. It intimated that three thousand English were coming under Lord Graham, and announced the speedy arrival of Count d'Artois, with a still more considerable force. A letter from the English ministry informed Puisaye that the skeletons were detained on the north coast by the royalist agents in the interior, who intended, they said, to deliver up a port to them. Another despatch, which arrived at the same time, put an end to the dispute which had arisen between d'Hervilly and Puisaye, gave to the latter the absolute command of the expedition, and conferred on him moreover the rank of lieutenant-general in the service of England.

Puisaye, now free to command, made all requisite preparations for the following day. He would fain have deferred the projected attack, in order to give Sombreuil's division time to land; but, all the arrangements having been made for the 16th, and that being the day appointed for Tinteniach, he could not postpone it. On the evening of the 15th he ordered Vauban to land at Carnac with twelve hundred Chouans, for the purpose of making a diversion on the extremity of the camp of St. Barbe, and joining the Chouans, who were to attack it in the rear. The boats were prepared very late, and Vauban could not embark before midnight. He had orders to fire a fusée if he succeeded in landing, and a second if he failed to keep his ground on the shore.

On the 16th of July (28 Messidor), at daybreak, Puisaye left the peninsula with all the troops that he had. He marched in columns. The brave Loyal Emigrant regiment was at the head, with Rothalier's artillery; on the right, advanced the Royal Marine and Drusenay's regiments, with six hundred Chouans commanded by the Duke de Levis. D'Hervilly's regiment, and a thousand Chouans under the Chevalier de St. Pierre, occupied the left. These corps formed altogether nearly four thousand men. While they were advancing upon the beach, they perceived a first fusée fired by the Count de Vauban. They saw no second, and concluded that Vauban had succeeded. They continued their march, and soon heard distant sounds, like those of musketry. "It is Tinteniach!" exclaimed Puisaye: "forward!" A charge was then sounded, and they marched upon the intrenchments of the republicans. Hoche's advanced guard, commanded by Humbert, was placed before the heights of St. Barbe. On the approach of the enemy, it fell back and returned within the lines. The assailants advanced full of joy. All at once, a corps of cavalry which had remained deployed, made a movement and unmasked formidable batteries. The emigrants were received with a fire of musketry and artillery: grape, balls, and shells, showered upon them. On the right, the Royal Marine and Drusenay's regiments lost whole ranks without flinching; the Duke de Levis was severely wounded at the head of his Chouans: on the left d'Hervilly's regiment advanced gallantly amidst the fire. Meanwhile the report of musketry, which the assailants thought they had heard on the rear and on the flanks, had ceased. Neither Tinteniach nor Vauban had therefore attacked, and there was no hope of storming the camp. At this moment, the republican army, infantry and cavalry, sallied from its intrenchments; Puisaye, seeing nothing before him but inevitable

ment to conduct a reinforcement to the troops disembarked at Quiberon, he landed there a few days before Hoche attacked fort St. Penhièvre. The greatest part of the emigrants, however, whom he commanded, having laid down their arms, he was taken prisoner and condemned to be shot. But no French officer could be found to compose the council of war; it was necessary therefore to take Dutchmen, and it was with difficulty that the soldiers could be persuaded to fire on him. Sombreuil refused to have his eyes bound, and gave the signal of death himself."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

destruction, sent word to d'Hervilly to order the right to retreat, while he would himself cause the same to be done on the left. At that very moment, d'Hervilly, who braved the fire with the greatest courage, received a ball in the middle of the chest. He directed an aide-de-camp to carry the order for retreat. The aide-de-camp was killed by a cannon-ball. D'Hervilly's regiment and the thousand Chouans under the Chevalier de St. Pierre, having received no orders, continued to advance amidst this tremendous fire. While a retreat was sounded on the left, a charge was sounded on the right. The confusion and carnage were horrible. The republican cavalry then fell upon the emigrant army, and drove it back in disorder to the beach. Rothalier's cannon, sticking in the sand, were taken. After performing prodigies of valour, the whole army fled towards Fort Penthievre; the republicans closely pursued, and were on the point of entering the fort with it, but an unexpected succour saved it from the further pursuit of the conquerors: Vauban, who was supposed to be at Carnac, was at the extremity of the beach with his Chouans, and Commodore Warren was with him. Both of them, on board gunboats, kept up such a brisk fire upon the beach as to stop the republicans, and once more save the unfortunate army of Quiberon.

Thus Tinteniac had not made his appearance; Vauban, having landed too late, had not been able to surprise the republicans, had been ill-seconded by his Chouans, who dipped their muskets in water that they might not fight, and had fallen back near to the fort; his second fusée, kindled in broad daylight, had not been perceived, and thus it was that Puisaye, thwarted in all his combinations, had experienced this disastrous defeat. All the regiments had sustained frightful losses. That of Royal Marine alone had lost fifty-three officers out of seventy-two; and the others had suffered in proportion.

It must be confessed that Puisaye had been too precipitate in attacking the camp. Four thousand men, going to attack ten thousand solidly intrenched, ought to have ascertained, in the most positive manner, that all the attacks planned on the rear and flanks were ready to be effected. It was not sufficient to have appointed a rendezvous for corps which had so many obstacles to overcome, in order to conclude that they would have arrived at the point and the hour specified: some signal, some means or other for ensuring the execution of the plan, should have been agreed upon. In this particular, Puisaye, though deceived by the sound of distant musketry, had not acted with sufficient precaution. At any rate, he had risked his own person, and replied unanswerably to those who pretended to suspect his courage because they could not deny his abilities.

It is easy to comprehend why Tinteniac had not kept the appointment. He had found an order at Elven to proceed to Coëtlogon; he had complied with that strange order, in hopes of regaining the lost time by a forced march. At Coëtlogon he had found women charged to deliver to him an order to march upon St. Brieuc. This came from the agents opposed to Puisaye, who, using the name of the king, in whose name they always spoke, wished to make the corps detached by Puisaye concur in the counter-expedition which they meditated upon St. Malo or St. Brieuc. While Tinteniac was conferring with his officers upon this order, the castle of Coëtlogon was attacked by the detachments which Hoche had sent in pursuit of him. He hastened up, and fell down dead, struck by a ball in the forehead. His successor in the command consented to march upon St. Brieuc. Messrs. de Lantivy and Jean-Jean, who had landed near Quimper, had found similar orders: the chiefs were divided; and, seeing this conflict of orders and plans their soldiers, already discontented, had dispersed. Thus none of the corps

sent by Puisaye to make a diversion had arrived at the rendezvous. The Paris agency, with its projects, sometimes for acting in Vendée, and by means of Spain, at others for provoking a separate landing in the Côtes-du-Nord, had thus deprived Puisaye of the skeletons which it detained on the north coast, of the two detachments which it had kept from proceeding to Baud on the 14th, and lastly of the aid of all the chiefs, to whom it had given orders not to attempt any movement.

Shut up in Quiberon, Puisaye had therefore no hope of leaving it and marching forward: all that he could do was to re-embark before he was forced to do so by famine, and to attempt a more propitious descent on some other part of the coast, namely in Vendée. Most of the emigrants desired nothing better: the name of Charette led them to expect to find in Vendée a great general at the head of a fine army. They were delighted, moreover, to see the counter-revolution effected by any one rather than by Puisaye.

Meanwhile, Hoche was examining this peninsula, and seeking how to penetrate into it. At the entrance it was defended by Fort Penthievre, and on both sides by the English squadron. To land there in boats was impossible; to take the fort by means of a regular siege was equally impossible, for it could be reached only by the beach, which was incessantly swept by the fire of the gun-boats. The republicans in fact, could not make a reconnaissance there but amidst showers of grape-shot. Nothing but a nocturnal surprise or famine could give the peninsula to Hoche. One circumstance induced him to attempt a surprise, dangerous as it was. The prisoners, who had been enrolled against their will in the emigrant regiments, were to be kept there at most by success; but their most urgent interest, in default of patriotism, impelled them to pass over to the side of a victorious enemy, who would treat them as deserters, if he were to take them in arms. They repaired during the night to Hoche's camp in great numbers, saying that they had enlisted merely to get out of prison or to escape being sent thither; and they pointed out to him a way of penetrating into the peninsula. On the left of Fort Penthievre, there was a rock; by wading into the water up to the breast, a man might walk round and then he would find a path which led to the summit of the fort. The deserters declared, on behalf of their comrades composing the garrison, that they would assist in throwing open the gates.

In spite of the danger of such an attempt, Hoche did not hesitate. He formed his plan upon the information which he had obtained, and resolved to make himself master of the peninsula and thus capture the whole expedition, before it had time to re-embark. The night of the 20th of July (2d of Thermidor) was dark: Puisaye and Vauban had ordered patrols, to secure themselves against a nocturnal attack. "In such a night," said they to the officers, "make the enemy's sentinels fire their muskets at you." Everything appeared quiet, and they retired to bed in full security.

The preparations were made in the republican camp. About midnight, Hoche broke up with his army. The sky was overcast with clouds; an extremely violent wind raised the waves, and drowned with their roar the noise of arms and of soldiers. Hoche formed his troops into columns on the beach. He then gave three hundred grenadiers to Adjutant-general Menage, a young republican of heroic courage. He ordered him to file off on his right, to wade into the water with his grenadiers, to turn the rock on which the walls were built, to ascend by the path, and to endeavour to penetrate into the fort. These dispositions made, the grenadiers marched off in profound silence; patrols, to whom had been given the red uniforms taken

from the slain in the action of the 16th, and having the pass-word, deceived the advanced sentinels. They approached without being discovered. Menage entered the water with his three hundred grenadiers, the wind drowning the noise which they made in wading through it. Some fell and rose again, others were engulfed in the abyss. Thus, following their intrepid chief from rock to rock, they reached the land, and ascended by the path that led to the fort. Hoche had meanwhile arrived under the walls with his columns. All at once the sentinels recognised one of the false patrols; they perceived amidst the darkness a tall moving figure; they instantly fired; the alarm was given. The Toulonese gunners ran to their pieces, and poured a shower of grape on Hoche's troops; they were thrown into confusion, and on the point of running away. But at this moment Menage arrived; the soldiers, accomplices of the assailants, ran to the battlements, held the butt-ends of their muskets to the republicans and helped them up. They then rushed together upon the rest of the garrison, slaughtered all who resisted, and hoisted the tricoloured flag. Hoche, notwithstanding the disorder into which the enemy's batteries had thrown his columns, did not flinch for a moment. He ran to every officer, brought him back to his post, made the men return to their ranks, and rallied his army under this tremendous fire. It began to be not quite so dark. He perceived the republican flag flying at the top of the fort. "What!" said he to his men, "would you run away now that your comrades have hoisted their flag on the enemy's walls!" He led them on to the advanced works, where part of the Chouans were encamped: they rushed upon the intrenchments, penetrated into them everywhere, and at length made themselves masters of the fort.

At this moment Vauban and Puisaye, roused by the firing, had hurried to the scene of the disaster; but it was too late. They found the Chouans running away pell-mell, the officers forsaken by their men, and the remnant of the garrison continuing faithful. Hoche did not stop at the taking of the fort: he rallied part of his columns, and pushed on into the peninsula, before the army of the invaders could re-embark. Puisaye, Vauban, all the officers, retired towards the interior where were still left d'Herville's regiment, the wrecks of Drusenay's, the Royal Marine, and the Loyal Emigrant regiments, and Sombreuil's legion, landed two days before, and eleven hundred strong. By taking a good position, and such positions there were in the peninsula, and occupying it with the three thousand regular troops which they still had, they might give the squadron time to collect the unfortunate emigrants. The fire of the gun-boats would have protected the embarkation: but a panic had seized men's minds: the Chouans threw themselves into the sea with their families, to get on board some fishing-boats which lay near the shore, and to put off in them to the squadron, which the rough weather kept at a considerable distance. The troops, scattered in the peninsula, ran hither and thither, not knowing where to rally. D'Hervilly, capable of defending a position with vigour, and acquainted with the localities, was mortally wounded. Sombreuil, who had succeeded him, was a stranger to the ground, knew not where to support himself or whither to retire, and, though brave, appeared on this occasion to have lost the necessary presence of mind. Puisaye, on coming to the place where Sombreuil was, pointed out a position to him. Sombreuil inquired if he had sent word to the squadron to bear up; Puisaye replied that he had sent a skilful and devoted pilot; but the weather was rough, and the pilot did not reach soon enough for the unfortunate men who had no other prospect but to be driven into the sea. The republican columns were approaching. Sombreuil again put the question, "Is the

squadron informed?" Puisaye then offered to fly on board himself to hasten the approach of the commodore, a commission which he ought to have given to some other person, as he should have been the last to withdraw from the danger. One reason decided him. He was anxious to carry away his correspondence, which would have compromised all Bretagne, if it had fallen into the hands of the republicans. It was no doubt as urgent to save that as to save the army itself; but he might have sent it on board without going in person. He set off, however, and arrived on board the Commodore at the same time as the pilot whom he had despatched. The distance, the darkness, the bad weather, had prevented the disaster from being observed on board the squadron. The brave Admiral Warren, who during the expedition had seconded the emigrants with all his means, made all sail, and at length arrived with his ships within cannon-shot, at the moment when Hoche, at the head of seven hundred grenadiers, was closely pressing Sombreuil's legion, and the latter was on the point of giving way. What a spectacle did this unhappy coast at that moment present! The roughness of the sea scarcely permitted boats to approach the shore; a multitude of Chouans and fugitive soldiers plunged into the water to their necks to meet them, and drowned themselves in their efforts to get at them the sooner: a thousand unfortunate emigrants, placed between the sea and the bayonets of the republicans, were reduced to the necessity of throwing themselves either in the one or upon the other, and suffered as much from the fire of the English squadron as the republicans themselves. Some boats had arrived, but at a different point. On this side there was but a brig, which kept up a tremendous fire, and which had checked for a moment the advance of the republicans. Some of the grenadiers cried out, it is said, to the emigrants, "Surrender; no harm shall be done you." This expression was circulated from rank to rank. Sombreuil would have approached to parley with General Humbert,* but the fire prevented him from advancing. An emigrant officer immediately swam off to desire the firing to cease. Hoche could not suffer a capitulation: he was too well aware of the laws against emigrants to venture to make any engagement, and he was incapable of promising what he was unable to perform. He declared, in a letter published throughout all Europe, that he heard none of the promises attributed to General Humbert, and that he would not have suffered them. Some of his men might have cried, "Surrender!" but he offered nothing, promised nothing. He advanced, and the emigrants having no other resource than to submit to be slaughtered, hoped that they might perhaps be treated like the Vendéans. They threw down their arms. No capitulation whatever, not even a verbal one, took place with Hoche. Vauban, who was present, admitted that no convention was made, and he even advised Sombreuil not to surrender on the vague hope inspired by the cries of a few private soldiers.

Many of the emigrants pierced themselves with their swords; others threw themselves into the water to get to the boats. Commodore Warren made all the efforts in his power to overcome the obstacles presented by the sea, for the purpose of saving as many as possible of those unfortunate men. Great numbers of them, on seeing the boats approaching, had

* "Humbert was a French general, who when he served in the army of the West, went alone to an interview requested by the chiefs of the Chouans, to bring on a negotiation. In 1798 he was charged with the command of the troops destined to invade Ireland, where he was beaten, and taken prisoner, but soon afterwards exchanged. In 1802 he joined the expedition to St. Domingo, and in the following year returned to France."—*Biographie Moderne*. E

plunged into the water up to the neck : the enemy on the shore fired at their heads. Sometimes they grappled boats which were already full, and those in them fearing lest they should be sunk, cut off their hands with their swords.

But let us quit these scenes of horror, whose dreadful misfortunes punished great faults. More than one cause had contributed to prevent the success of this expedition. Too much reliance was placed on Bretagne. A people really disposed to insurrection breaks out like the Vendéans in 1793, seeks out chiefs, implores them, forces them to put themselves at its head, but does not wait to be organized, does not endure two years of oppression, and rise when that oppression is over. Were its dispositions ever so good, a superintendent such as Hoche would prevent them from manifesting themselves. Puisaye was, therefore, under the influence of strong illusion. Great use might, nevertheless, have been made of the people of Bretagne, and many men disposed to fight might have been found among them, had a considerable expedition advanced to Rennes, and driven before it the army which kept the country in subjection. To this end, it would have been necessary that the chiefs of the insurgents should have acted in unison with Puisaye, and Puisaye with the Paris agents, that the most contrary instructions should not have been sent to the Chouan chiefs ; that some should not have received orders not to stir, and that others should not have been despatched in opposite directions to those which Puisaye had pointed out ; that the emigrants should have understood better the nature of the war which they were about to wage ; that they should have felt less contempt for the peasants who devoted themselves to their cause ; that the English should have harboured less distrust of Puisaye, and not have associated another leader with him ; that they should have given him at once all the means which they destined for him, and attempted this expedition with their whole united force ; there ought, above all, to have been a great prince at the head of this expedition—nay, it was not requisite that he should be great, but he ought to have been the first to set foot on the shore. At sight of him all obstacles would have vanished. That division of the Vendean chiefs among themselves, between the Vendean chiefs, and the Breton chief, between the Breton chief and the Paris agents, between the Chouans and the emigrants, between Spain and England—that division of all the elements of the enterprise would instantly have ceased. At sight of the prince, all the enthusiasm of the country would have been kindled. Everybody would have obeyed his orders and concurred in the attempt. Hoche might have been enveloped, and, in spite of his talents and his energy, he would have been obliged to give way to an influence all-powerful in those parts. There would, it is true, still have been behind him those valiant armies which had conquered Europe ; but Austria might have occupied them on the Rhine, and prevented them from making great detachments ; the government had no longer the vigour of the old committee, and the Revolution would have been in great jeopardy. Dispossessed twenty years earlier, its benefits would not have had time to consolidate themselves ; unparalleled efforts, splendid victories, torrents of blood, would all have proved fruitless to France, or, at any rate, if it had not been given to a handful of fugitives to subject a brave nation to their yoke, they would have endangered its regeneration, and, as for themselves, they would not have ruined their cause without defending it, and they would have honoured their pretensions by their energy.

All the blame was thrown upon Puisaye and England by the restless spirits who composed the royalist party. Puisaye was, according to them,

a traitor, who had sold himself to Pitt, with the intention of renewing the scenes of Toulon. It was nevertheless certain that Puisaye had done all that lay in his power. It was absurd to suppose that England did not wish to succeed; her very precautions in regard to Puisaye, the selection of d'Hervilly for the purpose of preventing the emigrant corps from being too much compromised, and lastly, the zeal with which Commodore Warren strove to save the unfortunate survivors in the peninsula, prove that, notwithstanding her selfish policy, she had not meditated the hideous and base crime which is attributed to her. Let justice be done to all, even to the implacable enemies of our Revolution and of our country.

Commodore Warren, having put the miserable wreck of the expedition on shore in the isle of Houat, waited there for fresh orders from London, and the arrival of Count d'Artois, who was on board the *Lord Moira*, to know what he was to do. Despair reigned in that little island. The emigrants and the Chouans, in the utmost distress, and attacked by a contagious disease, launched out into mutual recriminations, and bitterly accused Puisaye. Still deeper despair prevailed at Aurai and at Vannes, to which places the thousand emigrants taken in arms had been conveyed. Hoche, after conquering them, had hastened away from the painful sight and had gone in pursuit of Tinténac's band, which was called the Red Army. The fate of the prisoners no longer concerned him: what could he do for them! The laws existed: he could not annul them. He referred the matter to the committee of public welfare and to Tallien. Tallien set out immediately, and arrived in Paris on the day preceding the anniversary of the 9th of Thermidor. On the morrow was to be held, according to the new fashion adopted, in the very bosom of the Assembly, a festival in commemoration of the fall of Robespierre. All the representatives attended in their appropriate costume; a numerous band played patriotic tunes; vocal performers sang hymns of Chenier's composition. Courtois read a report of the occurrences of the 9th of Thermidor. Tallien then read the report of the affair at Quiberon: his intention of procuring for himself a double triumph was apparent; the Assembly, nevertheless, applauded his services of that day twelvemonth and those which he had just rendered. His presence had been of benefit to Hoche. On the same day there was an entertainment at Tallien's, at which the principal Girondins met the Thermidorians. Louvet and Lanjuinais were present. Lanjuinais gave for a toast, "The 9th of Thermidor, and the courageous deputies who overthrew tyranny." Tallien gave, for a second, "The seventy-three, the twenty-two, the deputies, victims of terror." Louvet added these words, "And their close union with the men of the 9th of Thermidor."

They had great need, in fact, to unite and to join their efforts in opposing the adversaries of all kinds who had risen against the republic. Great was their joy, especially when they considered what danger they might have incurred if the expedition in the West could have acted in concert with that prepared in the East by the Prince of Condé.

It was necessary to decide upon the fate of the prisoners. Many solicitations were addressed to the committees; but, in the present situation, to save them was impossible. The republicans asserted that the government intended to recall the emigrants, to restore their property to them, and consequently to restore royalty; the royalists, always presumptuous, maintained the same thing: they said that their friends governed, and the more they hoped the bolder they grew. To show the least indulgence on this occasion would

have been verifying the apprehensions of the one and the silly hopes of the others. It would have been driving the republicans to despair, and encouraging the royalists to the most daring attempts. The committee of public welfare ordered the laws to be carried into effect,* and assuredly there were now no Mountaineers in its bosom; but it felt the impossibility of doing otherwise. A commission, which met at Vannes, was directed to distinguish the prisoners enrolled against their will from the emigrants. The latter were shot. The soldiers allowed as many of them to escape as they could. Many brave men perished; but they had no right to complain of their fate, after they had carried war into their native land and been taken in arms. Had the republic been less threatened by foes of all sorts, and especially by their own accomplices, it might have pardoned them. Under existing circumstances, it could not do so. M. de Sombreuil, though a brave officer, gave way at the moment of death to an impulse unworthy of his courage. He wrote a letter to Commodore Warren, in which he accused Puisaye with all the vehemence of despair. He begged Hoche to transmit it to the Commodore. Though it contained a false assertion, Hoche, complying with the request of a dying man, sent it to the commodore; but replied in a letter contradicting Sombreuil's assertion. "I was," said he, "at the head of Humbert's seven hundred grenadiers, and I declare that no capitulation was made." All his contemporaries who were acquainted with the character of the young general deemed him incapable of a lie. Eyewitnesses, moreover, confirmed his assertion. Sombreuil's letter was extremely injurious to the emigrants and to Puisaye, and it was considered so far from honourable to the memory of the writer that it was asserted to have been forged by the republicans—an assertion every way worthy of the pitiful stories invented by the emigrants.

Whilst the royalist party was suffering so severe a check at Quiberon, another was preparing for it in Spain. Moncey had once more entered Biscay, taken Bilboa and Vittoria, and was closely pressing Pampeluna. The favourite who governed the court, after having rejected an overture for peace, which the French government had made at the commencement of the campaign, but of which he had not been the channel, decided on negotiating, and sent the Chevalier d'Yriarte to Basle. Peace was signed at Basle with Barthelemy, the envoy of the republic, on the 24th of Messidor (July 12), at the very moment of the disasters of Quiberon. The conditions were, the restitution of all the conquests which France had made from Spain, and as an equivalent the cession of the Spanish part of St. Domingo. France made great concessions for a mere illusory advantage; for St. Domingo was no longer under the sway of any power; but these concessions were dictated by the wisest policy. France could not desire anything beyond the Pyrenees; she had no interest in weakening Spain; she ought, on the contrary, had it been possible, to have restored to that power the strength which she had lost in a conflict so detrimental to the interests of both nations.

* It was chiefly at Tallien's instigation that the French government came to this severe determination. In his speech to the Convention, on his return from Quiberon, he addressed the members in the following exciting terms:—"The emigrants, that vile assemblage of ruffians sustained by Pitt, those execrable authors of all our disasters, have been driven into the waves by the brave soldiers of the republic: but the waves have thrown them back upon the sword of the law. In vain have they sent forward some flags of truce to obtain conditions; what legal bond can exist between us and rebels, if it be not that of vengeance and death?"

That peace was hailed with the greatest joy by all who wished well to France and the republic. There was one more power detached from the coalition, a Bourbon who acknowledged the republic; and there were two disposable armies to send to the Alps, to the West, and upon the Rhine. The royalists were thunderstruck. The Paris agents, in particular, were apprehensive lest their intrigues should be divulged; they dreaded a communication of the letters which they had sent to Spain. England would there have seen all that they said of her; and though that power was loudly decried for the affair of Quiberon, yet she was now the only one that had money to give away: it was necessary therefore to keep on good terms with her, with the intention of cheating her, if it were possible.*

Another not less important success was that gained by the armies of Jourdan and Pichegru. After many delays, the passage of the Rhine was at length decided upon. The French and Austrian armies faced one another on the two banks of the river, from Basle to Düsseldorf. The defensive position of the Austrians upon the Rhine was an excellent one. The fortresses of Düsseldorf and Ehrenbreitstein covered their right; Mayence, Mannheim, and Philipsburg, covered their centre and their left: the Neckar and the Mayn, rising not far from the Danube and running in nearly a parallel direction towards the Rhine, formed two important lines of communication with the hereditary states, brought abundance of supplies, and covered the two flanks of the army that designed to act concentrically towards Mayence. The plan to be pursued in this field of battle was the same for the Austrians and the French: both—in the opinion of a great captain and a celebrated critic—ought to have endeavoured to act concentrically between the Mayn and the Neckar. The French armies of Jourdan and Pichegru ought to have attempted to pass the Rhine towards Mayence, not far from one another, to join in the valley of the Mayn, to separate Clairfayt from Wurmsers; and to ascend between the Neckar and the Mayn, striving to beat in turn the two Austrian generals. In like manner, the two Austrian generals ought to have endeavoured to concentrate themselves, in order to debouch by Mayence upon the left bank, and to fall upon Jourdan or Pichegru. If they had been anticipated, if the Rhine had been passed at one point, they ought to have concentrated themselves between the Neckar and the Mayn, to have prevented the two French armies from uniting, and to have seized some favourable moment to fall upon one or the other. The Austrian generals had all the advantage for taking the initiative, for they were in possession of Mayence, and could debouch on the left bank whenever they pleased.

The French took the initiative. After many delays, the Dutch craft having at length worked up as high as Düsseldorf, Jourdan prepared to cross the Rhine. On the 20th of Fructidor (September 6), he passed it at Eichelcamp, Düsseldorf, and Neuwied, by a very bold manœuvre; he advanced by the road from Düsseldorf to Frankfort, between the line of Prussian neutrality and the Rhine, and arrived on the Lahn on the fourth complementary day (September 20). At the same moment, Pichegru had orders to attempt the passage on the Upper Rhine, and to summon Mannheim. That flourishing city, threatened with a bombardment, surrendered, contrary to all expectation, on the fourth complementary day (September 20). From that moment all the advantages would be on the side of the French. It would behove Pichegru, based upon Mannheim, to collect his whole army there

* The 5th volume of Puisaye contains evidence to this effect

and to join that of Jourdan in the valley of the Mayn. They would then be able to separate the two Austrian generals, and to act concentrically between the Mayn and the Neckar. It was of especial importance to draw Jourdan from his position between the line of neutrality and the Rhine, for as his army had not the means of transport necessary for conveying its provisions along with it, and could not treat the country like that of an enemy, it was likely soon to be in want of necessaries if he did not march forward.

Thus at this moment everything was propitious to the republic. Peace with Spain, the destruction of the expedition sent by England to the coast of Bretagne, the passage of the Rhine, the offensive which had been carried on successfully in Germany—all these advantages she had at once. It was for her generals and her government to profit by so many fortunate events.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

INTRIGUES OF THE ROYALIST PARTY IN THE SECTIONS—DIRECTORIAL CONSTITUTION AND DECREES OF THE THIRD AND FIFTEENTH OF FRUCTIDOR—REVOLT OF THE SECTIONS OF PARIS AGAINST THOSE DECREES—OCCURRENCES OF THE THIRTEENTH OF VENDEMAIRE—DISSOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

THE royalist party, beaten on the frontiers, and deserted by the court of Spain, on which it placed most reliance, was now obliged to confine itself to intrigues in the interior; and it must be confessed that, at this moment, Paris offered a wide field for such intrigues. The work of the constitution was advancing; the time when the Convention was to resign its powers, when France should meet to elect fresh representatives, when a new Assembly should succeed that which had so long reigned, was more favourable than any other for counter-revolutionary manœuvres.

The most vehement passions were in agitation in the sections of Paris. The members of them were not royalists, but they served the cause of royalty without being aware of it. They had made a point of opposing the Terrorists; they had animated themselves by the conflict; they wished to persecute also; and they were exasperated against the Convention, which would not suffer this persecution to be carried too far. They were always ready to remember that Terror had sprung from its bosom; they demanded of it a constitution and laws, and the end of the long dictatorship which it had exercised. Most of those who demanded all this thought nothing whatever of the Bourbons. They belonged to the wealthy *tiers-état* of 1789; they were merchants, shopkeepers, landowners, advocates, writers, who wished at length for the establishment of the laws and the enjoyment of their rights; they were young men, sincerely republican, but blinded by their zeal against the revolutionary system; they were many of them ambitious men, news-

paper-writers, or speakers in the sections, who, to gain a place for themselves, desired that the Convention should retire before them. Behind this mass the royalists concealed themselves. Among these were some emigrants, some returned priests, some creatures of the old court, who had lost their situations, and many indifferent persons and poltroons, who dreaded a stormy liberty. These last did not frequent the sections; but the former attended them diligently, and employed all possible means for exciting agitation among them. The instructions given by the royalist agents to their tools was to adopt the language of the sectionaries, to make the same demands, to insist like them on the punishment of the Terrorists, the completion of the constitution, the trial of the Mountaineer deputies, but to demand all these things with greater violence, so as to compromise the sections with the Convention, and to provoke new commotions, for every commotion was a chance for them, and served at least to excite disgust of so tumultuous a republic.

Fortunately, such proceedings were not practicable except in Paris, for that is always the most agitated city in France. It is there that the public interests are discussed with most warmth, that people are fond of pretending to influence the government, and that opposition always commences. With the exception of Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon, where men were slaughtering one another, the rest of France took infinitely less share in these political agitations than the sections of Paris. To all that they said, or caused to be said, in the sections, the intriguers in the service of royalism added pamphlets and articles in newspapers.* They there lied, according to their custom, gave themselves an importance which they had not, and sent abroad letters stating that they had seduced the principal heads of the government. It was by these lies that they procured money, and that they had recently obtained some thousand pounds sterling from England. It is nevertheless certain that, if they had not gained either Tallien or Hoche, as they alleged, they had at least gained some members of the Convention, perhaps two or three, for instance, Rovère and Saladin, two fiery revolutionists, who had become violent reactors. It is likewise believed that they had touched, by more delicate means, some of those deputies holding middle opinions, who had some leaning towards a representative monarchy, that is, towards a Bourbon professedly bound by laws after the English fashion. To Pichegru had been offered a mansion, money, and cannon: to some legislators or members of the committees, it may have been said, "France is too extensive to be a republic; she would be much happier with a king, responsible ministers, heredi-

* "Will the Convention," said one of the most eloquent of these royalist intriguers, "never be satisfied? Is a reign of three years, fraught with more crimes than the whole annals of twenty other nations, not sufficient for those who rose into power under the auspices of the 10th of August, and the 2d of September? Is that power fit to repose under the shadow of the laws which has only lived in tempests? The Convention hitherto has done nothing but destroy; shall we now intrust it with the work of a Constitution? What reliance can be placed on the monstrous coalition between the proscribers and the proscribed? Irreconcilable enemies to each other, they have only entered into this semblance of alliance in order to resist those who hate them—that is, every man in France. Can two-thirds of the Convention be found who are not stained with blood? Shall we admit a majority of regicides into the new Assembly, intrust our liberty to cowards, our fortunes to the authors of so many acts of rapine, our lives to murderers? No; let us leave to the Convention its sins, and to our soldiers their triumphs, and the world will speedily do justice to both."—*Iacretelle*. E.

tary peers, and deputies." This idea, were it even not suggested, could scarcely fail to occur to more than one person, especially to those who were qualified to become deputies or hereditary peers. Messrs. Lanjuinais and Boissy-d'Anglas, Henri-Larivière, and Lesage of Eure and Loire, were then considered as secret royalists.

We thus see that the means of the agents were not very powerful; but they were sufficient to disturb the public tranquillity, to unsettle minds, and especially to recall to the memory of the French those Bourbons, the only enemies whom the republic still had, and whom its arms had not been able to conquer, because recollections are not to be destroyed with bayonets.

Among the seventy-three there was more than one monarchist; but in general they were republicans. The Girondins were all so, or nearly all. The counter-revolutionary journals, nevertheless, praised them with great warmth, and had thus succeeded in rendering them suspicious to the Thermidorians. To defend themselves from these praises, the seventy-three and the twenty-two protested their attachment to the republic; for at that time nobody durst speak coldly of the republic. What a frightful contradiction would it have been, in fact, if people had not loved it, to have sacrificed so much blood and treasure for its establishment, to have immolated thousands of Frenchmen either in civil war or in foreign war! Were not men forced to love it, or at least to say so? However, notwithstanding these protestations, the Thermidorians were distrustful; they reckoned only upon M. Daunou,* whose integrity and strict principles were well known, and on Louvet, whose ardent mind had continued to be republican. The latter, indeed, after losing so many illustrious friends, and incurring so many dangers, had no conception that all this could be in vain; he had no conception that so many valuable lives had been sacrificed to bring about royalty! He had cordially joined the Thermidorians. The Thermidorians united themselves from day to day with the Mountaineers, with that mass of unshaken republicans, a very great number of whom they had sacrificed.

They wished, in the first place, to provoke measures against the return of the emigrants, who continued to make their appearance in shoals, some with false passports and by fictitious names, others upon pretext of coming to solicit their erasure. Almost all produced false certificates of residence, declared that they had not been out of France, and had merely concealed themselves, or that they had been proceeded against only on account of the events of the 31st of May. Upon pretext of soliciting the committee of general safety, they filled Paris, and some of them contributed to the agitations of the sections. Among the most distinguished personages who had returned to Paris was Madame de Staël, who had again made her appearance in France in company with her husband, the ambassador of Sweden. She had thrown open her drawing-room, where she had felt an irresistible impulse to display her brilliant talents.† A republic was far from displeas-

* "M. Daunou, who was involved in the fall of the Girondins, was readmitted into the Convention after the death of Robespierre, and became one of the commissioners for organizing the Constitution of 1795. He was afterwards chosen president of the council of Five Hundred, and was one of those who co-operated in the revolution of the 18th of Brumaire. Daunou was one of the best orators of the latter French legislatures."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† "Madame de Staël," said Napoleon, "was a woman of considerable talent and great ambition; but so extremely intriguing and restless, as to give rise to the observation that she would throw her friends into the sea, that, at the moment of drowning,

ing the boldness of her mind, provided she should see her proscribed friends shine in it; and on condition that those revolutionists should be excluded who passed, no doubt, for energetic men, but who were men of coarse and unpolished minds. There were others besides her, in fact, who were willing enough to receive from their hands the republic saved, but desirous to exclude them as speedily as possible from the tribune and the government. Foreigners of distinction, all the ambassadors, the literary men most celebrated for their abilities, assembled at the house of Madame de Staël. It was no longer Madame Tallien's drawing-room, but hers, that now attracted exclusive attention; and by this standard might be measured the change which French society had undergone during the last six months. It was said that Madame de Staël interceded for the emigrants; it was asserted that she wished to obtain the recall of Narbonne, Jaucourt, and several others. Legendre formally denounced her from the tribune. Complaints were made in the newspapers of the influence which coteries formed around some of the foreign ambassadors were striving to exercise; and the suspension of the erasures was demanded. The Thermidorians obtained, moreover, a decree enjoining every emigrant, who had returned for the purpose of soliciting his erasure, to repair to his commune, and there await the decision of the committee of general safety. They hoped by this measure to rid the capital of a multitude of intriguers, who contributed to excite agitation there.

The Thermidorians wished, at the same time, to put a stop to the persecutions directed against the patriots. They had caused many of them, Pache, Bouchotte, and the notorious Heron, to be set at liberty by the committee of general safety. They might, it is true, have made a better choice than this last for the purpose of doing justice to the patriots. The sections had, as we have seen, already presented petitions on the subject of these enlargements; they now petitioned afresh. The committees replied that the patriots who were in confinement ought to be brought to trial, and not to be detained any longer if they were innocent. To propose their trial was to propose their enlargement, for their misdemeanors were generally those political misdemeanors which it is impossible to lay hold of. Setting aside some members of the revolutionary committees, who had distinguished themselves by atrocious excesses, the greater number could not legally be condemned. Several sections came to desire that a few days' delay should be granted them, that they might collect evidence to justify the apprehension and the disarming of those whom they had confined, alleging that, at the first moment, they had not been able either to seek proofs

she might have an opportunity of saving them. Shortly after my return from the conquest of Italy, I was accosted by her in a large company, though at that time I avoided going out much in public. She followed me everywhere, and stuck so close that I could not shake her off. At last she asked me, "Who is at this moment the first woman in the world?" intending to pay a compliment to me, and thinking that I would return it. I looked at her, and coldly replied, "She who has borne the greatest number of children;" an answer which greatly confused her. The Emperor concluded by observing that he could not call her a wicked woman, but that she was a restless intrigante, possessed of considerable talent and influence."—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

"Madame de Staël possessed very superior powers of mind. She would have made a great man. I saw her once presented to Curran at Mackintosh's; it was the grand confluence between the Rhone and the Saone; and they were both so ugly, that I could not help wondering how the best intellects of France and Ireland could have taken up respectively such residences. Madame de Staël was a good woman at heart, but spoiled by a wish to be, she knew not what. In her own house she was amiable; in any other person's, you wished her gone, and in her own again."—*Moore's Life of Byron*. E.

or to assign motives, and offering to furnish them. These propositions, which cloaked the desire to assemble and to obtain the delay, were not listened to; and a *projet* for bringing to trial the detained patriots was demanded of the committees.

A violent dispute arose concerning this *projet*. Some were for sending the patriots before the tribunals of the departments; others, distrusting local passions, rejected this mode of trial, and proposed that a commission of twelve members should be chosen from among the Convention, to investigate the cases of the detained persons, to release those against whom the charges preferred were insufficient, and to send the others before the criminal tribunals. They alleged that this commission, strangers to the animosities which agitated the departments, would do better justice, and not confound the patriots, compromised by the ardor of their zeal, with the guilty men who had participated in the cruelties of the decemviral tyranny. All the violent enemies of the patriots condemned the idea of this commission, which was likely to do, as the committee of general safety, renewed after the fifth of Thermidor, had done, namely, to release *en masse*. They asked how it was possible for that commission of twelve members to investigate twenty or twenty-five thousand cases. In reply to this question, they were merely told that it would do like the committee of general safety, which had tried eighty or one hundred thousand at the opening of the prisons. But it was precisely this mode of trial that was found fault with. After a discussion of several days, intermingled with petitions, each bolder than the other, it was at length decided that the patriots should be tried by the tribunals of the departments, and the decree was sent to the committees to have some of its secondary arrangements modified. It was found necessary, also, to consent to the continuation of the report concerning the deputies compromised in their missions. The Assembly decreed the arrest of Lequinio, Lanot, Lefiot, Dupin, Bô, Piorry, Maxieu, Chaudron, Rousseau, Laplanche, Fouché, and proceedings were commenced against Lebon. At this moment the Convention had as many of its members in prison as in the time of Terror. Thus the partisans of clemency had nothing to regret, and had returned evil for evil.

The constitution had been presented by the commission of eleven. It was discussed during the three months of Messidor, Thermidor, and Fructidor, and was successively decreed with very little alteration. Its authors were Lesage, Daunou, Boissy-d'Anglas, Creuzé-Latouche, Berlier, Louvet, Lareveillère-Lepeaux, Lanjuinais, Durand-Maillanne,* Baudin of the Ardennes, and Thibaudeau. Sieyes had declined to form part of that commission, because, on the subject of a constitution, his notions were more peculiar than on any other. Constitutions were the object of the reflections of his whole life. They were his particular vocation. He had one ready made in his head, and he was not a man to sacrifice it. He came therefore to propose it apart from the commission. The Assembly, out of respect for his genius, consented to listen, but did not adopt it. We shall see it brought forward on a subsequent occasion, and it will then be time

* "Durand-Maillanne, a barrister, was deputy to the Convention, and voted for the King's confinement, and his banishment on the conclusion of peace. After the fall of Robespierre he inveighed bitterly against the Jacobins, and in 1795 was appointed to complete the committee of eleven. Being elected into the council of Ancients, he spoke in favour of the relations of emigrants. After the revolution of Brumaire he was made judge of the court of appeal at Aix, an office which he continued to hold in the year 1806. He was the author of several works, and among others of a 'Dictionary of Canon Law.'"—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

to make the reader acquainted with that conception, remarkable in the history of the human understanding. That which was adopted was analogous to the progress which the public mind had made. In 1791, men were yet such novices, and so benevolent, that they could not conceive the existence of an aristocratic body controlling the will of the national representation, and they had nevertheless admitted and retained with respect, nay, almost with affection, the royal power. On reflection, however, they would have seen that an aristocratic body is of all countries, and that it is more particularly adapted to republics; that a great state may do very well without a king, but that it can never do without a senate. In 1795, they had just witnessed the disorders to which a single assembly is liable, and they consented to the establishment of a legislative body divided into two assemblies; they were then less irritated against aristocracy than against royalty, because in fact they felt most dread of the latter. Accordingly, they took more care to defend themselves against it in the composition of an executive power. There was in the commission a monarchical party, consisting of Lesage, Lanjuinais, Durand-Maillanne, and Boissy-d'Anglas. This party proposed a president. The idea was rejected. "Some day, perhaps," said Louvet, "you will have a Bourbon proposed to you." Baudin of the Ardennes and Daunou proposed two consuls; others proposed three. The preference was given to five directors, deciding by a majority. To this executive power were given none of the essential attributes of royalty, as inviolability, the sanction of the laws, the judicial power, the right of peace and war. It had the mere inviolability of the deputies, the promulgation and the execution of the laws, the direction, not the voting, of war, the negotiation, and not the ratification, of treaties.

Such was the basis on which the directorial constitution was founded. The Assembly in consequence decreed :

A Council, called *The Council of the Five Hundred*, composed of five hundred members, of, at least, thirty years of age, having exclusively the right of proposing laws, one-third to be renewed every year ;

A Council, called *The Council of the Ancients*, composed of two hundred and fifty members, of, at least, forty years of age, all either widowers or married, having the sanction of the laws, to be renewed also by one-third ;

An executive Directory, composed of five members, deciding by a majority, to be renewed annually by one-fifth, having responsible ministers, promulgating the laws and enforcing their execution, having the disposal of the military and naval forces, the foreign affairs, the authority of repelling the first hostilities, but not the power to make war without the consent of the legislative body : negotiating treaties, and submitting them to the ratification of the legislative body, excepting secret articles, which it should have the authority to stipulate, if they were not destructive of the patent articles.

The mode of nominating these powers was the following : All the citizens of the age of twenty-one met of right in primary assembly on every first day of the month of Prairial, and nominated electoral assemblies. These electoral assemblies met every 20th of Prairial, and nominated the two Councils; and the two Councils nominated the Directory. It was conceived that the executive power, being nominated by the legislative power, would be more dependent upon it; there was, moreover, a reason deduced from circumstances. The republic being not, as yet, interwoven into the habits of France, and being rather an opinion of enlightened men, or persons compromised in the Revolution, than a general sentiment, the framers of

the new constitution would not intrust the composition of the executive power to the great mass. During the first years especially, the authors of the Revolution, naturally predominating in the legislative body, would choose directors capable of defending their work.

The judicial authority was committed to elective judges. Justices of the peace were instituted. A civil tribunal was established in each department, trying, in first instance, the causes of the department, and in appeal, those of the contiguous departments. There was added a criminal court, composed of five judges and a jury.

There were to be no communal assemblies, but municipal and departmental administrations, composed of three, five, or more members, according to the population: they were to be formed by way of election. Experience led to the adoption of accessory arrangements of great importance. Thus the legislative body designated its residence itself, and might transfer it to any commune that it should think fit to select. No law could be discussed till it had been read three times, unless it was specified to be a measure of urgency, and was acknowledged as such by the Council of the Ancients. It was a method of preventing those very sudden resolutions, so speedily rescinded, which the Convention had so frequently taken. Lastly, every society calling itself popular, holding public meetings, having a bureau, tribunes, affiliations, was prohibited. The press was entirely free. The emigrants were banished for ever from the territory of the republic; the national domains were irrevocably secured to the purchasers; all religions were declared free, but were neither acknowledged nor paid by the state.

Such was the constitution by which it was hoped to keep France a republic. One important question was started. The Constituent Assembly, from a parade of disinterestedness, had excluded itself from the new legislative body; would the Convention do the same? Such a determination, it must be confessed, would have been the height of imprudence. Among a fickle people, who, after living fourteen centuries under monarchy, had overthrown it in a moment of enthusiasm, the republic was not so ingrafted upon their manners that its establishment might be left to the mere course of things. The Revolution could not be well defended except by its authors. The Convention was chiefly composed of Constituents and members of the Legislative Assembly: it comprehended the men who had abolished the ancient feudal constitution on the 14th of July and the 4th of August, 1789, who had demolished the throne on the 10th of August, who had sacrificed the head of the Bourbon dynasty on the 21st of January, and who had, for three years, been making unparalleled efforts against all Europe to uphold their work. They alone were capable of effectively defending the Revolution consecrated in the directorial constitution. Thus, without priding themselves upon a vain disinterestedness, they decreed on the 5th of Fructidor (August 22d), that the new legislative body should be composed of two-thirds of the Convention, and that one new third only should be elected. The question to be decided was, whether the Convention should itself designate the two-thirds to be retained, or whether it should leave that duty to the electoral assemblies. After a tremendous dispute, it was agreed on the 13th of Fructidor (August 30), that this choice should be left to the electoral assemblies. It was decided that the primary assemblies should meet on the 20th of Fructidor (September 6th), to accept the constitution and the two decrees of the 5th and the 13th of Fructidor. It was likewise decided that, after giving their votes upon the

constitution and the decrees, the primary assemblies should again meet and proceed forthwith, that is to say, in the year III (1795), to the elections for the 1st of Prairial in the following year. The Convention hereby gave notice that it was about to resign the dictatorship, and to put the constitution into operation. It decreed, moreover, that the armies, though usually denied the right of deliberating, should nevertheless assemble on the fields of battle which they should occupy at the moment, for the purpose of voting the constitution. It was but fair, it was said, that those who had defended should be allowed to vote upon it. This was interesting the armies in the Revolution by their very vote.

No sooner were these resolutions adopted, than the enemies of the Convention, so numerous and so diverse, were deeply mortified by them. Most of them cared little about the constitution.* Any constitution would have suited them, provided that it had occasioned a general renewal of all the members of the government. The royalists wished for this renewal, in order to produce disturbance, to bring together the greatest possible number of persons of their choice, and to make the very republic subservient to the cause of royalty: they wished for it more especially in order to get rid of the Conventionists, so deeply interested in opposing counter-revolution, and to bring forward new men, inexperienced, not compromised, and more easy to be seduced. Many literary men, writers, unknown persons eager to enter upon the political career, not from a spirit of counter-revolution, but from personal ambition, were also desirous of this complete renewal, that there might be a greater number of places for them to occupy. Both these classes mingled among the sections, and excited them against the decrees. The Convention, they said, was determined to cling to power; it talked of the rights of the people, and yet postponed the exercise of them for an indefinite period; it commanded their choice, and would not permit them to prefer the men who were unstained by crimes; it wished to retain by force a majority composed of men who had covered France with scaffolds. Thus, they added, the new legislature would not be purged from all the Terrorists, thus France would not feel quite secure respecting the future, and could not be certain that a horrible system might not be revived. These declamations produced an effect upon many minds; the whole of the *bourgeoisie* of the sections, who were satisfied with the new institutions, such as they were given to them, but who had an excessive dread of the return of Terror; sincere, but unreflecting men, who dreamt of a faultless republic, and wished to see a new and unstained generation in power; young men smitten with the same chimeras; many, in short, were desirous of novelty, and saw with the keenest regret the Convention retained in power for two or three years longer. The tribe of newspaper-writers was in commotion. A great number of men who possessed a rank in literature, and who had figured in the former assemblies, appeared in the tribunes of the sections. Messrs. Suard, Morellet, Lacretelle, junior,†

* "This constitution communicated new energy to the government, and liberty to the people, and held out the promise of peace to all parties, if they would only have remained content with their proper stations in the government, without recurring to the past or looking forward to exclusive dominion. But its duration was as brief as the others which preceded it, for it was unable to establish the authority of the law against the wishes of the different factions, all of which aspired to the government."—*Mignet*. E.

† "Lacretelle, the younger, was the author of an historical account of the Revolution, and assisted in editing several journals of moderate principles. In 1795 he was proscribed for having declared against the Convention in the sectional electoral

Fievée, Vaublanc, Pastoret, Dupont de Nemours, Quatremère de Quincy, Delalot, the fiery convert Laharpe, General Miranda, who had escaped from the prisons in which he had been confined for his conduct at Neerwinden, Marchenna, the Spaniard, saved from the proscription of his friends, the Girondins, Lemaître, the head of the royalist agency, signalized themselves by pamphlets or by vehement speeches in the sections. The dissatisfaction was universal.

The plan to be pursued was quite simple—to accept the constitution, and to reject the decrees. This was what people proposed to do in Paris, and what all the sections in France were exhorted to do also. But the intriguers who agitated the sections, and who wished to urge opposition forward to insurrection, desired a more extensive plan. They wished that the primary assemblies, after they had accepted the constitution and rejected the decrees of the 5th and 13th of Fructidor, should constitute themselves in permanence; that they should declare the powers of the Convention to have expired, and the electoral assemblies free to elect as deputies whomsoever they pleased; lastly, that they should not consent to separate till after the installation of the new legislative body. The agents of Lemaître circulated this plan in the environs of Paris: they wrote to Normandy, where there was much intriguing in favour of the constitution of 1791, to Bretagne, to the Gironde, and to every quarter with which they had relations. One of their letters was seized and read publicly from the tribune. The Convention saw without alarm the preparations making against it, and awaited with calmness the decision of the primary assemblies of all France, certain that the majority would declare in its favour. Nevertheless, suspecting the intention of a new commotion, it ordered some troops to advance, and collected them in the camp of Sablons, near Paris.*

The section of Lepelletier, formerly of St. Thomas, could not fail to distinguish itself on this occasion: it came with those of the Mail, the Butte-des-Moulins, the Champs Elysées, and the Théâtre Français (the Odeon), to present petitions to the Assembly. They all agreed in asking if the Parisians had proved themselves unworthy of confidence, since troops were assembled; they complained that violence was done to their right of election, and employed these insolent expressions—"Deserve our choice, and do not command it." The Convention replied in a firm manner to all these addresses, and merely said that it waited with respect the manifestation of the national will, to which it would submit, as soon as it should be known, and to which it would oblige every one else to submit.

The first care of the discontented was to establish a central point for communicating with all the sections, in order to give them one common impulsion, and thus to organize the insurrection. They had examples sufficient before their eyes, to know that this was the very first thing to be thought of. The section of Lepelletier constituted itself the centre; it had a right to this honour, for it had always been the most ardent. It

assembly of Paris, and was afterwards arrested and confined for two years at La Force and the Temple. In 1809 he was a member of the press-office."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

* "The Convention, perceiving the storm to be gathering, sought assistance and support from the army, which then constituted the great republican class, and whose camp was pitched under the walls of Paris. The multitude had been disorganized, and the citizens gained over by the royalists. The contest soon after became general, but in Paris they distinguished between the act for the establishment of the constitution, which they were disposed to adopt, and the decree of re-election, which they determined to reject."—*Mignet*. E.

commenced by publishing an act of guarantee, equally ill-judged and useless. The powers of the constituent body, it said, ceased in presence of the sovereign people; the primary assemblies represented the sovereign people; they had a right to express any opinion whatever concerning the constitution and its decrees; they were under the safeguard of each other; and they owed to one another the reciprocal guarantee of their independence. Nobody denied this, except one modification, which it was necessary to add to these maxims; namely, that the constituent body retained its powers, till the decision of the majority was known. Beyond this, these vain generalities were only a medium for arriving at another measure. The section of Lepelletier proposed to the forty-eight sections of Paris to nominate each of them a commissioner, to express the sentiments of the citizens of the capital on the constitution and the decrees. Here commenced the infraction of the laws; for the primary assemblies were forbidden to communicate with, and to send commissioners or addresses to, one another. The Convention cancelled the resolution, and declared that it should consider its execution as an attack upon the public safety.

The sections being not yet sufficiently emboldened, gave way, and set about collecting the votes on the constitution and the decrees. They began by expelling, without any legal form, the patriots who came among them to give their votes. In some, they were merely put out at the door of the hall; in others, it was notified to them, by posting-bills, that they were expected to stay at home, for, if they showed their faces at the section, they would be ignominiously turned out. The persons thus prevented from exercising their rights were very numerous: they thronged to the Convention, to complain of the violence that was done them. The Convention disapproved the conduct of the sections, but refused to interfere, that it might not appear to canvass for votes, and that the very abuse might prove the freedom of the deliberation. The patriots, driven from their sections, had sought refuge in the tribunes of the Convention; they occupied them in great numbers, and daily solicited the committees to restore them their arms, declaring that they were ready to use them in defence of the republic.

All the sections of Paris, excepting that of the *Quinze-Vingts*, accepted the constitution and rejected the decree. The result was not the same in the rest of France. The opposition, as it always happens, was less violent in the provinces than in the capital. The royalists, the intriguers, the ambitious men, who had an interest in urging the renewal of the legislative body and the government, were not numerous anywhere but in Paris; accordingly, in the provinces, the assemblies were calm, though perfectly free; they adopted the constitution almost unanimously, and the decrees by a great majority. As for the armies, they received the constitution with enthusiasm in *Bretagne* and *La Vendée*, at the foot of the Alps, and on the Rhine.* They were full of men devoted to the Revolution, and attached to it by the very sacrifices which they had made for it. That animosity manifested in Paris against the revolutionary government was wholly unknown in the armies. The requisitionists of 1793, with whom they were filled, had not ceased to cherish the glorious memory of that famous com-

* "The constitution was unanimously adopted by the soldiers; for military men, who are in the habit of obedience, and of taking the lead from others, generally (unless indeed it be in periods of extreme popular agitation) adopt any form of government that is recommended to them by their officers."—*Lacretelle*. E.

mittee which had guided and subsisted them so much better than the new government. Torn from private life, accustomed to defy hardships and death, fed with glory and illusions, they still had that enthusiasm which began to subside in the interior of France; they were proud to call themselves the soldiers of a republic which they had defended against all the kings of Europe, and which was, in some measure, their work. The army of the Sambre and Meuse, commanded by Jourdan, shared the nobleness of sentiment of its brave leader. It was this army that had conquered at Watignies and raised the blockade at Maubeuge; it was this that had conquered at Fleurus and given Belgium to France; it was this which, by the victories of the Ourthe and the Roer, had just given to France the line of the Rhine; it had deserved best of the republic, and was most attached to it. This army had just crossed the Rhine, it halted on the field of battle, and sixty thousand men were seen accepting at once the new republican constitution.

These tidings arrived successively at Paris, where they rejoiced the Convention and deeply mortified the sectionaries. They came every day to present addresses, in which they communicated the vote of their assembly, and proclaimed with insulting joy that the constitution was accepted, and that the decrees were rejected. The patriots, who crowded the tribunes, murmured; but presently the reports sent by the departments were read, almost all signifying the acceptance of the constitution and of the decrees. The patriots then burst forth into furious applause, and by their peals of joy nettled the petitioners of the sections seated at the bar. The last days of Fructidor passed in scenes of this kind. At length, on the 1st of Vendemiaire, year IV. (September 23, 1795), the general result of the votes was proclaimed.

The constitution was accepted almost unanimously, and the decrees by an immense majority of the voters. Some thousands of voices, however, had been raised against the decrees, and here and there some had dared to demand a king—a sufficient proof that the utmost freedom had prevailed in the primary assemblies. On the same day, the Convention solemnly declared that the constitution and the decrees were laws of the state. This declaration was followed by prolonged applause. The Convention then decreed that the primary assemblies, which had not yet chosen their electors, should finish their nomination before the 19th of Vendemiaire (October 2); that the electoral assemblies should meet on the 20th, and conclude their operations at latest by the 29th (October 21); and lastly, that the new legislative body should meet on the 15th of Brumaire (November 6).

This intelligence was a thunderclap to the sectionaries. They had hoped till the last moment that France would give a vote similar to that of Paris, and that they should be delivered from what they called the two-thirds; but the last decree left them without a gleam of hope. Affecting to believe that there was some mistake in the casting up of the votes, they sent commissioners to the committee of decrees to verify the statements. This derogatory application was not unfavourably received. The committee consented to show them the official statements, and to allow them to cast up the votes; they found the enumeration to be correct. From that moment they had no ground for that unlucky objection of a mistake or a wilful error in the summing up; and they had nothing left for it but insurrection. But this was a violent measure, and it was not easy to resolve upon it. The ambitious persons, who were desirous of removing the men of the Revolution, that they might take their places in the republican

government; the young men, who were anxious to display their courage, and most of whom had served in the army; and lastly, the royalists, who had no other resource than an attack by main force; could cheerfully expose themselves to the risk of a combat: but the mass of peaceable individuals, urged to figure in the sections by fear of the Terrorists rather than by political courage, were not easy to decide. In the first place, the insurrection was not consistent with their principles. How, in fact, could the enemies of anarchy attack the established and acknowledged power? The parties, it is true, cared little about contradictions; but how could tradesmen, who had never been out of their shops or their counting-houses, dare to attack troops of the line, provided with cannon! The intriguing royalists, and the ambitious, nevertheless, introduced themselves into the sections, talked of public interest and honour, said that there was no safety in being still governed by Conventionists, that they would still be exposed to Terrorism; that, besides, it was disgraceful to yield, and to suffer themselves to be subdued. They addressed themselves to the vanity of the sectionaries. The young men who had come back from the armies blustered a great deal, hurried the timid along, and prevented them from expressing their fears; and every preparation was made for a decisive stroke. Groups of young men paraded the streets, shouting, "Down with the two-thirds!" When the soldiers of the Convention attempted to disperse them, and to prevent them from setting up seditious cries, they replied with the fire of musketry. There were different riots, and several muskets were fired in the very heart of the Palais Royal.

Lemaître and his colleagues, perceiving the success of their plans, had brought several Chouan chiefs and a certain number of emigrants to Paris: they kept them concealed, and awaited only the first signal to cause them to show themselves. They had succeeded in exciting commotions at Orleans, Chartres, Dreux, Verneuil, and Nonancourt. At Chartres, Letellier, a representative, being unable to quell a riot, had blown out his brains. Though these disturbances had been repressed, success in Paris might induce a general movement. Nothing was neglected to foment one, and the success of the conspirators was soon complete.

The plan of the insurrection was not yet resolved upon, but the honest tradesmen of Paris suffered themselves by degrees to be led away by the young men and the intriguers. Proceeding from bravado to bravado, they presently found themselves inextricably entangled. The section of Lepelletier was still the most agitated. The first thing to be done, before thinking of any attempt, was, as we have observed, to establish a central direction. The means of effecting this had long been sought after. It was conceived that the assembly of the electors, chosen by all the primary assemblies of Paris, might become this central authority; but, according to the late decree, this assembly was not to meet before the 20th. Unwilling to wait so long, the section of Lepelletier then devised a resolution, founded on a very singular motive. The constitution, it said, placed an interval of twenty days only between the meeting of the primary assemblies and that of the electoral assemblies. The primary assemblies had met this time on the 20th of Fructidor; the electoral assemblies ought consequently to meet on the 10th of Vendémiaire. Now the Convention had fixed this meeting for the 20th; but this was evidently for the purpose of postponing still longer the carrying of the constitution into effect, and the sharing of power with the new third. In consequence, to provide a safeguard for the rights of the citizens, the section of Lepelletier passed a resolution that the electors

already chosen should meet forthwith; this resolution it communicated to the other sections, in order to obtain their approval of it. It was approved by several of them. The meeting was fixed for the 11th at the Théâtre Français (the Odeon).

On the 11th of Vendémiaire (October 3), part of the electors met in the theatre, under the protection of some battalions of the national guard.* A multitude of inquisitive persons collected in the Place de l'Odeon, and soon formed a considerable concourse. The committees of general and public welfare, and the three representatives, who, since the 4th of Prairial, had retained the direction of the armed force, always met on important occasions. They hastened to the Convention, to denounce to it this first step, which evidently denoted a plan of insurrection. The Convention had assembled to hold a funeral solemnity in its hall in honor of the unfortunate Girondins. A motion was made to postpone the ceremony. Tallien opposed it; he said that it would not be worthy of the Assembly to suffer its proceeding to be interrupted, and that it ought to attend to its accustomed duties amidst all dangers. A decree was passed by which any meeting of electors, formed either in an illegal manner, or before the prescribed time, or for a purpose foreign to its electoral functions, was enjoined to disperse. To open an outlet for those who might feel disposed to withdraw, the decree added that all those who had been hurried into illegal proceedings, and should return immediately to their duty, should be exempt from prosecution. Some police-officers, escorted by only six dragoons, were immediately sent to the Place de l'Odeon to proclaim the decrees. The committees were anxious to avoid as much as possible the employment of force. The crowd had increased at the Odeon, especially towards night. The interior of the theatre was ill-lighted; a multitude of sectionaries filled the boxes; those who took an active part in the events were walking about on the stage in agitation. They durst not deliberate or decide upon anything. On learning the arrival of the officers sent to read the decree, all ran out to the Place de l'Odeon. The mob had already surrounded them; it rushed upon them, extinguished the torches which they had brought, and obliged the dragoons to sheer off. They then went back into the theatre, congratulating themselves on this success: speeches were made; they promised one another with an oath to resist tyranny, but no measure was taken in support of the decisive step upon which they had just ventured. The night advanced; many of the spectators and the sectionaries withdrew; the theatre got gradually clearer, and was soon left quite empty on the approach of the armed force. The committees had, in fact, ordered General Menou, appointed since the fourth of Prairial, commander of the army of the interior, to despatch a column from the camp of Sablons. This column arrived with two pieces of cannon, and found not a creature either in the Place or in the theatre of the Odeon.

This scene, though without any important result, had nevertheless produced a great sensation. The sectionaries had tried their strength, and had mustered some courage, as is always the case after the first

* "The electors, of whom the Duke de Nivernois was appointed president, met under the protection of a few detachments of light troops and grenadiers. The Convention, being apprized of these dangerous proceedings, immediately declared itself permanent, summoned the camp of Sablons to its defence, and appointed a committee of five members with power to adopt every necessary measure for the public safety."—*Mignet*. E

indiscretion. The Convention and its partisans had beheld with alarm the occurrences of that day, and, more ready to give credit to their adversaries for resolutions than their adversaries were to form them, they had no longer any doubt of the insurrection. The patriots, dissatisfied with the Convention, which had treated them so roughly, but full of their accustomed ardor, felt that they ought to sacrifice their resentments to their cause, and hastened the very same night in multitudes to the committees to offer their aid and to apply for arms. Some had been released from the prisons only on the preceding day, others had just been excluded from the primary assemblies; all had the strongest motives for zeal.* They were joined by a great number of officers, struck out of the army-list by Aubry, the reactor. The Thermidorians, still predominating in the committees, and cordially reconciled with the Mountain, did not hesitate to accept the offers of the patriots. Their opinion was supported by more than one Girondin. Louvet, at one of the meetings which had taken place at the house of a common friend of the Girondins and the Thermidorians, had already proposed to arm the fauxbourgs again, and even to put the jacobins once more in operation, with the proviso to silence them again if it should be deemed necessary. No hesitation was consequently felt to deliver arms to all the citizens who applied for them; and, in order to furnish them with officers, those who were at the moment in Paris without employment were given them; the old and brave General Berruyer was appointed to command them. This arming was effected on the morning of the 12th; and tidings of it spread immediately throughout the quarters. This was an excellent pretext for the agitators of the sections, who wished to compromise the peaceful citizens of Paris. The Convention meant, they said, to renew the Reign of Terror; it had just re-armed the Terrorists; it was about to set them upon the honest men; property and person were no longer safe. They ought to lose no time in arming to defend themselves. Accordingly the sections of Lepelletier, the Butte des Moulins, the Contrat Social, the Théâtre Français, the Luxembourg, the Rue Poissonnière, Brutus, and the Temple, declared themselves in rebellion, caused the *générale* to beat in their quarters, and enjoined all the citizens of the national guard to join their battalions, and to maintain the public safety, threatened by the Terrorists. The section of Lepelletier immediately constituted itself in permanence, and became the centre of all the counter-revolutionary intrigues. The drums and the clamourers of the sections spread themselves throughout Paris with singular audacity, and gave the signal for insurrection. The citizens, thus excited by the reports that were circulated, repaired in arms to their sections, ready to comply with all the suggestions of imprudent youths and of a perfidious faction.

The Convention immediately declared itself permanent, and charged its committees to provide for the public safety and the execution of the decrees. It repealed the law which enjoined the disarming of the patriots, and thus legalized the measures adopted by its committees; but, at the same time, it issued a proclamation to calm the inhabitants of Paris, and to give them confidence in its intentions, and in the patriotism of those to whom it had just restored arms.

* "The revolutionists had for some time ceased to be feared, and those who had been imprisoned for the events of May, had, in consequence, been released. From fifteen to eighteen hundred, who had been prosecuted either at Paris or in the departments, were enrolled under the name of the Battalion of the Patriots of Eighty-Nine."—*Mignet*. E.

The committees, seeing that the section of Lepelletier was becoming the focus of all the intrigues, and that it would probably soon be the head-quarters of the rebels, determined that this section should be surrounded and disarmed that very day. Menou again received orders to leave Sablons with a corps of troops and artillery. General Menou, a good officer, a kind-hearted and moderate citizen, had had a very arduous and turbulent time during the Revolution. When employed in La Vendée, he had been exposed to all the annoyances of the Ronsin party. Upon being summoned to Paris, and threatened with a trial, he had owed his life only to the events of the 9th of Thermidor. Being appointed general of the army of the interior on the 4th of Prairial, and ordered to march upon the faubourgs, he had then had to fight men who were his natural enemies, who were, moreover, condemned by public opinion, who in their violence were too careless of the lives of others for any one to be very scrupulous about sacrificing theirs: but on this occasion it was the brilliant population of the capital, it was the youth of the best families, it was, in short, the class that forms the public opinion, which he had to mow down, if it persisted in its imprudence. He was therefore in a cruel perplexity, as the weak man almost always is, who cannot either make up his mind to resign his place, or resolve upon a rigorous execution of his duty. He set his columns in motion very late; he gave the sections time to proclaim whatever they pleased during the daytime of the 12th; he then began secretly to parley with some of their leaders, instead of acting; he even declared to the three representatives charged with the direction of the armed force, that he would not have the battalion of the patriots under his command. The representatives replied that that battalion was under the exclusive command of General Berruyer. They urged him to act, without yet denouncing his backwardness and indecision to the two committees. They observed, moreover, the like repugnance in more than one officer, and among others in the two generals of brigade, Despiere and Debar, who were not at their post, upon pretext of illness. At length, towards night, Menou advanced, with Laporte, the representative, against the section of Lepelletier. It was sitting at the convent of the Filles St. Thomas, which stood on the site now occupied by the handsome edifice of the New Exchange. Menou went thither through the Rue Vivienne. He crowded his infantry, his cavalry, and his artillery, together in that street, and placed himself in a position, where he could scarcely have fought at all, encompassed by the multitude of the sectionaries, who closed all the outlets and filled the windows of the houses. Menou ordered his cannon to draw up before the door of the convent, and entered the very hall of the section with Laporte and a battalion. The members of the section, instead of forming a deliberative assembly, were armed and ranged in line, having their president, M. Delalot, at their head. General Menou and Laporte addressed them, and demanded the surrender of their arms; they refused it. Delalot, observing the hesitation with which this summons was made, replied with warmth, addressed with great presence of mind some well-timed remarks to Menou's soldiers, and declared that, before they should wrest its arms from the section, they must proceed to the last extremities. To fight in so narrow a space, or to retire for the purpose of battering the hall with cannon, was a painful alternative. However, had Menou spoken with firmness and pointed his guns, it is doubtful

whether the resolution of the sectionaries would have held out to the end. Menou and Laporte preferred a capitulation.* They promised to withdraw the troops of the Convention, on condition that the section would immediately disperse. It promised, or feigned to promise, that it would, and part of the battalion filed off for the purpose of retiring. Menou, on his part, started with his troops, and led back his columns, which had great difficulty to force a passage through the crowd which filled the contiguous quarters. While he had the weakness to give way to the firmness of the section of Lepelletier, the latter had returned to the place of its meetings, and, proud of its resistance, was encouraged still more in its rebellion. A report was instantly circulated that the decrees were not executed, that the insurrection remained victorious, that the troops were returning without enforcing the authority of the Convention. A multitude of the witnesses of this scene hastened to the tribunes of the Assembly, which was in permanence, and apprised the deputies of it. An outcry arose on all sides, "We are betrayed! we are betrayed! summon General Menou to the bar!" The committees were directed to attend and furnish explanations.

At this moment, the committees, informed of what was passing, were in the greatest agitation. It was proposed to arrest Menou, and to try him immediately. That, however, would not have remedied the evil: the point was to make amends for what he had neglected to do; but forty members, discussing measures of execution, were not likely to agree, and to act with the necessary vigour and precision. Neither were three representatives, charged with the direction of the armed force, a sufficiently energetic authority. The idea occurred of appointing a chief, as on decisive occasions; and at that moment, which brought to mind all the dangers of Thermidor, the Assembly bethought itself of Barras, the deputy, who, as general of brigade, had been invested with the command on that famous day, and had acquitted himself with all the energy that could be desired. Barras was tall in stature, had a powerful voice, could not make long speeches, but excelled in producing, off hand, a few energetic and vehement sentences, which conveyed the idea of a resolute and devoted man. He was appointed general of the army of the interior, and the three representatives previously charged with the direction of the armed force, were given to him as assistants. One circumstance rendered this selection a most fortunate one. Barras had about him an officer perfectly capable of commanding, and he was not so jealous as to keep in the back-ground a man who possessed greater abilities than himself. All the deputies who had been on mission to the army of Italy, knew the young officer of artillery who had achieved the reduction of Toulon, the fall of Saorgio, and the lines of the Royalists. This young officer, promoted to general of brigade, had been dismissed by

* "In the evening General Menou proceeded with his troops to the place of meeting of the section Lepelletier. The infantry, cavalry, and artillery, were all crowded together in the Rue Vivienne. The sectionaries occupied the windows of the houses of this street; several of their battalions drew up in order of battle, and the military force which Menou commanded found itself compromised. In consequence, the general withdrew by a species of capitulation, without having dispersed or disarmed the meeting. Bonaparte was in a box at the theatre Feydeau, when some of his friends came to inform him of the singular events that were passing. He was curious to witness the particulars of the spectacle. Seeing the conventional troops repulsed, he hastened to the Assembly to observe the effect of this intelligence. The Convention was in the greatest agitation, loudly accused Menou of treason, and placed him under arrest." *Les Cases*. E.

Aubry, and he was in Paris, unemployed, and reduced almost to indigence.* He had been introduced to Madame Tallien, who had received him with her wonted kindness, and even solicited in his behalf. He was slender in person, below the ordinary height, and his cheeks were hollow and livid; but his fine features, his fixed and piercing eyes, and his firm and original language, attracted notice. He often spoke of a decisive theatre of war, where the republic would find victories and peace—that was Italy. He was incessantly recurring to this subject; therefore, when the lines of the Apennines were lost under Kellermann, the committee sent for him to ask his opinion. From that time he was employed in writing despatches, and was attached to the direction of the military operations. Barras thought of him in the night of the 12th of Vendémiaire; he applied for him as second in command, and his wish was complied with. The two appointments, submitted the same night to the Convention, were instantly approved.† Barras submitted the superintendence of the military arrangements to the young general, who immediately took them all upon himself, and set about giving orders with extreme activity.

The *général* had continued to beat in all the quarters. Emissaries had gone about boasting of the resistance of the section of Lepelletier, exaggerating its dangers, persuading people that these dangers were common to all the sections, piquing their honour, and exciting them to rival the grenadiers of the quarter of St. Thomas. People had thronged from all parts, and a central and military committee had, at length, formed itself in the section of Lepelletier, under the presidency of Richer Lerizy, the journalist. The plan of an insurrection was settled; the battalions formed; all the irresolute persons were hurried away; and the entire *bourgeoisie* of Paris, misled by a false point of honour, was about to play a part but little suited to its habits and its interests.

It was now too late to think of marching upon the section of Lepelletier, in order to stifle the insurrection in its birth. The Convention had about

* "On Bonaparte's return to Paris, he was in very destitute circumstances. From time to time he received remittances, I suspect, from his brother Joseph; but with all his economy, these supplies were insufficient. He was, therefore, in absolute distress. Junot used often to speak of the six months they passed together in Paris at this time. When they took an evening stroll on the boulevard, which used to be the resort of young men, mounted on fine horses, and displaying all the luxuries which they were permitted to show at that time, Bonaparte would declaim against fate, and express his contempt for the dandies, who, as they rode past, would eulogise, in ecstasy, the manner in which Madame Scio sang. 'And is it on such beings as these,' he would say, 'that fortune confers her favors? Heavens, how contemptible is human nature!' His friend Junot used sometimes to resort to the gaming-table; he was often successful, and on these occasions he and Bonaparte used to make merry, and pay off their most pressing debts. The latter was at that time attired in the costume he wore almost ever after. He had on a gray great-coat, very plainly made, buttoned up to his chin; a round hat, which was either drawn over his forehead, so as almost to conceal his eyes, or stuck upon the back of his head, so that it appeared in danger of falling off; and a black cravat, very clumsily tied."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

"At this period, Napoleon past most of his time in meditation and retirement. He went out but seldom, and had few acquaintances. He endeavoured to forget the sense of mortification and neglect by a more intense application to his professional studies. He sometimes went to the theatre, and frequented the Corazza coffee-house, in the Palais Royal, where the celebrated Talma is said once to have paid his reckoning for him, for which he had left his sword in pledge."—*Hazlitt*. E.

† "When Bonaparte appeared before the committee, on occasion of this appointment, he displayed none of those astonishing qualities which distinguished his subsequent conduct. Little of a party man, and summoned for the first time on this great scene, his countenance wore an expression of timidity and bashfulness, which, however, disappeared in the bustle of preparation, and the ardour of battle."—*Mignet*. E.

five thousand troops of the line; if all the sections were actuated by the same zeal, they could assemble forty thousand men, well armed, and well organized; and it was not with five thousand that the Convention could march against forty thousand, through the streets of a great capital. The most that could be hoped for, was to defend the Convention, and to make an intrenched camp of it. This was what General Bonaparte resolved to do. The sections had no cannon; they had given them all up on occasion of the 4th of Prairial; and those who were now the most ardent had been the first to set this example, in order to insure the disarming of the fauxbourg St. Antoine. This was a great advantage for the Convention. The entire park of artillery was at the camp of Sablons. Bonaparte immediately ordered Murat,* *chef d'escadron*, to go and fetch it at the head of three hundred horse. That officer arrived at the very moment when the battalion of the

* "Joachim Murat was born in 1767. His father was the keeper of an humble country inn, who had once been steward to the wealthy family of the Talleyrands. From early youth, Murat was distinguished by his daring courage, and his skill in horsemanship. He was originally intended for the church, but having, in his twentieth year, run away with, and fought a duel for, a pretty girl of the neighbourhood, all his ecclesiastical hopes were crushed by the notoriety which this affair brought upon him. He therefore entered the army, made himself conspicuous by his revolutionary enthusiasm, and, in one month, fought not less than six duels! He soon gained promotion, and, in the affair of the sections, made himself so useful to Bonaparte, that, when appointed to the command of the army of Italy, that general placed him on his personal staff. Shortly afterwards Murat was promoted to the rank of general of brigade; accompanied Napoleon in his Egyptian expedition; and returned with him to Paris, where he married Caroline Bonaparte, his patron's youngest sister. On the establishment of the Empire, he was created marshal of France, and, in 1806, invested with the grand duchy of Berg and Cleves. In 1808, he entered Madrid with a formidable army, and sullied his reputation by his exactions and cruelties. He was afterwards appointed to the throne of Naples, but was rendered constantly uneasy by the system of jealous espionage pursued towards him by Napoleon. In 1812, he joined the emperor in his Russian expedition, and was placed over the whole cavalry of the grand army, in which position he rendered himself so conspicuous by his daring that the very Cossacks held him in respect and admiration. When the French reached the heights which overlook Moscow, Murat, glancing at his soiled garments, did not think them worthy of an occasion so important as that of entering the Sacred City. He retired, therefore, to his tent, and soon came out dressed in his most magnificent costume. His tall plume, the splendid trappings of his steed, and the grace with which he managed the animal, drew forth loud shouts of applause from the Cossacks who were under the walls of the city. As an armistice had been previously agreed upon, he remained for two hours in the midst of his new admirers, who pressed round him, and even called him their Hetman, so delighted were they with his courage and generosity. When Napoleon quitted Russia, Murat was left in command, but he was unequal to his trying duties, and returned dispirited to Naples, greatly to the Emperor's dissatisfaction. In the German campaign of 1813, he fought nobly at Dresden and Leipsic, but immediately after this last battle, deserted the Imperial standard. On Napoleon's escape from Elba, Murat put an army of 50,000 men in motion, in order, as he said, to secure the independence of Italy, but was defeated by the Austrians and English. After the battle of Waterloo, he wandered about for some months as a fugitive; but, being discovered, was seized, tried, and ordered to be shot, by Ferdinand, the then reigning King of Naples. When the fatal moment arrived, Murat walked with a firm step to the place of execution. He would not accept a chair, nor suffer his eyes to be bound. He stood upright, with his face towards the soldiers, and when all was ready, kissed a cornelian on which the head of his wife was engraved, and gave the word thus: 'Save my face—aim at my heart—fire!' Murat left two daughters and two sons; the elder of his sons is a citizen of the United States, and said to be a youth of very superior promise."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

"With respect to Murat's beauty, and the nobleness of his figure, which have been so much insisted on, it is a point which will bear discussion. I do not admit that a man is handsome because he is large, and always dressed for a carnival. Murat's features were not good, and I may even add that, considering him as detached from his curled hair, his plumes, and his embroidery, he was plain. There was something of the negro in his countenance, though his nose was not flat; but very thick lips, and a nose, which,

section of Lepelletier had come to seize the artillery. He got before that battalion, put horses to the guns, and brought them to the Tuileries. Bonaparte then directed his attention to the defence of all the avenues. He had five thousand troops of the line, a corps of patriots amounting, only since the preceding day, to about fifteen hundred, some gendarmes of the tribunals, disarmed in Prairial, and rearmed on this occasion, lastly the police legion, and some invalids, making altogether about eight thousand men. He distributed his artillery and his troops in the Rue du Cul-de-Sac Dauphin, Rue L'Echelle, Rue Rohan, Rue St. Nicaise, on the Pont Neuf, the Pont Royal, the Pont Louis XVI., in the Place Louis XV., and the Place Vendôme, in short, at all the points where the Convention was accessible. He placed his cavalry and part of his infantry in reserve at the Carrousel, and in the garden of the Tuileries. He ordered all the provisions in Paris to be brought to the Tuileries, and a depot of ammunition and an hospital for the wounded to be established there. He sent a detachment to secure the depot and to occupy the heights of Meudon, intending to retire thither with the Convention in case of defeat; he intercepted the road to St. Germain, to prevent cannon from being brought to the insurgents; he ordered chests of arms to be conveyed to the fauxbourg St. Antoine, to arm the section of the Quinze-Vingts, which had alone voted for the decrees, and whose zeal Fréron had gone to rouse. These dispositions were completed on the morning of the 13th. Orders were given to the republican troops to await aggression, and not to provoke it.

During this interval, the committee of insurrection established in the section of Lepelletier had likewise made its dispositions. It had outlawed the committees of government, and created a kind of tribunal for trying those who should resist the sovereignty of the sections. Several generals had come to offer it their services. A Vendean, known by the name of Count de Maulevrier, and a young emigrant, called Lafond, had emerged from their retreats to direct the movement. Generals Duhoix and Danican,* who had commanded the republican armies in La Vendée, had joined them. Danican was a restless spirit, fitter to declaim at a club than to command an army: he had been a friend of Hoche's, and been frequently blamed by him for his inconsistencies. Being displaced, he was in Paris, extremely dissatisfied with the government, and ready to engage in the wildest schemes. He was appointed commander-in-chief of the sections. The resolution being taken to fight, and all the citizens being implicated, in spite of themselves, a sort of plan was formed. The sections of the fauxbourg St. Germain, under the command of Count de Maulevrier, were to start from the

though aquiline, had nothing of nobleness in its form, gave to his physiognomy a mongrel expression at least."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

"'Murat,' said Napoleon, 'is a good soldier—one of the most brilliant men I ever saw on a field of battle. Of no superior talents, without much moral courage, timid even in forming his plan of operations; but the moment he saw the enemy, all that vanished—his eye was the most sure, and the most rapid, his courage truly chivalrous. Moreover, he is a fine man, tall, and well-dressed, though at times rather fantastically—in short, a magnificent lazzarone. It was really a magnificent sight to see him in battle heading the cavalry.'"—*Lord Ebrington's Account of his Conversation with Napoleon at Elba*. E.

* "Danican was descended from a noble family, but was so poor that he began life as a foot-soldier. At the time of the Revolution he was rapidly promoted, and was employed in La Vendée as general of brigade. He was afterwards removed on suspicion of being a royalist. At the period of the 13th of Vendémiaire, he embraced the party of the sections, commanded for a short time their armed force, and escaped when he saw the Conventional troops gain the advantage. In 1799, he fought in Switzerland, in an emigrant corps, and, in 1805, went to reside in England."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

Odeon, for the purpose of attacking the Tuileries by the bridges; the sections of the right bank were to attack by the Rue St. Honoré and by all the cross streets running from the Rue St. Honoré to the Tuileries. A detachment under young Lafond was to secure the Pont Neuf, in order to place the two divisions of the sectionary army in communication. The young men who had served in the armies, and who were most capable of standing fire, were placed at the head of the columns. Of the forty thousand men of the national guard, twenty or twenty-seven thousand at most were present under arms. There was a much safer manœuvre than that of presenting themselves in deep columns to the fire of the batteries; namely, to make barricades in the streets, and thus shut up the Assembly and its troops in the Tuileries; to occupy the houses which surround them, and keep up from them a destructive fire, to pick off the defenders of the Convention one by one, and thus soon reduce them by famine and balls. But the sectionaries had no notion of anything but a *coup-de-main*, and thought, by a single charge, to get to the palace and to force its gates.

Early in the morning, the Poissonnière section stopped the artillery-horses and the arms proceeding to the section of the Quinze-Vingts; that of Mont-Blanc seized the provisions destined for the Tuileries; and a detachment of the section of Lepelletier made itself master of the Treasury. Young Lafond, at the head of several companies, marched towards the Pont Neuf, while other battalions were coming by the Rue Dauphine. General Cartaux was directed to guard that bridge, with four hundred men and four pieces of cannon. Wishing to avoid a battle, he retired to the quay of the Louvre. The battalions of the sections advanced on all sides, and drew up within a few paces of the posts of the Convention, and near enough to converse with the sentinels.

The troops of the Convention would have had a great advantage in commencing operations, and, had they made a brisk attack, they would probably have thrown the assailants into disorder; but the generals had been instructed to wait for aggression. In consequence, notwithstanding the acts of hostility already committed, notwithstanding the capture of the artillery-horses, notwithstanding the seizure of the provisions destined for the Convention, and of the arms sent off to the Quinze-Vingts, and notwithstanding the death of an orderly hussar, killed in the Rue St. Honoré, they still persisted in not attacking.

The morning had passed in preparations on the part of the sections, in suspense on the part of the Conventional army, when Danican, before he began the combat, thought it right to send a flag of truce to the committees to offer them conditions. Barras and Bonaparte were visiting the posts, when the bearer was brought to them blindfolded, as in a fortress. They ordered him to be taken before the committees. He used language of a very threatening kind, and offered peace on condition that the patriots should be disarmed, and the decrees of the 5th and 13th of Fructidor rescinded. Such conditions could not be acceptable; and, besides, none whatever could be listened to. The committees, however, though they decided not to answer, resolved to appoint twenty-four deputies to go and fraternize with the sections—an expedient which had frequently succeeded, for words have much more effect when men are ready to come to blows, and they are much more disposed to an arrangement that spares the necessity of slaughtering one another. Meanwhile Danican, not receiving any answer, gave orders for the attack. The firing of small-arms was heard. Bonaparte directed eight hundred muskets and cartouch-boxes to be

brought into one of the halls of the Convention, for the purpose of arming the representatives themselves, and employing them, in case of emergency, as a corps of reserve. This precaution indicated the whole extent of the danger. Each deputy hastened to his place, and, according to custom in moments of danger, the Assembly awaited in the most profound silence the result of this combat, the first regular battle that it had yet fought with the rebellious factions.

It was now half-past four o'clock. Bonaparte, accompanied by Barras, mounted a horse in the court of the Tuileries, and hastened to the post of the Cul-de-Sac Dauphin, facing the church of St. Roch. The sectionary battalions filled the Rue St. Honoré, and had advanced to the entrance of the Cul-de-Sac. One of their best battalions had posted itself on the steps of the church of St. Roch, and it was there placed in an advantageous manner for firing upon the gunners of the Convention. Bonaparte, who was capable of appreciating the effect of the first blow, immediately directed his artillery to advance, and ordered a first discharge. The sectionaries replied by a very brisk fire of musketry; but Bonaparte, covering them with grape shot, obliged them to fall back upon the steps of St. Roch; then, debouching in the Rue St. Honoré, he directed upon the church itself a band of patriots who were fighting at his side with the greatest valour, and who had cruel injuries to revenge. The sectionaries, after an obstinate resistance, were dislodged. Bonaparte, then, turning his guns right and left, made them sweep the whole length of the Rue St. Honoré. The assailants instantly fled on all sides, and retired in the greatest disorder. Leaving an officer to continue the firing and to complete the defeat, he next proceeded to the Carrousel, and hastened to the other posts. Everywhere he caused grape-shot to be fired, and everywhere the unfortunate sectionaries, imprudently exposed in deep columns to the effect of the artillery, betook themselves to flight. The sectionaries, though they had very brave men at the head of their columns, fled with the utmost precipitation towards the head-quarters at the Filles St. Thomas. Danican and the officers then discovered the blunder which they had committed in marching upon the guns; instead of barricading the streets and posting themselves in the houses contiguous to the Tuileries. Still they were not discouraged, and they resolved upon a new effort. They determined to join the columns coming from the fauxbourg St. Germain to make a general attack upon the bridges. Accordingly, they rallied a column of from six to eight thousand men, directed them towards the Pont Neuf, where Lafond was posted with his troops, and formed a junction with the battalions coming from the Rue Dauphine, under the command of the Count de Maulevrier. All advanced together in close column from the Pont Neuf along the Quai Voltaire to the Pont Royal. Bonaparte, present wherever danger required his presence, hastened to the spot. He placed several batteries on the quay of the Tuileries, which is parallel to the Quai Voltaire; he ordered the guns placed at the head of the Pont Royal to advance, and to be pointed in such a manner as to enfilade the quay by which the assailants were coming. Having made these preparations, he suffered the sectionaries to approach: then all at once, he gave orders to fire. A shower of grape from the bridge met the sectionaries in front, another from the quay of the Tuileries, took them obliquely, and carried terror and destruction into their ranks. Young Lafond, full of intrepidity, rallied around him the steadiest of his men, and again marched upon the bridge, to make himself master of the guns. A redoubled fire drove back his

column. He endeavored in vain to bring it forward a third time : it fled and dispersed under the fire of a well-directed artillery.

The conflict, which had begun at half-past four, was over at six. Bonaparte, who, during the action, had displayed an unquitting energy, and who had fired upon the population of the capital, as though it had been Austrian battalions, then gave orders to charge the guns with powder, to complete the dispersion of the insurgents. Some sectionaries had intrenched themselves in the Place Vendôme, in the church of St. Roch, and in the Palais Royal; he made his troops debouch by all the outlets of the Rue St. Honoré, and detached a corps which, starting from the Place Louis XV., proceeded through the Rue Royale and along the boulevards. He thus swept the Place Vendôme, cleared the church of St. Roch, invested the Palais Royal, and blockaded it to avoid a night engagement.

Next morning, a few musket-shot were sufficient to produce the evacuation of the Palais Royal and the section of Lepelletier, where the rebels had formed the design to intrench themselves. Bonaparte ordered some barricades formed near the Barrière des Sergens to be removed, and a detachment from St. Germain, which was bringing cannon to the sectionaries, to be stopped. Tranquillity was completely restored on the 14th.*

* The following is an extract from Bonaparte's own account of this memorable transaction which was dictated by him, when at St. Helena, to Las Cases:—"As soon as Napoleon found himself invested with the command of the forces destined to protect the Assembly, he despatched Murat, with three hundred cavalry, to the Sablons, to bring off the artillery to the gardens of the Tuileries. One moment would have been too late. This officer, on arriving at the Sablons at two o'clock, fell in with the head of a column of the section Lepelletier, which had come also for the purpose of carrying off the artillery; but his troops being cavalry, and the ground a plain, the section retreated, and at six in the morning the forty guns entered the Tuileries. From six o'clock to nine, Napoleon visited all the posts and arranged the positions of his cannon. All the matches were lighted, and the whole of the little army, consisting of only five thousand men, was distributed at the different posts, or in reserve at the garden, and the Place Carrousel. The *générale* beat throughout Paris, and the national guards formed at all the debouches, thus surrounding the palace and gardens. The danger was imminent. Forty thousand national guards, well armed and trained, presented themselves as the enemies of the Convention who, in order to increase its forces, armed fifteen hundred individuals, called the Patriots of 1789. These men fought with the greatest valour, and were of the greatest importance to the success of the day. General Cartaux, who had been stationed at Pont Neuf with four hundred men and four pieces of cannon, with orders to defend the two sides of the bridge, abandoned his post and fell back under the wickets. At the same time the national guard occupied the garden of the Infanta. They professed to be well-affected towards the Convention, and nevertheless seized on this post without orders. The sectionaries every moment sent women, or themselves advanced unarmed, and waving their hats over their heads, to fraternize with the troops of the line. On the 13th of Vendémiaire, at three o'clock, Danican, general of the sections, sent a flag of truce to summon the Convention to dismiss the troops and disarm the Terrorists. This messenger traversed the posts blindfolded, with all the forms of war. He was then introduced into the midst of the committee of forty, in which he caused a great sensation by his threats. He was sent back towards four o'clock. About the same time seven hundred muskets, belts, and cartridge-boxes, were brought into the hall of the Convention to arm the members themselves as a *corps de reserve*. At a quarter after four some muskets were discharged from the Hôtel de Noailles, into which the sectionaries had introduced themselves; the balls reached the steps of the Tuileries. At the same instant Lafond's column debouched by the Quai Voltaire, marching over the Pont Royal. The batteries were then ordered to fire. After several discharges St. Roch was carried, and Lafond's column routed. The Rue St. Honoré, the Rue St. Florentin, and the adjacent places were swept by the guns. About a hundred men attempted to make a stand at the Théâtre de la République, but a few shells from the howitzers dislodged them in an instant. At six o'clock all was over. There were about two hundred killed and wounded on the part of the sectionaries, and nearly as many on the side of the Convention. The fauxbourgs, if they did

The dead were immediately carried away, in order to remove all traces of this combat. There had been from three to four hundred killed and wounded on both sides.

This victory gave great joy to all the sincere friends of the republic, who could not help recognizing in this movement the influence of royalism. It restored to the threatened Convention, that is, to the Revolution and its authors, the authority which they needed for the establishment of the new institutions. Yet it was the unanimous opinion that a severe use should not be made of the victory. One charge was quite ready to be preferred against the Convention: people pretended that it had fought only in behalf of Terrorism, and with the intention of re-establishing it. It was of importance that they should not have grounds for imputing to it a design to spill blood. The sectionaries, on their part, proved that they were not clever conspirators, and that they were far from possessing the energy of the patriots; they had lost no time in returning to their homes, proud of having defied for a moment those guns which had so often broken the lines of Brunswick and Coburg. Provided they were allowed to extol their courage among themselves, but little danger was thenceforth to be apprehended from them. The Convention, therefore, contented itself with displacing the staff of the national guard; with dissolving the companies of grenadiers and chasseurs, which were the best organized, and contained almost all the young men with double queues; with putting the national guard for the future under the direction of the general commanding the army of the interior; with giving orders for disarming the section of Lepelletier and that of the Théâtre-Français; and with forming three commissions for trying the leaders of the rebellion, who, however, had almost all of them disappeared.

The companies of grenadiers and chasseurs sufficed themselves to be dissolved; the two sections of Lepelletier and the Théâtre-Français delivered up their arms without resistance: all, in short, submitted. The committees, entering into these views of clemency, winked at the escape of the guilty, or allowed them to remain in Paris, where they could scarcely keep themselves concealed. The commissioners pronounced no sentences except for contumacy. Only one of the chiefs was apprehended, namely, young Lafond. He had excited some interest by his courage: there was a wish to save him, but he persisted in declaring himself an emigrant and in avowing his rebellion, so that it was impossible to pardon him. To such a length was indulgence carried, that M. de Castellane, one of the members of the commission formed in the section of Lepelletier, meeting at night a patrole, who cried, "Who goes there?" replied, "Castellane, one of the contumacious!" The consequences of the 13th of Vendémiaire were, therefore, not sanguinary, and the capital was not at all shocked by them. The culprits withdrew, or walked about unmolested, and the drawing-rooms were exclusively occupied with the accounts of exploits which they dared avow. Without punishing those who had attacked it, the Convention contented

not rise in favor of the Convention, certainly did not act against it. It is untrue that, in the commencement of the action, the troops were ordered to fire with powder only; but it is a fact that when once they were engaged, and success had ceased to be doubtful, they fired without ball. On the 14th of Vendémiaire some assemblages still continued to take place in the section Lepelletier; they were, however, promptly dislodged, and the rest of the day was employed in going over the city, visiting the chief houses of the sections, gathering in arms, and reading proclamations. In the evening order was completely restored, and Paris once more perfectly quiet." E.

itself with rewarding those who had defended it; it declared that they had deserved well of their country; it voted gratuities to them; and gave a brilliant reception to Barras and Bonaparte.* Barras, already celebrated for the 9th of Thermidor, became much more so on account of the combat in Vendémiaire. To him was attributed the salvation of the Convention. He was not afraid to allow his young lieutenant to share in his glory. "It is General Bonaparte," said he, "whose prompt and skilful dispositions have saved this Assembly."† These words were applauded. Barras was confirmed in the command of the army of the interior, and Bonaparte in the appointment of his second.

The intriguing royalists were extremely disappointed on seeing the issue of the insurrection of the 13th. They lost no time in writing to Verona that they had been deceived by everybody; that money had been wanting; that "where gold was needed, they scarcely had old rags; that the monarchist deputies, those who had given them promises, had forfeited them and played an infamous game;" that it was "a Jacobin race," in which no trust was to be placed; that, unfortunately, those who wished to serve the cause were not sufficiently "compromised" and "bound;" that "the royalists of Paris, with green collar, black collar, and double queues, who displayed their bravadoes in the pit of the theatres, ran away at the first shot, and hid themselves under the beds of the women who endured them."

Lemaître, their chief, had been apprehended together with the different instigators of the section of Lepelletier. A great quantity of papers had been seized at his residence. They feared lest these papers should betray the secret of the plot, and above all, lest he should speak himself. Nevertheless, they were not disheartened; their creatures continued to act among the sectionaries. The kind of impunity which the latter enjoyed had emboldened them. As the Convention, though victorious, durst not strike them, it therefore acknowledged that public opinion was in their favour; it was, of course, not sure of the justice of its cause, since it hesitated. Though vanquished, they were prouder and loftier than it was, and they again appeared in the electoral assemblies to promote elections conformable with their wishes. The assemblies were to form themselves on the 20th of Vendémiaire and to last till the 30th; the new legislative body was to meet on the 5th of Brumaire. In Paris, the royalist agents procured the election of Saladin, the Conventionalist, whom they had already gained. In some of the departments they provoked quarrels, and some of the electoral assemblies were seen splitting into two distinct parties.

These intrigues, this recovered boldness, contributed greatly to exasperate

* "After this memorable conflict, when Bonaparte had been publicly received with enthusiasm by the Convention, who declared that he and Barras deserved well of their country, a great change took place in him, and the change in regard to attention to his person was not the least remarkable. He now never went out but in a handsome carriage, and he lived in a very respectable house, Rue des Capucines. In short he had become an important, a necessary personage, and all without noise, as if by magic."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

† "Those who read the bulletin of the 13th of Vendémiaire, cannot fail to observe the care which Bonaparte took to cast the reproach of shedding the first blood on the men he calls rebels. He made a great point of representing his adversaries as the aggressors. It is certain he long regretted that day. He often told me he would give years of his life to blot it out from the page of his history. He was convinced that the people of Paris were dreadfully irritated against him, and he would have been glad if Barras had never made that speech in the Convention, with the part of which complimentary to himself he was at the time so well pleased."—*Bourrienne*. E.

the patriots, who had seen all their prognostics fulfilled in the events of the 13th, who were proud both of having guessed rightly, and of having overcome by their courage the danger which they had so correctly foreseen. They were anxious that the victory might not prove useless to themselves, that it should lead to severities against their adversaries, and reparations for their friends confined in the prisons. They presented petitions, in which they prayed for the release of the detained persons, the dismissal of the officers appointed by Aubry, the restoration to their rank of those who had been displaced, the trial of the imprisoned deputies, and their reinsertion in the electoral lists, if they were innocent. The Mountain, supported by the tribunes, crowded with patriots, applauded these demands, and energetically claimed their adoption. Tallien, who had connected himself with it, and who was the civil head of the ruling party, as Barras was its military head—Tallien strove to repress it. He caused the last demand relative to the reinsertion of the detained deputies in the lists to be withdrawn, as contrary to the decrees of the 5th and 13th of Fructidor. Those decrees, in fact, declared the deputies who were then suspended from their functions ineligible. The Mountain, however, was not easier to manage than the sectionaries; and it seemed as though the last days of that Assembly, which had but one decade more to sit, could not possibly pass without storm.

The very tidings from the frontiers contributed to increase the agitation, by exciting the distrust of the patriots and the inextinguishable hopes of the royalists. We have seen that Jourdan had crossed the Rhine at Düsseldorf, and advanced upon the Sieg; that Pichegru had entered Mannheim, and thrown a division beyond the Rhine. Events so auspicious had not suggested any grand idea to Pichegru, who was so highly extolled, and herein he had proved either his perfidy or his incapacity. Agreeably to ordinary analogies, it is to his incapacity that his blunders ought to be attributed; for, even with the desire to betray, a man never throws away occasions for great victories; they always serve to enhance his price. Contemporaries worthy of belief have, nevertheless, thought that his false manœuvres should be ascribed to treason: he is, therefore, the only general known in history who ever purposely suffered himself to be beaten. It was not a corps that he should have pushed on beyond Mannheim, but his whole army, to take possession of Heidelberg, which is the essential point where the roads running from the Upper Rhine into the valleys of the Neckar and the Mayn cross one another. This would have been gaining the point by which Wurmser could have joined Clairfayt, separating those two generals for ever, securing the point by which it was possible to join Jourdan, and to form with him a mass that would have successively overwhelmed Clairfayt and Wurmser. Clairfayt, aware of the danger, quitted the banks of the Mayn and hastened to Heidelberg; but his lieutenant, Quasdanovich, assisted by Wurmser, had succeeded in dislodging from Heidelberg the division which Pichegru had left there. Pichegru was shut up in Mannheim; and Clairfayt, relieved from all fear for his communications with Wurmser, had immediately marched upon Jourdan. The latter, cooped up between the Rhine and the line of neutrality, could not live there as in an enemy's country, and, having no organized service for drawing his resources from the Netherlands, found himself, as soon as he could neither march forward nor join Pichegru, in a most critical position. Clairfayt, in particular, disregarding the neutrality, had placed himself in such a manner as to turn his left and to throw him into the Rhine. He

could not keep his ground there: it was therefore resolved by the representatives, with the assent of all the generals, that he should fall back on Mayence, and blockade it on the right bank. But this position would be no better than the preceding; it would leave him in the same penury; it would expose him to the attacks of Clairfayt in a disadvantageous situation; it would render him liable to lose his route towards Düsseldorf: it was consequently decided that he should retreat, for the purpose of regaining the Lower Rhine. This he did in good order, and without being molested by Clairfayt, who, meditating a grand plan, returned upon the Mayn to approach Mayence.

To these tidings of the retrograde march of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, were added alarming rumours concerning the army of Italy. Scherer had arrived there with two fine divisions of the Eastern Pyrenees, rendered disposable by the peace with Spain: it was nevertheless said that this general did not feel sure of his position, and that he demanded such succours as could be afforded him in *matériel* and supplies, without which he threatened to make a retrograde movement. Lastly, there was talk of a second English expedition, bringing Count d'Artois and fresh troops for effecting a landing.

These tidings, which certainly involved nothing alarming for the existence of the republic, still mistress of the course of the Rhine, which had two more armies to send, the one to Italy, the other to La Vendée, which had just learned by the affair at Quiberon to rely upon Hoche, and not to fear the expeditions of the emigrants—these tidings, nevertheless, contributed to rouse the royalists, terrified by Vendémiaire, and to exasperate the patriots, who were dissatisfied at the use which had been made of the victory. The discovery of the correspondence of Lemaître, in particular, produced the most unpleasant sensation. People discovered in it the entire plot which had been so long suspected; they acquired a certainty of a secret agency established in Paris, communicating with Vèrona, with La Vendée, and with all the provinces of France, exciting counter-revolutionary movements there, and having an understanding with several members of the Convention and of the committees. The very boasting of these paltry agents, who flattered themselves with having gained sometimes generals, at others deputies, and who pretended to have connexions with monarchists and Thermidorians, contributed to excite still stronger suspicions, and to make them hover over the heads of the deputies of the right side.

Rovère and Saladin were already mentioned, and against them convincing evidence had been obtained. The latter had published a pamphlet against the decrees of the 5th and the 13th of Fructidor, and had just been rewarded for it by the suffrages of the Parisian electors. Lesage, of Eure and Loire, La Rivière, Boissy-d'Anglas,* and Lanjuinais, were also pointed out as secret accomplices of the royalist agency. Their silence on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of Vendémiaire had greatly compromised them. The counter-revolutionary journals, by the warm praises which they bestowed upon these men, contributed to compromise them still more. Those same papers, which so highly extolled the seventy-three, loaded the Thermidorians with abuse. It was scarcely possible that a rupture should not ensue. The seventy-three and the Thermidorians still continued to meet at the

* "Boissy-d'Anglas was secretly connected with the royalist faction, and, we are told, entertained a lurking hatred and contempt for the people. He was the intimate friend of Aubry, who is also supposed to have superseded Bonaparte with a view to rob the republic of his talents and future victories.—*Hazlitt*. E.

residence of a mutual friend, but ill-humour and want of confidence prevailed among them. Towards the latter end of the session, they were talking there of the new elections, of the intrigues of royalism to influence them, and of the silence of Boissy, Lanjuinais, La Rivière, and Lesage, during the scenes of Vendémiaire. Legendre, with his usual petulance, censured the four deputies, who were present, for this silence. The latter strove to justify themselves. Lanjuinais dropped the very strange expression of "massacre of the 13th of Vendémiaire," and thus furnished proof either of extraordinary confusion of ideas, or of sentiments very far from republican. At this expression, Tallien flew into a violent passion, and would have retired, saying that he could stay no longer with royalists, and that he would go and denounce them to the Convention. The others surrounded and pacified him, and endeavoured to palliate the expression of Lanjuinais. The party, nevertheless, broke up in great ill-humour.

Meanwhile the agitation continued to increase in Paris. Distrust was everywhere augmented; and suspicions of royalism extended to everybody. Tallien moved that the Convention should form itself into a secret committee, and he formally denounced Lesage, La Rivière, Boissy-d'Anglas, and Lanjuinais. His proofs were not sufficient; they rested only upon inductions more or less probable, and the accusation was not supported. Louvet, though attached to the Thermidorians, did not support the charge against the four deputies, who were his friends; but he accused Rovère and Saladin, and painted their conduct in glaring colors. He followed their variations from the most vehement terrorism to the most vehement royalism, and obtained a decree for their arrest. L'Homond, compromised by Lemaître, and Aubry, the author of the military reaction, were likewise arrested.

The adversaries of Tallien, by way of reprisal, called for the publication of a letter from the Pretender to the Duke d'Harcourt, in which, remarking on the statements sent to him from Paris, he said, "I cannot believe that Tallien is a royalist of the right sort." It should be recollected that the Paris agents flattered themselves that they had gained Tallien and Hoche. Their habitual boasting, and their calumnies respecting Hoche, are sufficient to justify Tallien. This letter produced but little effect; for Tallien, since the affair of Quiberon, and since his conduct in Vendémiaire, so far from being deemed a royalist, was considered as a sanguinary Terrorist. Thus men, who ought to have united in saving by their joint efforts a revolution which was their own work, were filled with distrust of one another, and suffered themselves to be compromised, if not gained, by royalism. Owing to the calumnies of the royalists, the last days of this illustrious Assembly ended, as they had begun, in storms and agitation.

Tallien lastly moved the appointment of a commission of five members, charged to propose efficacious measures for saving the Revolution during the transition from one government to another. The Convention nominated Tallien, Dubois-Crancé, Florent Guyot, Roux of La Marne, and Pons of Verdun. The object of this commission was to prevent the manœuvres of the royalists in the elections, and to satisfy the republicans in regard to the composition of the new government. The Mountain, full of ardour, and conceiving that this commission was about to fulfil all its wishes, spread a report, and believed it for a moment, that all the elections were to be annulled, and that the Assembly was about to delay putting the constitution in operation for some time longer. It had, in fact, persuaded itself that the time was not come for

leaving the republic to itself, that the royalists were not sufficiently crushed, and that the revolutionary government was needed for some time longer, in order to quell them completely. The counter-revolutionists affected to circulate the same reports. Thibaudeau, the deputy, who thus far had not gone along either with the Mountain or with the Thermidorians, or with the monarchists, who had nevertheless shown himself a sincere republican, and on whom thirty-two departments had just fixed their choice, because in electing him they had the advantage of not declaring for any party—Thibaudeau could naturally not distrust the state of opinion so much as the Thermidorians. He thought that Tallien and his party calumniated the nation by wishing to take so many precautions against it; he even supposed that Tallien harboured personal designs, that he meant to place himself at the head of the Mountain and to give himself a dictatorship, upon pretext of preserving the republic from the royalists. He denounced, in a virulent and acrimonious manner this supposed design of dictatorship, and made an unexpected sally against Tallien, which surprised all the republicans, because they could not comprehend its motive. This attack even compromised Thibaudeau in the opinion of the most distrustful, and caused intentions which he never entertained to be ascribed to him. Though he reminded the assembly that he was a regicide, it was well known from the intercepted letters* that the death of Louis XVI. might be expiated by important services rendered to his heirs, and this quality no longer appeared to be a complete guarantee. Thus, though a firm republican, this sally against Tallien injured him in the estimation of the patriots, and gained him extraordinary praises from the royalists. He was called *Bar of Iron*.

The Convention passed to the order of the day, and awaited the report of Tallien in the name of the commission of five. The result of the labours of this commission was a decree comprehending the following measures:

Exclusion of all emigrants and relatives of emigrants from all functions, civil, municipal, legislative, judicial, and military, till the general peace;

Permission for all those who would not live under the laws of the republic to quit France and to carry their property along with them;

Dismissal of all officers who had not served during the revolutionary system, that is, since the 10th of August, and who had been replaced since the 15th Germinal, that is, since the proceedings of Aubry.

These dispositions were adopted. The Convention then decreed in a solemn manner the union of Belgium with France, and its division into departments. At length, on the 4th of Brumaire, at the moment of breaking up, it determined to finish its long and stormy career by a signal act of clemency. It decreed that the punishment of death should be abolished in the French republic, from the time of the general peace. It changed the name of the Place de la Revolution into that of Place de la Concorde; and lastly, it pronounced an amnesty for all acts connected with the Revolution, excepting the revolt of the 13th of Vendémiaire. This was setting at liberty men of all parties excepting Lemaître, the only one of the conspirators of Vendémiaire against whom there existed sufficient evidence. The sentence of transportation pronounced against Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, and Barrère, which had been revoked for the purpose

* *Moniteur*, year IV, p. 150. Letter from d'Entraigues to Lemaître, dated October 10, 1795.

of trying them anew, that is, to cause them to be condemned to death, was confirmed. Barrère, who alone had not yet been embarked,* was directed to be put on shipboard. All the prisons were to be thrown open. At half-past two, on the 4th of Brumaire, year IV (October 26, 1795,) the president of the Convention pronounced these words: "The National Convention declares that its mission is accomplished and its session is closed." Shouts, a thousand times repeated, of *The republic forever!* accompanied these words.

Thus terminated the long and memorable session of the National Convention. The Constituent Assembly had the ancient feudal organization to destroy, and to lay the foundation of a new organization: the Legislative Assembly had had to make trial of that organization, in presence of the King, left in the constitution. After a trial of some months, it ascertained and declared the incompatibility of the King with the new institutions, and his connivances with-leagued Europe: it suspended the King and the constitution, and dissolved itself. The Convention, therefore, found a dethroned king, an annulled constitution, an administration entirely destroyed, a paper money discredited, old skeletons of regiments worn out and empty. Thus it was not liberty that it had to proclaim in presence of an enfeebled and despised throne, it was liberty that it had to defend against all Europe; a very different task. Without being for a moment daunted, it proclaimed the republic in the face of the hostile armies; it then sacrificed the King, to cut off all retreat from itself; it subsequently took all the powers into its own hands, and constituted itself a dictatorship. Voices were raised in its bosom, which talked of humanity when it wished to hear of nothing but energy; it stifled them. This dictatorship, which the necessity of the general preservation had obliged it to arrogate to itself over France, twelve of its members soon arrogated to themselves over it, for the same reason and on account of the same necessity. From the Alps to the sea, from the Pyrenees to the Rhine, these twelve dictators seized upon all, both men and things, and commenced the greatest and the most awful struggle with the nations of Europe ever recorded in history. In order that they might remain supreme directors of this immense work, they sacrificed all parties by turns; and according to the condition attached to humanity, they had the excesses of their qualities. These qualities were strength and energy; their excess was cruelty. They spilt torrents of blood, till, having become useless from victory, and odious by the abuse of strength, they fell. The Convention then took the dictatorship again into its own hands, and began by degrees to relax the springs of that terrible administration. Rendered confident by victory, it listened to humanity, and indulged its spirit of regeneration. It aimed at everything good and great, and pursued this purpose for a year; but the parties, crushed under its pitiless authority, revived under its clemency. Two factions, in which were blended, under infinite variety of shades, the friends and the foes of the Revolution, attacked it by turns. It vanquished the one in Germinal and Prairial, the other in Vendémiaire, and, till the last day, showed itself heroic amidst dangers. Lastly, it framed a republican constitution, and, after a struggle of three years with Europe, with the factions, with itself, mutilated and bleeding, it dissolved itself and transmitted the government of France to the Directory.†

* "Barrère contrived to be left behind, at the island of Oleron, when his colleagues sailed for Cayenne, upon which Boursault observed, that it was the first time he ever failed to sail with the wind."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† "During this frightful period of three years, the violence of the different factions

Its memory has remained terrible, but in its favour there need only be alleged one fact, one only, and all reproaches fall before this important fact—it saved us from foreign invasion. The preceding assemblies had bequeathed to it France compromised. The Convention bequeathed France saved to the Directory and the Empire. If, in 1793, the emigrants had returned to France, there would have been left no vestige of the works of the Constituent Assembly and of the benefits of the Revolution. Instead of those admirable civil institutions, those magnificent exploits, which signalized the Constituent Assembly, the Convention, the Directory, the Consulate, and the Empire, we should have had the base and sanguinary anarchy which we behold at this day beyond the Pyrenees. In repelling the invasion of the kings leagued against our republic, the Convention insured to the Revolution an uninterrupted action of thirty years on the soil of France, and gave its works time to become consolidated, and to acquire that strength which enables them to defy the impotent wrath of the enemies of humanity.

To the men who call themselves with pride patriots of 89, the Convention will always be able to say, "You provoked the combat—we sustained and finished it."

THE DIRECTORY.

INSTALLATION OF THE DIRECTORY—ITS FIRST PROCEEDINGS—LOSS OF THE LINES OF MAYENCE, AND ARMISTICE ON THE RHINE—BATTLE OF LOANO—EXPEDITION OF THE ÎLE-DIEU.

THE 5th of Brumaire, year IV (October 27, 1795), was the day fixed for putting in force the directorial constitution. On that day, the two-thirds of the Convention retained in the legislative body were to be joined by the third just elected by the electoral assemblies, to divide themselves into two councils, to constitute themselves, and then to proceed to the nomination of the five directors, who were to be invested with the executive power. During these first moments, devoted to the organization of the legislative body and the Directory, the former committees of government were to remain, and to retain the deposit of all the powers. The members of the Convention, sent to the armies or into the departments, were to continue their mission until the installation of the Directory should be notified to them.

A great agitation prevailed in the public mind. The moderate and the converted the Revolution into a war, and the house of Assembly into a field of battle. Each party struggled for victory in order to obtain the ascendancy. The Girondins tried, and perished; the party of Robespierre tried, and perished also. Everything was provisional, both power, and men, and parties, and systems; because one thing only was possible, and that was war. A whole year, from the time it regained its authority, was necessary to enable the Convention to restore the nation to the dominion of the law. It had now returned to the point from which it started, having accomplished its real design, which was to protect and finally consolidate the republic. After having astonished the world, it disappeared from the scene. Three years of dictatorship had been lost to liberty, but not to the Revolution."—*Mignet*. E.

vehement patriots showed one and the same irritation against the party which had attacked the Convention on the 13th of Vendémiaire; they were full of alarm; they exhorted one another to unite more closely than ever, in order to resist royalism; they loudly asserted that only such men as were irrevocably bound to serve the cause of the Revolution ought to be called to the Directory and to all public offices; they entertained a great distrust of the deputies of the new third, and anxiously investigated their names, their past lives, and their known or presumed opinions.

The sectionaries, cut down by grape-shot on the 13th of Vendémiaire, but treated with the utmost clemency after the victory, had again grown insolent. Proud of having for a moment sustained the fire, they seemed to imagine that the Convention, in sparing them, had been influenced by respect for their strength, and tacitly acknowledged the justice of their cause. They showed themselves everywhere, boasted of their exploits, repeating in the drawing rooms the like impertinences against the great Assembly which had just relinquished power, and affected to place strong reliance on the deputies of the new third.

These deputies, who were to take their seats among the veterans of the Revolution, and to represent the new opinion which had sprung up in France after a long series of storms, were far from justifying all the distrust of the republicans and all the hopes of the counter-revolutionists. Among them were some members of the old assemblies, as Vaublanc, Pastoret, Dumas, Dupont de Nemours, and the honest and learned Tronchet, who had rendered such important services to our legislation. Next were seen many new men, not those extraordinary men who shine at the outset of revolutions, but men of solid merit, who succeed genius in the career of politics as in that of the arts; for instance, lawyers and administrators, such as Portalis, Siméon, Barbé-Marbois,* Tronçon-Ducoudray. In general, these new deputies, setting aside some decided counter-revolutionists, belonged to that class of moderate men, who, having taken no share in events, having had no opportunity either to do wrong or to deceive themselves, pretended to be attached to the Revolution, but separated it at the same time from what they called its crimes. Though naturally disposed to censure the past, they were already somewhat reconciled with the Convention and the republic by their election, for men willingly forgive an order of things in which they have found places. For the rest, strangers to Paris and to politics, timid as yet upon this new stage, they courted and visited the most distinguished members of the National Convention.

Such was the disposition of minds on the 5th of Brumaire, year IV. The members of the Convention who had been re-elected, met and strove to influence the nominations that were yet to be made, in order to remain masters of the government. By virtue of the celebrated decrees of the 5th and 13th of Fructidor, the number of the Conventionals in the new legislative body was to be five hundred. If this number were left incomplete by the re-elections, the members present on the 5th of Brumaire were to form themselves into an electoral body for the purpose of completing it.

* "Barbé-Marbois was son of the director of the mint at Metz. In 1792 he went to Vienna as assistant to the ambassador; and on his return to Paris remained in obscurity till 1795. At that period he was deputed to the Council of Ancients, but in 1797 was condemned to banishment. He was recalled to France after the 18th of Brumaire, was appointed councillor of state, and, in 1801, director of the public treasury. In 1805 he was appointed grand officer of the Legion of Honour. He was the author of several esteemed works, among which are an 'Essay on the Means of Inspiring a Taste for Virtue.'"—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

In the committee of public welfare, a list was drawn up, in which were inserted many decided Mountaineers. This list was not wholly approved of. However, none but known patriots were placed in it. On the 5th, all the deputies present, forming a single assembly, constituted themselves an electoral body. In the first place, they completed the two-thirds of Conventionalists who were to sit in the legislative body; they then drew up a list of all the deputies married and past the age of forty, from which they took by lot two hundred and fifty to compose the Council of the Ancients.

On the following day, the Council of the Five Hundred assembled at the Riding-house, in the old hall of the Constituent Assembly, chose Daunou president, and Rewbel, Chénier, Cambacérès, and Thibaudeau, secretaries. The Council of the Ancients met in the former hall of the Convention, called Lareveillère-Lepeaux to the chair, and Baudin, Lanjuinais, Bréard, and Charles Lecroix, to the bureau. These selections were suitable, and proved that in both councils the majority was attached to the republican cause. The councils declared that they were constituted, notified this to each other by messages, provisionally confirmed the powers of the deputies, and deferred the verification of them till after the organization of the government.

The most important of all the elections was yet to take place, namely, that of the five magistrates to be invested with the executive power. On this choice depended at once the fate of the republic and the fortune of individuals. The five directors, in fact, having the nomination of all the public functionaries, could compose the government at pleasure, and fill it with men attached or hostile to the republic. They would be masters more-over of the destiny of individuals; they would have it in their power to open to them, or to shut them out of, the career of public employments, to reward or to discourage talents faithful to the cause of the Revolution. The influence which they must exercise would therefore be immense. In consequence, all were deeply interested in the choice that was about to be made.

The Conventionalists met to consider of this choice. All agreed that they ought to choose regicides, in order to give themselves surer guarantees. Opinions, after wavering for some time, settled in favour of Barras, Rewbel, Sieyes, Lareveillère-Lepeaux, and Le Tourneur. Barras had rendered important services in Thermidor, Prairial, and Vendémiaire; he had been, in some sort, the legislator-general opposed to all the factions; the last battle, of the 13th of Vendémiaire, had, in particular, given him great consequence, though the merit of the dispositions belonged to young Bonaparte. Rewbel, shut up in Mayence during the siege, and frequently called into the committees since the 9th of Thermidor, had adopted the opinion of the Thermidorians, shown aptness for and application to business, and a certain vigour of character. Sieyes was regarded as the first speculative genius of the time. Lareveillère-Lepeaux had voluntarily associated himself with the Girondins on the day of their proscription, had come back to his colleagues on the 9th of Thermidor, and had opposed, with all his might, the two factions which had alternately attacked the Convention. A mild and humane patriot, he was the only Girondin whom the Mountain did not suspect, and the only patriot whose virtues the counter-revolutionists durst not deny. He had but one defect, in the opinion of certain persons, namely, the deformity of his person, upon which it was alleged the directorial mantle would sit but ill. Lastly, Le Tourneur, known for a patriot, and esteemed on account of his character, had formerly been an officer of

engineers, and had lately succeeded Carnot in the committee of public welfare, but was far from possessing his talents. Some of the Conventionists were for placing among the five directors one of the generals who had most distinguished themselves at the head of the armies, as Kleber, Moreau, Pichegru, or Hoche; but the Assembly was afraid of giving too much influence to the military, and would not call any of them to the supreme power. To render the elections certain, the Conventionists agreed among themselves to resort to an expedient which, without being illegal, had very much the appearance of a trick. Agreeably to the constitution, the Council of the Five Hundred was to present to the Council of the Ancients a list of ten candidates for each directorship; and out of these ten that council was to choose one. Thus for the five dictatorships it was necessary to present fifty candidates. The Conventionists, who had the majority in the Five Hundred, agreed to place Barras, Rewbel, Sieyes, Lareveillère-Lepeaux, and Le Tourneur, at the head of the list, and then to add forty-five unknown names, none of which could possibly be chosen. In this manner a preference was forced for the five candidates whom the Conventionists were desirous of calling to the Directory.

This plan was strictly followed; but, as one name was wanting to make up the forty-five, that of Cambacérès was added, to the great satisfaction of the new third and of all the moderates. When the list was presented to the Ancients, they appeared to be extremely displeased at this manner of forcing their choice. Dupont of Nemours moved an adjournment. "The forty-five persons who complete this list," said he, "are no doubt not unworthy of your choice, for, in the contrary case, it would be evident that an attempt has been made to do you violence in favour of five individuals. No doubt, these names, which reach you for the first time, belong to men of modest virtue, and who are also worthy of representing a great republic; but it requires time to become acquainted with them. Their very modesty, which has kept them concealed, compels us to make inquiries before we can appreciate their merit, and authorizes us to demand an adjournment." The Ancients, though dissatisfied with this procedure, shared the sentiments of the majority of the Five Hundred, and confirmed the choice of the five persons who had thus been forced upon them. Out of two hundred and eighteen votes, Lareveillère-Lepeaux obtained two hundred and sixteen, such was the unanimity of esteem for that excellent man; Le Tourneur obtained one hundred and eighty-nine; Rewbel, one hundred and seventy-six; Sieyes, one hundred and fifty-six; Barras, one hundred and twenty-nine. This last was more of a party man than the others; it was therefore natural that he should excite greater difference of opinion and gain fewer votes.

The election of these five persons gave the greatest satisfaction to the revolutionists, who thus saw themselves assured of the government. It was yet to be ascertained whether the five directors would accept the appointment. There was no doubt respecting three of them, but two were known to care very little about power. Lareveillère-Lepeaux, a simple, modest man, but little qualified for the management of affairs and of men, sought and found no pleasure but in the Jardin des Plantes with the brothers Thouin. It was doubtful whether he could be prevailed upon to accept the functions of director. Sieyes, with a mighty mind, capable of conceiving everything, a matter of business as well as a principle, was nevertheless incapable, from disposition, of the duties of government. Perhaps, too, full of spleen against a republic which was not constituted to his fancy, he would not be

disposed to accept the direction of it. In fact, it was requisite that, among these five individuals, men of business or of action, there should be one of pure and well known virtue. Such a one was found among them by the acceptance of Lareveillère-Lepeaux. As for Sieyes, his repugnance was not to be overcome; he declined, alleging that he considered himself unfit for the government.

It was necessary to provide another in his stead. There was a man who enjoyed immense reputation in Europe—namely, Carnot. His military services, though important, were exaggerated: to him were attributed all our victories; and, though he had been a member of the great committee of public welfare, the colleague of Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon, it was known that he had opposed them with great energy. In him was seen the union of a great military genius with a stoic character. His reputation, and that of Sieyes, were the two greatest of the time. The best thing that could be done, to give consideration to the Directory, was to supply the place of one of these two reputations by the other. Carnot was, accordingly, inserted in the new list beside the men who rendered his nomination compulsory. Cambacérès was also added to the list, which contained only eight unknown persons. The Ancients, however, had no hesitation in preferring Carnot; he obtained one hundred and seventeen votes against one hundred and thirteen, and became one of the five directors.

Thus Barras, Rewbel, Lareveillère-Lepeaux, Le Tourneur, and Carnot, became the five magistrates invested with the government of the republic. Among these five persons there was not a man of genius, nor even any man of high reputation, excepting Carnot. But what was to be done at the end of a sanguinary revolution, which in a few years, had devoured several generations of men of genius of every description? In the assemblies there was not left one extraordinary orator, in diplomacy there remained not one celebrated negotiator. Barthelemy alone, by his treaties with Prussia and Spain, had gained a sort of consideration, but he inspired the patriots with no confidence. In the armies, great generals were already formed, and still greater were training; * but there was yet no decided superiority, and, besides, a distrust was entertained of the military. Thus, as we have observed, there were but two men of high reputation, Sieyes and Carnot. As it was impossible to gain the one, the other was secured. Barras had action; Rewbel and Le Tourneur were assiduous at business; Lareveillère-Lepeaux was a discreet and upright man: it would have been difficult, at the moment, to compose the supreme magistracy in any other way.

The state of things on the accession of these five magistrates to power was deplorable; and it required great courage and virtue in some, and great ambition in others, to accept the task that was imposed upon them. A combat was just over, in which it had been found necessary to call in one faction to fight another. The patriots who had spilt their blood had become importunate; the sectionaries had not ceased to be daring. The affair of the 13th of Vendémiaire had, in short, not been one of those victories followed by terror, which, while they subject the government to the yoke of the victorious faction, deliver it, at least, from the vanquished fac-

* "Under the stern rule of the Convention, which knew no excuse for ill success, and stimulated by opportunities, which seemed to offer every prize to honourable ambition, arose a race of generals whom the world scarcely ever saw equalled, and of whom there certainly never, at any other period, flourished so many in the same service. In those early wars, and summoned out by the stern proscription, were trained men whose names began already to stir the French soldier as with the sound of the trumpet."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

tion. The patriots had lifted their heads again; the sectionaries had not submitted. Paris was full of intriguers of all parties, agitated by every kind of ambition, and plunged into the deepest distress.

At this time, as in Prairial, there was a scarcity of the first necessities of life in all the great communes: the paper-money produced confusion in trade, and left the government without resources. The Convention having refused to assent to the disposal of the national domains for thrice their value in 1790 in paper, the sales had been suspended; the paper, which could only come back by means of the sales, had continued in circulation, and its depreciation had made alarming progress. To no purpose had the scale of proportion for diminishing the loss of those who received the assignats been devised; that scale reduced them only to a fifth, whereas they had not even the one-hundred-and-fiftieth of the primitive value. The state, receiving nothing but paper for the taxes, was ruined as well as private individuals. It levied, it is true, one-half of the land-tax in kind, which furnished some supplies for the consumption of the armies; but the means of transport were frequently wanting, and those articles remained in the magazines till they were spoiled. To add to its expenditure, it was obliged, as we know, to feed Paris. It furnished the ration at a price in assignats which scarcely covered the hundredth part of the cost. This expedient, however, was the only possible one for supplying the annuitants and the public functionaries, who were paid in assignats, with bread at least; but this obligation had raised the expenditure to an enormous amount. Having nothing but paper to defray it, the state had issued assignats without limit, and had increased the quantity of them, in a few months, from twelve to twenty-nine thousand million. The old returns and the sums in the treasury reduced the actual amount in circulation to nineteen thousand million, which exceeded all the amounts known in finance. To keep down the issues as much as possible, the commission of five, instituted in the last days of the Convention for devising extraordinary means of police and finance, had induced the Assembly to decree, in principle, an extraordinary war-contribution of twenty times the land-tax, and ten times the tax on patents, which might produce about six or seven thousand million in paper. But this contribution was decreed only in principle; and, meanwhile, inscriptions of *rentes* were given to the contractors, which they received at a ruinous rate. A *rente* of five francs was allowed for a capital of ten. An experiment was also made of a voluntary loan at 3 per cent., which was ruinous and ill filled.

In this dreadful distress, the public functionaries, being unable to live upon their salaries, gave in their resignation. The soldiers left the armies, which had lost one-third of their effective force, and returned to the towns, where the weakness of the government allowed them to remain unmolested. Thus to supply five armies and an immense capital, with the mere faculty of issuing assignats without value; to recruit those armies; to reconstitute the entire government between the two hostile factions—such was the task of the five magistrates who had just been called to the supreme administration of the republic.

The necessity of order is so great in all communities, that they naturally favour its re-establishment, and wonderfully second those who undertake the duty of reorganizing them: but it would be impossible to reorganize them, unless they were favourably disposed towards it, and we ought not the less to acknowledge the courage and the efforts of

those who venture to undertake such enterprises. The five directors, on taking possession of the Luxembourg, found not a single article of furniture there. The keeper lent them a rickety table, a sheet of letter-paper, and an inkstand, for the purpose of writing the first message, notifying to the two councils that the Directory was constituted.* In the treasury there was not a sou in specie. Every night the assignats necessary for the service of the following day were printed, and they were issued quite wet from the presses of the republic. The greatest uncertainty respecting supplies prevailed; and, for several days, there had been nothing but a few ounces of bread or rice to distribute among the people.

The first demand made was for funds. According to the new constitution, it was requisite that every expense should be preceded by a demand for funds, with an allotment to each ministry. The two councils granted the demand, and then the treasury, which had been rendered independent of the Directory, paid the sums granted by the decree of the two councils. The Directory demanded at first three thousand million in assignats, which was granted, and which it would be necessary to exchange immediately for specie. Was it the duty of the treasury or of the Directory to negotiate this exchange? That was the first difficulty. The treasury, if it made bargains itself, would be overstepping the duty of mere superintendence. That difficulty, however, was removed by assigning to it the negotiation of the paper. The three thousand million could produce at most twenty or twenty-five million of livres. That sum could do no more than supply the first current wants. A plan of finance was immediately taken into consideration, and the Directory intimated to the two councils that it should submit that plan to them in a few days. Meanwhile it was necessary to feed Paris, which was destitute of every thing; and there was no longer any organized system of requisitions. The Directory demanded the faculty of requiring, by way of summons, in the departments contiguous to that of the Seine, the quantity of two hundred and fifty thousand quintals of corn, on account of the land-tax payable in kind. The next care of the Directory was to demand a number of laws for the repression of all kinds of disorders, and especially of desertion, which was daily diminishing the strength of the armies. At the same time, it set about appointing the persons who were to compose the administration. Merle of Douai was called to the ministry of justice; Aubert-Dubayet was removed from the army of the coast of Cherbourg to take the portfolio of war; Charles de Lacroix was placed at the head of foreign affairs, Faypoult, over the finances, and Benezech, an enlightened administrator, was appointed to the interior. It then studied to find, among the multitude of applicants by whom it was beset, the men best qualified to fill

* "When the directors entered the Luxembourg, there was not a piece of furniture in it. They procured a small wooden table, one of the feet of which was destroyed by age, upon which they deposited a bundle of letter-paper and a writing-desk, which fortunately they had taken the precaution to bring from the committee of public safety. Who would believe that in a closet, seated upon four straw chairs round this table, in front of some half-kindled billets of wood, the whole borrowed from the housekeeper Dupont, the members of the new government, after having examined all the difficulties, nay, I would say, the horrors of their situation, determined boldly to meet every obstacle, and to rescue France from the abyss in which she was plunged, or perish? They drew out upon a sheet of letter-paper the act by which they declared they had entered upon their functions, an act which they immediately addressed to the legislative assemblies." — *Bailloul* E.

public offices. In this precipitation it was not possible to avoid making some very bad selections. It employed, in particular, a great number of patriots who had rendered themselves too conspicuous to be discreet and impartial. The 13th of Vendémiaire had rendered them necessary, and caused the alarm which they had excited to be forgotten. The entire government, directors, ministers, agents of all sorts, was thus formed in hatred of the 13th of Vendémiaire, and of the party which had brought about that day. The Conventional deputies themselves were not yet recalled from their missions: and for this the Directory needed but to omit to notify its installation to them; it meant thus to allow them time to finish their work. Fréron, sent to the South, to repress the counter-revolutionary fury there, was consequently enabled to continue his tour in those unhappy districts. The five directors laboured without intermission, and displayed, in the first moments, the same zeal that the members of the great committee of public welfare had exhibited in the ever-memorable days of September and October, 1793.

Unluckily, the difficulties of this task were aggravated by defeats. The retreat which the army of the Sambre and Meuse had been forced to make gave rise to the most alarming rumours. Owing to the most vicious of all plans and the treason of Pichegru, the projected invasion of Germany had been quite unsuccessful, as we have seen. The intention was to cross the Rhine at two points, and to occupy the right bank with two armies. Jourdan, leaving Düsseldorf after the most favourable passage of the river, had found himself upon the Lahn, cooped up between the Prussian line and the Rhine, and destitute of everything, in a neutral country, where he could not live at discretion. This distress, however, would have lasted but for a few days, if he could have advanced into the enemy's country and joined Pichegru, who had found in the occupation of Mannheim so easy and so unexpected a way of crossing the Rhine. Jourdan would have repaired by this junction the fault of the plan of campaign prescribed to him; but Pichegru, who was still discussing the conditions of his defection with the agents of the Prince of Condé, had thrown but an insufficient corps beyond the Rhine. He was bent on not crossing the river with the bulk of his army, and left Jourdan alone *en flèche* in the midst of Germany. This position could not last. All who had the least notion of war were alarmed for Jourdan. Hoche, who, while commanding in Bretagne, cast a look of interest on the operations of the other armies, adverted to the subject in all his letters. Jourdan was therefore at length obliged to retreat and to recross the Rhine; and in so doing he acted very judiciously, and deserved esteem for the manner in which he conducted his retreat.

The enemies of the republic triumphed on occasion of this retrograde movement, and spread the most alarming reports. Their malicious predictions were realized at the very moment of the installation of the Directory. The fault of the plan adopted by the committee of public welfare consisted in dividing its forces, and thus leaving to the enemy, who occupied Mayence, the advantage of a central position, and in thereby suggesting to him the idea of collecting his troops, and directing his entire mass against one or other of our two armies. To this situation General Clairfayt was indebted for a happy inspiration, which attested a genius that he had not previously displayed, and that he displayed no more in such a manner as to profit by it. A corps of nearly thirty thousand French blockaded Mayence. Clairfayt, master of that fortress, could debouch from it, and overwhelm the blockading corps, before Jourdan and Pichegru had time to come up.

He actually seized the most suitable moment for this operation with great precision. No sooner had Jourdan retired upon the Lower Rhine by Düsseldorf and Neuwied, than Clairfayt, leaving a detachment to watch him, proceeded to Mayence, and there concentrated his forces, with the intention of debouching suddenly upon the blockading corps. That corps, under the command of General Schaal, extended in a semicircle around Mayence, and formed a line of nearly four leagues. Though great care had been taken to fortify it, still its extent did not permit it to be accurately closed. Clairfayt, who had examined it, had discovered more than one easily accessible point. The extremity of this semicircular line, which was to support itself on the upper course of the Rhine, left an extensive meadow between the last intrenchments and the river. It was upon this point that Clairfayt resolved to make his principal effort. On the 7th of Brumaire (October 29), he debouched by Mayence with an imposing force, but yet not considerable enough to render the operation decisive. Military men have, in fact, censured him for having left on the right bank a corps which, had it been employed on the left bank, would inevitably have brought ruin upon a part of the French army. Clairfayt despatched along the meadow, which occupied the space between the line of blockade and the Rhine, a column which advanced with the musket on the arm. At the same time, a flotilla of gun-boats ascended the river to second the movement of this column. He directed the rest of his army to march upon the front of the lines, and made arrangements for a prompt and vigorous attack. The French division, finding itself at once attacked in front, turned by a corps filing along the river, and cannonaded by a flotilla, whose balls reached its rear, took fright and fled in disorder. The division of St. Cyr, which was placed next to it, then found itself uncovered and likely to be overwhelmed. Fortunately, the firmness and judgment of its general extricated it from danger. He shifted from front to rear, and executed his retreat in good order, sending word to the other divisions to do the same. From that moment the whole semicircle was abandoned; St. Cyr's division retreated towards the army of the Upper Rhine; Mengaud's and Renaud's divisions, which occupied the other part of the line, finding themselves separated, fell back upon the army of the Sambre and Meuse, a corps of which, commanded by Marceau, advanced without accident into the Hundsrück. The retreat of these two latter divisions was extremely difficult, and would have been impossible, had Clairfayt, comprehending the whole importance of his admirable manœuvre, acted with stronger masses and with sufficient rapidity. In the opinion of military men, he might, after breaking the French line, have rapidly turned the divisions which were descending towards the Lower Rhine, surrounded them, and cooped them up in the elbow formed by the Rhine from Mayence to Bingen.

Clairfayt's manœuvre was not the less admirable, and it was considered as the first of the kind executed by the allies. While it had broken up the lines of Mayence, Wurmser had made a simultaneous attack upon Pichegru, taken from him the bridge of the Neckar, and then driven him within the walls of Mannheim. Thus the two French armies, thrown beyond the Rhine, retaining, it is true, Mannheim, Neuwied, and Düsseldorf, but separated from one another by Clairfayt, who had driven off the force blockading Mayence, were liable to incur great risks before a bold and enterprising general. The last event had given them a violent shock: some of the fugitives had run home into the interior; and an absolute destitution added to the discouragement of the defeat. Luckily, Clairfayt was in

no hurry to act, and took more time than was necessary for concentrating all his forces.

These sad tidings, reaching Paris between the 11th and 12th of Brumaire, at the very moment of the installation of the Directory, contributed greatly to augment the difficulties of the new republican organization. Other events, less dangerous in reality, though quite as serious in appearance, were occurring in the West. A fresh landing of emigrants threatened the republic. After the disastrous descent at Quiberon, which, as we have seen, was attempted with only part of the forces prepared by the English government, the wrecks of the expedition had been carried on board the English fleet, and then landed on the little island of Ouat. Thither the unfortunate families of the Morbihan had been conveyed, who had hastened to meet the expedition, and the remnant of the emigrant regiments. An epidemic disease and violent dissensions prevailed on that little rock. After some time, Puisaye, who had been recalled by all the Chouans, (who had broken the pacification, and who attributed the disaster at Quiberon to the English alone, and not to their former chief), had returned to Bretagne, where he had made every preparation for renewing hostilities with double vigour. While the Quiberon expedition was on foot, the chiefs of La Vendée had not stirred, because the expedition had not come to their country, because they were forbidden by the Paris agents to second Puisaye, and lastly, because they waited for success before they durst again commit themselves. Charette alone had engaged in an altercation with the republican authorities, concerning various disorders committed in his district, and certain military preparations, which he was reproached with making, and he had almost come to an open rupture with them. He had just received, by way of Paris, new favours from Verona, and the appointment of commander-in-chief of the Catholic districts, which was the particular object of his wishes. This new dignity, while it cooled the zeal of his rivals, had singularly excited his own. He had hopes that a new expedition would be sent to these coasts; and, Commodore Warren having offered him the stores remaining from the Quiberon expedition, he had no longer hesitated; he had made a general attack on the beach, driven back the republican posts, and secured some powder and muskets. The English had, at the same time, landed on the coast of the Morbihan the unfortunate families whom they had dragged after them, and who were perishing with hunger and want in the isle of Ouat. Thus the pacification was broken, and war again began.

The three republican generals, Aubert-Dubayet, Hoche, and Canclaux, who commanded the three armies called the armies of Cherbourg, of Brest, and of the West, had long considered the pacification as broken, not only in Bretagne, but also in Lower Vendée. They had all three met at Nantes, but could not resolve upon anything. They nevertheless held themselves in readiness to hasten individually to the first point that should be threatened. A new landing was talked of; it was said, and this was perfectly true, that the Quiberon division was only the first, and that another was coming. Aware of the fresh dangers which menaced the coast, the French government appointed Hoche to the command of the army of the West. The conqueror at Weissenburg and Quiberon was, in fact, the man to whom, in this imminent danger, the whole national confidence was due. He immediately repaired to Nantes to supersede Canclaux.

The three armies destined to overawe the insurgent provinces had been reinforced by some detachments from the North, and by several of the divisions which the peace with Spain rendered disposable. Hoche

obtained authority to draw fresh detachments from the two armies of Brest and Cherbourg, to strengthen that of La Vendée. He thus increased it to forty-four thousand men. He established strongly intrenched posts on the Nantes Sèvre, which runs between the two Vendées, and which separated Stofflet's country from that of Charette. His aim in this was to divide those two chiefs, and to prevent them from acting in concert. Charette had entirely thrown off the mask, and proclaimed war anew. Stofflet, Sapinaud, Scepeaux, jealous of seeing Charette appointed generalissimo, intimidated also by the preparations of Hoche, and uncertain of the coming of the English, did not yet stir. At last, the English squadron made its appearance, at first in the bay of Quiberon, and afterwards in that of Ile Dieu, facing Lower Vendée. It had on board two thousand English infantry, five hundred horse, full equipped, skeletons of emigrant regiments, a great number of officers, arms, ammunition, provisions, clothing for a considerable army, funds in metallic specie, and lastly, the prince so long expected.* A still more considerable force was to follow, if the expedition was at all successful at its outset, and if the prince received proofs of a sincere desire that he should put himself at the head of the royalist party. No sooner was the expedition descried from the coast than all the royalist chiefs sent messengers to the prince, to assure him of their devoted attachment, to claim the honour of his presence, and to concert measures. Charette, master of the coast, was best situated for concurring in the disembarkation; and his reputation, as well as the wishes of all the emigrants, directed the expedition towards his district. He also sent agents to concert a plan of operations.

Hoche was meanwhile making his preparations with his wonted activity and resolution. He formed the plan of despatching three columns, from Challans, Clisson, and St. Hermine, three points situated on the circumference of the country, to Belleville, which was the head-quarters of Charette. These three columns, twenty or twenty-two thousand strong, were destined by their mass to overawe the country, to destroy Charette's principal establishment, and to throw him, by a brisk and vigorous attack, into such disorder, that he should not be able to protect the landing of the emigrant prince. Hoche, accordingly, marched off these three columns, and united them again at Belleville, without encountering any obstacles. Charette, whose principal force he hoped to meet with and to fight, was not at Belleville; he had collected eight or nine thousand men, and proceeded towards Luçon, with a view to transfer the theatre of the war to the south of the country, and to divert the attention of the republicans from the coasts. His plan was well conceived, but it failed through the energy opposed to it. While Hoche was entering Belleville with his three columns, Charette was before the post of St. Cyr, which covers the road from Luçon to Les Sables. This post he attacked with all his forces. Two hundred republicans, intrenched in a church, made an heroic resistance, and gave the Luçon division, which heard the cannonade, time to hasten

—The broken remains of the Quiberon expedition were landed in the isle of Houat, where they were soon after joined by an expedition of two thousand five hundred men from England, which took possession of the Isle Dieu, and where the Count d'Artois assumed the command. Several partial insurrections, about the same time, broke out in Brittany; but, from want of concert among the royalist chiefs, they came to nothing. Soon afterwards, the English expedition, not having met with the expected co-operation, abandoned Isle Dieu, which was found to be totally unserviceable as a naval station, and returned with the Count d'Artois to Great Britain. From that moment the affairs of the royalists rapidly declined in all the western provinces."—*Alison*. E.

up to their relief. Charette, taken in flank, was completely beaten, and his band, being dispersed, was obliged to return to the interior of the Marais.

Hoche, not finding the enemy before him, and discovering the real intention of his movement, led back his columns to the points from which they had started, and began to form an intrenched camp at Soullans near the coast, for the purpose of dashing upon the first corps that should attempt to land. During this interval, the emigrant prince, surrounded by a numerous council and the envoys of all the Breton and Vendean chiefs, continued to deliberate on the plans for landing, and allowed Hoche time to prepare his means of resistance. The English ships, keeping within sight of the coast, continued to excite the fears of the republicans and the hopes of the royalists.

Thus, from the earliest days of the installation of the Directory, a defeat before Mayence, and a threatened landing in La Vendée, were subjects of alarm, of which the enemies of the government most maliciously availed themselves, to render its establishment more difficult. It caused explanations and contradictions to be published relative to part of the reports that were circulated concerning the situation of the two frontiers, and furnished information respecting the events that had just occurred. It was not possible to deny the defeat sustained before the lines; but it caused the declamations of the alarmists to be met with this reply, that we still retained Düsseldorf and Neuwied; that Mannheim was yet in our possession; that consequently the army of the Sambre and Meuse had two *têtes de pont*, and the army of the Rhine one, for debouching, whenever it would suit them, beyond the Rhine; that we were, therefore, in the same situation as the Austrians, since, if they were enabled by Mayence to act upon both banks, so were we too by Düsseldorf, Neuwied, and Mannheim. This reasoning was just; but it remained to be seen whether the Austrians, following up their success, would not soon take from us Neuwied and Mannheim, and establish themselves on the left bank between the Vosges and the Moselle. As for La Vendée, the government communicated the vigorous dispositions made by Hoche, which were satisfactory to considerate minds, but which did not prevent enthusiastic patriots from conceiving apprehensions, and the counter-revolutionists from circulating them.

Amidst these dangers, the Directory redoubled its efforts for reorganizing the government, the administration, and especially the finances. Three thousand million in assignats had been granted to it, as we have seen, and had produced at the utmost some twenty million livres. The voluntary loan at three per cent., opened in the last days of the Convention, had just been suspended; for the state promised a real *rente* for a paper capital, and thus made a ruinous bargain. The extraordinary war-tax, proposed by the commission of five, had not yet been carried into execution, and excited complaints, as a last revolutionary act of the Convention towards those who were liable to the payment of it. ~~All the public institutions were on the point of being broken up.*~~ The individuals compensated according to the scale of proportion raised such bitter complaints, that it was found necessary to suspend the compensations. The post-masters paid in assignats; gave notice that they must resign, for the insufficient relief afforded

* "The servants of government and the public creditors, paid in mandates at par, were literally dying of famine. Employment from government, instead of being solicited, was universally shunned; persons in every kind of public services sent in their resignations; and the soldiers deserted from the armies in as great crowds as they had flocked to it during the reign of Terror."—*Alison*. E.

by the government did not cover their losses. The post-office was likely soon to become unproductive, that is to say, all communications, even in writing, were about to cease in all parts of the territory. The plan of the finances intended to be presented in a few days, was therefore to be given immediately. This was the most urgent want of the state, and the first duty of the Directory. It was, at length, communicated to the commission of the finances.

The mass of the assignats in circulation might be computed at twenty thousand million. Even reckoning the assignats at the one-hundredth, and not the one-hundred-and-fiftieth of their value, they would form a real amount of no more than 200 million: it is certain that they would not figure for more in the circulation, and that the holders could not pay them away for a higher value. One might have reverted all at once to reality, not take assignats for more than they were really worth, not admit them, unless at the current value, either in dealings between individuals, or in payment of the taxes, or for the national domains. That prodigious and frightful mass of paper, that enormous debt, would then have immediately disappeared. There would be left nearly seven thousand million livres' worth in domains, including the national domains in Belgium and the national forests: thus there were immense resources for withdrawing those twenty thousand millions reduced to two hundred, and for meeting fresh expenses. But this great and bold determination was difficult to adopt. It was repelled both by scrupulous minds, who considered it as a bankruptcy, and by the patriots, who cried out that it was a scheme for ruining the assignats.

Both were rather shallow. This bankruptcy, if it were one, was inevitable, as was proved in the sequel. The question was merely to abridge the evil, that is, the confusion, and to re-establish order in the worth of effects, the only justice that the state owes to every one. At first sight, indeed, it would be a bankruptcy to take at the moment for one franc an assignat which had been issued in 1790 for 100 francs, and which then contained the promise of the worth of 100 francs in land. Upon this principle, the twenty thousand million in paper must have been taken for twenty thousand million livres, and paid integrally; but the national domains would scarcely have paid a third of that sum. Even in case the sum could have been paid integrally, it must be asked how much the state had received in issuing these twenty thousand million? Four or five thousand million perhaps. Those who received them from its hands had not taken them for more, and it had already reimbursed, by the sales, an equal value in national domains. There would, therefore, have been a cruel injustice towards the state, that is, towards all payers of taxes, to consider the assignats according to their primitive value. It was, therefore, necessary to consent not to take them but at a reduced value. This had even begun to be done, when the scale of proportion was adopted.

MOST certainly, if there were persons still holding the first assignats issued, and who had kept without exchanging them a single time, these would be exposed to an enormous loss; for, having taken them nearly at par, they would now have to submit to the whole reduction. But this was an absolutely false fiction. Nobody had kept assignats by them, for nobody hoards paper: every one had got rid of them as soon as possible, and each had sustained a portion of the loss. Every body had suffered his share of this pretended bankruptcy, and, therefore, it was no longer one. The bankruptcy of a state consists in making some individuals, namely, the

creditors, support the debt which one does not wish to make all the tax-payers support. Now, if everybody had more or less suffered his share of the depreciation of the assignats, there was no bankruptcy for any one. Lastly, a still stronger reason than any of the others could be adduced. If the assignat had fallen in some hands only, and lost only for some individuals, it had now passed into the hands of the speculators in paper, and it would have been this class, rather than that of the real sufferers, who would have reaped the benefit of a silly restoration of value. Thus Calonne, in a pamphlet written in London, observed very sensibly that people were egregiously mistaken, who believed France to be overwhelmed with the burden of the assignats; and that this paper-money afforded the means of becoming bankrupt without declaring herself so. To express himself more correctly, he should have said that it afforded the means of making the bankruptcy bear upon everybody, that is, of rendering it null.

It was, therefore, reasonable and just to revert to reality, and to take the assignat for no more than it was worth. The patriots said that it was ruining the assignat, which had saved the Revolution, and looked upon this idea as a conception springing from the brain of the royalists. Those who pretended to reason with more enlightened views and a better acquaintance with the subject, asserted that paper would be deprived at once of all its value, and that the circulation could no longer be carried on, for want of the paper which would have perished, and for want of the metals which were hoarded or had gone to other countries. Time convinced those who thus argued of their error; but a simple calculation ought to have put them immediately in the way of forming a more correct opinion. In reality the twenty thousand million of assignats represented less than two hundred million; now, according to all calculations, the circulation could not formerly be carried on with less than two thousand million, in gold or silver. If, therefore, the assignats constituted no more than two hundred million in the circulation, with what were the rest of the transactions carried on? It is very evident that the metals must circulate in very great quantity, and they did actually circulate, but in the provinces and in the country, far from the eyes of the government. Besides, the metals, like all commodities, always come to the spot to which need calls them, and, had paper been driven away, they would have returned, as they did actually return when it perished of itself.

It was, therefore, a double error, and one deeply rooted in men's minds, to consider the reduction of the assignat to its real value as a bankruptcy, and as a sudden destruction of the means of circulation. It had only one inconvenience, but it was not this for which it was censured, as we shall presently see. The commission of the finances, cramped by the ideas which prevailed, could adopt only in part the real principles of the matter. After concerting with the Directory, it decided upon the following plan.

Until, by the new plan, the sale of the domains and the collection of the taxes should bring back not fictitious but real values, it would be necessary still to employ assignats. It was proposed to extend the issue to thirty thousand million, but to engage not to go beyond that point. On the 30th of Nivose, the plate was solemnly broken up. Thus the public was set at ease respecting the quantity of the new issues. For the thirty thousand million issued, there were to be devoted national domains to the amount of one thousand million. Consequently the assignat, which in circulation was really worth only the one-hundred-and-fiftieth part, and much less,

would be liquidated at one-thirtieth, which was a very great advantage given to the holders of paper. Another thousand million in lands was set apart for rewarding the soldiers of the republic—a recompense which had long been promised them. Five out of the seven, therefore, still remained to be disposed of. In these five were the national forests, the moveable property of the emigrants and of the crown, the royal residences, and the possessions of the Belgian clergy. There were then five thousand million still disposable. But the difficulty consisted in disposing of that amount. The assignat had, in fact, been the means of putting it in circulation before the property was sold. But if the assignat were suppressed, as only ten thousand million could be added to the existing twenty, a sum which represented at most one hundred million of livres, how was the value of the property to be realized beforehand, and to be employed in defraying the expenses of the war? This was the only objection that could be made to the liquidation of the paper and to its suppression. A sort of notes, called *cedules hypothécaires*, which had been talked of in the preceding year, were resorted to. According to this old plan, the government was to borrow and to give to the lenders notes conveying a special mortgage on particular properties. In order to raise this loan, it was to have recourse to financial companies, which were to take off these notes. In short, instead of a paper, the circulation of which was forced, which had but a general mortgage on the national domains, and which was daily fluctuating in value, there was created by the notes a voluntary paper, to which was attached a mortgage upon some particular estate or house, and which could not undergo any other change in value than that of the very object which it represented. It was not a paper-money; it was not liable to fall because it was not forcibly put into circulation; but, on the other hand, one might not find means to dispose of it. In short, the difficulty still consisting at this time, as at the outset of the Revolution, in putting the value of the property into circulation, the question was, whether it would be better to force the circulation of that value, or to leave it voluntary. The former expedient being completely exhausted, it was natural that it should be proposed to try the other.

It was decided, therefore, that, after increasing the paper to thirty thousand million, after having set apart one thousand million to absorb it, and reserved the worth of one thousand million in lands for the soldiers of the country, notes should be made for a sum proportionate to the public wants, and that negotiations should be set on foot with financial companies for these notes. The national forests were not to be thus assigned; they were to be retained by the state. They formed nearly two out of the five thousand million remaining disposable. Companies were to be treated with for the alienation of their produce for a certain number of years.

The consequence of this plan, founded on the reduction of the assignats to their real value, was to admit them no longer but at the current worth in all transactions. Till they could be withdrawn by the sale of the thousand million appropriated to them, they were no longer to be taken by individuals or by the state, but for their value at the moment. Thus all confusion in dealings would cease, all fraudulent payments were rendered impossible. The state would receive by means of the taxes real values, which would cover at least the ordinary expenses, and it would have in future to pay with the domains the extraordinary expenses only of the war. The assignat was to be received at par only in the arrears of the impositions, arrears which were considerable and amounted to thirteen thousand million. Thus those

who were behindhand in their payments, were furnished with an easy method of discharging their arrears, on condition that they should do it immediately; and the sum of thirty thousand million reimbursable in national property at one-thirtieth, was diminished by so much.

This plan, adopted by the Five Hundred, after a long discussion in secret committee, was immediately carried to the Ancients. While the Ancients were engaged in discussing it, new questions were submitted to the Five Hundred, on the manner of recalling to their colours the soldiers who had deserted into the interior, and on the mode of nominating the judges, municipal officers, and functionaries of all kinds, whom the electoral assemblies, which were agitated by the passions of Vendémiaire, had not had time or inclination to nominate. Thus did the Directory labour without intermission, and furnish fresh subjects of deliberation for the two councils.

The plan of finance submitted to the Ancients rested on sound principles; it presented resources, for the resources of France were still immense: unfortunately, it did not surmount the real difficulty, for it did not render those resources actual enough. It is very evident that, with taxes which would suffice for her annual expenditure as soon as the paper should cease to render the receipts illusory, with seven thousand million for reimbursing the assignats and providing for the extraordinary expenses of the war—France possessed resources. The difficulty consisted, while founding a plan on sound principles and adapting it to the future, in providing for the present.

Now the Ancients were of opinion that the assignats ought not to be so speedily renounced. The faculty of creating ten thousand million more, furnished, at most, a resource of one hundred million, and this was but little while awaiting the receipts which the new plan was to procure. Besides, should they find companies to treat for the working of the forests for twenty or thirty years? Should they find any to take the notes, that is, the free assignats? In this uncertainty about rendering the national domains available for the new means, ought they to renounce the former method of expending them, namely, the forced assignats? The Council of the Ancients, which most strictly investigated the resolutions of the Five Hundred, and which had rejected more than one of them, put its *veto* upon the financial scheme, and refused to sanction it.

This rejection caused great anxiety, and the public mind again plunged into the most painful uncertainty. The counter-revolutionists, delighted with this conflict of ideas, asserted that the difficulties of the situation were insuperable, and that the republic would be ruined by the state of the finances. The most enlightened men, who are not always the most resolute, entertained this apprehension. The patriots, irritated to the highest degree on perceiving that there had been an idea of abolishing the assignats, cried out that the government intended to destroy the last revolutionary creation which had saved France; they insisted that, without groping about so long, it ought to re-establish the credit of the assignats by the means of 1793, the *maximum*, *requisitions*, and *death*. A violence and an excitement was manifested which reminded people of the most turbulent years. To crown our misfortunes, affairs on the Rhine had grown worse; *

* "At this period the military situation of the republic was far from brilliant; its victories had diminished at the close of the Convention; and there was a relaxation in the discipline of the troops. Besides, the generals, disappointed at having signalized their command by so few victories, and not having the support of an energetic government,

Clairfayt, without profiting like a great captain by his victory, had, nevertheless, derived from it new advantages. Having called La Tour's corps to him, he had marched upon Pichegru, attacked him on the Pfim and on the canal of Frankendal, and gradually driven him back to Landau. Jourdan had advanced upon the Nahe, through a difficult country, and displayed the noblest zeal in carrying on the war among tremendous mountains, in order to extricate the army of the Rhine; but his efforts could do no more than damp the ardour of the enemy, without repairing our losses.

If, then, the line of the Rhine was left us in the Netherlands, it was lost higher up at the Vosges, and the enemy had taken from us an extensive semicircle around Mayence.

In this state of distress, the Directory sent a most urgent despatch to the Council of Five Hundred, and proposed one of those extraordinary resolutions which had been taken on the decisive occasions of the Revolution. This was a forced loan of six hundred million in real value, either specie or assignats at the current value, divided among the wealthiest classes. This was giving an opening to a new series of arbitrary acts, such as Cambon's forced loan from the rich; but, as this new loan was requirable immediately, as it was likely to bring back all the assignats in circulation, and to furnish besides a surplus of three or four hundred million in specie, and it was absolutely necessary to find at length prompt and energetic resources, it was adopted.

It was decided that the assignats should be received at the rate of one hundred for one; two hundred million of loan would, therefore, suffice to absorb twenty thousand million of paper. All that came in was to be burnt. It was hoped that the paper, being thus almost entirely withdrawn, would rise, and that, in case of emergency, the government would be able to issue more, and to avail itself of this resource. Out of the six hundred millions there would remain to be raised four hundred million in specie, which would furnish resources for the first two months, for the expenditure of this year (year IV, 1795-6) was estimated at one thousand five hundred million.

Certain adversaries of the Directory, who, without caring much about the state of the country, merely wished to thwart the new government at any rate, raised the most alarming objections. This loan, they said, would run away with all the specie in France, nay, there was not even enough to pay it—as if the state, in taking four hundred million in metal, would not pour them back into the circulation, by purchasing corn, cloth, leather, iron, &c. The state was not going to burn anything but the paper. The question was, whether France could furnish immediately four hundred million's worth of articles of consumption, and burn two hundred million in paper which was pompously called twenty thousand million. She certainly could. The only inconvenience was in the mode of collection, which was likely to be vexatious, and on that account less productive. But what was to be done? To confine the assignats to thirty thousand million, that is to say, to make a provision beforehand of only one hundred real millions, then to destroy the plate, and to depend for the supply of the state on the alienation of the revenue of the forests and the disposal of the notes, that is, on the issue of a voluntary paper, had appeared too bold.

began to incline to insubordination. The Convention had directed Pichegru and Jourdan to surround and make themselves masters of Mayence, in order that they might, by that means, occupy the whole line of the Rhine. This scheme entirely failed through the misconduct of Pichegru."—*Mignet*. E.

Uncertain as to what could be raised voluntarily, the Councils thought it best to compel the French to contribute extraordinarily.

By means of the forced loan, it was argued, part at least of the paper would come back; it would come back with a certain quantity of specie; then again, there would still be the plate, which would have acquired more value by the absorption of the greater part of the assignats. The other resources were not on this account renounced; it was decided that part of the domains should be noted—a tedious operation, for it was necessary to mention every property in the note, and then to make a bargain with the financial companies. The sale of the houses situated in towns, of lands under three hundred acres, and lastly of the possessions of the Belgian clergy, was decreed. The alienation of all the late royal residences, excepting Fontainebleau, Versailles, and Compiègne, was resolved upon. The moveable property of the emigrants was also to be sold forthwith. All these sales were to take place by auction.

The government durst not yet decree the reduction of the assignats to the currency, which would have put an end to the greatest evil, that of ruining all those who received them, private individuals as well as the state. It was afraid of destroying them all at once by this simple measure. It was decided that in the forced loan they should be received at one hundred for one; that in the arrears of contributions they should be received at their full value, in order to encourage the payment of those arrears, which were to bring in thirteen thousand million; that the reimbursement of capital should be still suspended, but that the *rentes* and interests of all kinds should be paid at the rate of ten for one, which again would be ruinous for those who received their income at that rate. The payment of the land-tax and rents of farms was kept upon their former footing, that is, half in kind and half in assignats. The customs were to be paid half in assignats and half in specie. This exception was made in favour of the customs, because there was abundance of specie on the frontiers. There was likewise an exception in favour of Belgium. The assignats had not found their way thither; it was decided that the forced loan, or the taxes, should there be levied in specie.

The government, therefore, returned timidly to specie, and durst not boldly cut the difficulty, as is usual in such cases. Thus the forced loan, the sale of domains, the arrears, in bringing back considerable quantities of paper, allowed more to be issued. Some receipts in specie might also fairly be reckoned upon.

The two most important determinations, after the laws of finance, were the determinations relative to desertion, and to the mode of nominating the functionaries not yet elected. The one was to serve to recompose the armies, the other to complete the organization of the communes and of the tribunals.

Desertion to the foreign enemy, a crime extremely rare, was to be punished with death. A warm discussion took place relative to the penalty to be inflicted on crimping. In spite of the opposition, the same punishment was fixed for it as for desertion to the enemy. All furloughs granted to young men of the requisition were to expire in ten days. The pursuit of the young men who had abandoned their colours, committed to the municipalities, was slack and ineffective; it was given to the gendarmerie. Desertion to the interior was to be punished with imprisonment for the first time, and with chains for the second. The great requisition of August, 1793, which was the only measure of recruiting that had been adopted,

produced men enough to fill the armies; it had sufficed for the last three years to keep them on a respectable footing, and it might still suffice, with the aid of a law which should insure its execution. The new arrangements were combated by the opposition, which tended naturally to diminish the action of the government, but they were adopted by the majority of the two councils.

Many of the electoral assemblies, agitated by the decrees of the 6th and the 13th of Fructidor, had wasted their time and not completed the nomination of the individuals who were to compose the local administrations and the tribunals. Such of them as were situated in the provinces of the West had not been able to do so, on account of the civil war. Others had been guilty of negligence and the abandonment of their rights. The Conventional majority, to insure the homogeneity of the government, and a homogeneity entirely revolutionary, proposed that the Directory should have the nominations. It is natural that the government should inherit all the rights which the citizens renounce, that is, that the action of the government should make up for that of individuals. Thus, in those cases where the assemblies had suffered the constitutional term to expire, where they had not cared to exercise their rights, it was natural that the Directory should be called upon to nominate. To convoke new assemblies would be violating the constitution, which forbade that; it would be rewarding revolt against the laws; in short, it would be opening a door to fresh troubles. There were, besides, analogies in the constitution which must lead to a resolution of the question in favour of the Directory. It was empowered to make the nominations in the colonies, and to appoint successors to the functionaries, who had died or resigned in the interval between one election and another. The opposition did not fail to attack this arrangement. Dumolard in the Council of the Five Hundred, Portalis, Dupont of Nemours, Tronçon-Ducoudray, in the Council of the Ancients, maintained that this was conferring a royal prerogative on the Directory. This minority, which secretly leant more to monarchy than to the republic, here changed parts with the republican majority, and supported democratic ideas with the utmost exaggeration. In other respects, the warm and solemn discussion was not disturbed by any outburst of passion. The Directory had the nominations, on the sole condition of choosing from among those who had already been honoured with the suffrages of the people. Principles led to this solution; but policy recommended it still more strongly. New elections were avoided for the moment, and greater homogeneity was given to the whole administration, to the tribunals, and to the government.

The Directory had, therefore, the means of procuring funds, of recruiting the army, of completing the organization of the administration and of justice. It had the majority in the two councils. A temperate opposition arose, it is true, in the Five Hundred and in the Ancients; some voices of the new third disputed its authority with it, but this opposition was calm and decorous. It seemed to respect its extraordinary situation and its arduous labours. No doubt it respected also in this government, elected by the Conventionists and upheld by them, the Revolution still all-powerful and deeply enraged. The five Directors had shared the general task among them. Barras had the *personnel*, and Carnot, the movement of the armies; Rewbel, the foreign affairs; Le Tourneur and Lareveillère-Lepeaux, the internal administration. They, nevertheless, deliberated all together on every important measure. They had long made shift with the most wretched furniture; but at length they had obtained from the Garde-Meu-

ble such things as were necessary for fitting up the Luxembourg, and they began to represent the French republic in a worthy manner. Their ante-chambers were full of applicants, among whom it was not always easy to choose. The Directory, faithful to its origin and its nature, always selected the most decisive men. Warned by the insurrection of the 13th of Vendémiaire, it had provided a considerable and imposing force to secure Paris and the seat of the government from a fresh *coup de main*. Young Bonaparte, who had figured on the 13th of Vendémiaire, had been appointed to the command of this army, called the army of the interior.* He had entirely reorganized and placed it in the camp of Grenelle. He had collected into a single corps, by the name of the legion of police, part of the patriots who had offered their services on the 13th of Vendémiaire. Most of these patriots belonged to the old gendarmerie, dissolved after the 9th of Thermidor, which was itself full of old soldiers of the French Guards. Bonaparte then organized the constitutional guard of the Directory and that of the Councils. This imposing and well-directed force was capable of overawing everybody, and keeping the parties in order.

Steady in its course, the Directory pronounced itself still more decidedly on a great number of measures of detail. It persisted in not notifying its installation to the Conventional deputies on mission in the departments. It enjoined all the managers of theatres not to suffer any other air to be sung than the Marseillaise. The *Réveil du Peuple* was proscribed. This measure was deemed puerile: it would certainly have been more dignified to prohibit all songs; but it was desirable to enliven the republican enthusiasm, which, unfortunately, had somewhat cooled. The Directory caused some royalist journals, which had continued to write with the same violence as in Vendémiaire, to be prosecuted. Though the liberty of the press was unlimited, the law of the Convention against writers who should advocate the restoration of royalty, furnished a medium of repression in extreme cases. Richer-Serizy was prosecuted; Lemaître and Brottier, whose correspondence with Verona, London, and La Vendée, proved their quality of royalist agents and their influence in the disturbances of Vendémiaire, were brought to trial. Lemaître was condemned to death as the principal agent. Brottier was acquitted. It was ascertained that two secretaries of the committee of public welfare had furnished them with important papers. The three deputies, Saladin, Lhomond, and Rovère, put under arrest on account of the 13th of Vendémiaire, after their re-election had been declared by the electoral assembly of Paris, were reinstated by the two councils, on the ground that they were already deputies at the time of the proceedings against them, and that the forms prescribed by the constitution in regard to deputies, had not been observed. Cormatin, and the Chouans seized with him for infraction of the pacification, were also brought to trial. Cormatin was banished for having secretly continued to foment civil war; the others were acquitted, to the great displeasure of the patriots, who complained bitterly of the indulgence of the tribunals.

The conduct of the Directory towards the minister of the court of Flo-

* "The few months, during which Bonaparte was at the head of the army of the interior, were replete with difficulties and disturbance; and he frequently had occasion to harangue the people at the sections and the fauxbourgs. One day, while he was addressing the crowd, a fat woman, interrupting him, said, 'Never mind these smart officers, who, so that they themselves get fat, do not care who else is starved.' Napoleon, who was then very thin, turned round and replied, 'Look at me, good woman, and then tell me, which of us two is the fatest.' This repartee turned the laugh against her, and the mob dispersed."—*Hazlitt*. E.

rence proved still more strongly the republican rigour of its sentiments. It had been at length agreed with Austria to deliver up to her the daughter of Louis XVI., the only one left of the family that had been confined in the Temple, on condition that the deputies placed in her hands by Dumouriez should be given up to the French advanced posts.* The princess set out from the Temple on the 28th of Frimaire (December the 19th). The minister of the interior went himself to fetch her, and conducted her with the greatest respect to his hotel, whence she set out accompanied by persons of her own selection. An ample provision was made for her journey, and she was thus conveyed towards the frontiers. The royalists did not fail to make verses and allusions concerning the unfortunate prisoner, at length restored to liberty. Count Carletti, the minister of Florence, who had been sent to Paris on account of his known attachment to France and the Revolution, applied to the Directory for permission to see the princess, in his quality of minister of an allied court. That minister had become suspected, no doubt wrongfully, on account of the very exaggeration of his republicanism. It was scarcely conceivable that the minister of an absolute prince, and above all, of an Austrian prince, could be so republican. The only answer given by the Directory was an order to quit Paris immediately, but it declared, at the same time, that this measure was purely personal to the envoy, and not to the court of Florence, with which the French republic continued on terms of friendship.

It was now six weeks, at most, since the Directory was instituted; it began to settle itself; the parties accustomed themselves to the idea of an established government, and, thinking less of overthrowing it, prepared to oppose it within the limits marked out by the constitution. The patriots, not renouncing their favourite idea of a club, had assembled at the Pantheon; they already met to the number of more than four thousand, and formed an assembly very much like that of the old Jacobins. Faithful, however, to the letter of the constitution, they had avoided what it forbade in the meetings of citizens, namely, the organization of a political assembly. Thus they had not a bureau; they had not provided themselves with tickets; the persons present were not divided into spectators and members; there existed neither correspondence nor affiliation with other societies of the same kind. With these exceptions, the club had all the characteristics of the old parent society, and its passions, still older, were, on that account, the more stubborn.

The sectionaries had composed societies more analogous to their tastes and manners. At this time, as under the Convention, they numbered in their ranks some secret royalists, but in very small number; most of them were enemies, from fear or fashion of the Terrorists and of the Conventionals, whom they affected to confound, and whom they were vexed to find again almost all in the new government. Societies had been formed at which the newspapers were read, at which the members conversed on political subjects with the politeness and in the tone of the drawing-rooms, and

* "The princess royal experienced from the period of her brother's death a mitigated captivity. Finally, on the 19th of December, 1795, this last remaining relic of the family of Louis was permitted to leave her prison and her country, in exchange for Lafayette and others, whom, on that condition, Austria delivered from captivity. She became afterwards the wife of her cousin, the Duke d'Angouleme, and obtained, by the manner in which she conducted herself at Bordeaux, in 1815, the highest praise for gallantry and spirit."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

It was of this princess that Napoleon observed to one of his ministers, "She is the only man of the family." E.

where dancing and music succeeded reading and conversation. The winter began, and these gentry indulged in pleasure as an act of opposition to the revolutionary system—a system which nobody thought of reviving, for there were no St. Justs, no Robespierres, no Couthons, to bring us back by terror to impossible manners.

The two parties had their newspapers. The patriots had *Le Tribun du Peuple*, *L'Ami du Peuple*, *L'Eclaireur du Peuple*, *L'Orateur plébien*, *Le Journal des Hommes Libres*. These papers were thoroughly Jacobin. *La Quotidienne*, *L'Eclair*, *Le Véridique*, *Le Postillon*, *Le Messenger*, *La Feuille du Jour*, passed for royalist papers. The patriots, in their club and their journals, though the government certainly was strongly attached to the Revolution,* manifested great irritation. It was, it is true, not so much with it as with events that they were angry. The reverses on the Rhine, the new movements in La Vendée, the alarming financial crisis, were with them a motive for reverting to their favourite ideas. If the armies were beaten, if the assignats fell, it was because the government was indulgent, because it knew not how to recur to great revolutionary means. The new financial system, in particular, which denoted a desire to abolish the assignats, and which seemed to forebode their speedy suppression, had greatly irritated the patriots.

Their adversaries needed no other cause of complaint than this very irritation. Terror, according to them, was ready to rise again. Its partisans were incorrigible; it was to no purpose that the Directory did all that they wished; they were not satisfied; they were again bestirring themselves; they had re-opened the old den of the Jacobins, and there they were again hatching all sorts of crimes.

Such were the labours of the government, the march of mind, and the state of parties, in Frimaire, year IV (November and December, 1795).

The military operations, continued in spite of the season, began to promise more propitious results, and to afford the new administration some compensation for its arduous efforts. The zeal with which Jourdan had advanced into the Hunsrück through a frightful country, and without any of the material resources which ought to have mitigated the sufferings of his army, had somewhat re-established our affairs on the Rhine. The Austrian generals, whose troops were as much worn out as ours, finding themselves exposed to a series of obstinate combats in the heart of winter, proposed an armistice, during which the Imperial and the French armies should retain the positions which they then occupied. The armistice was accepted, on condition of ten days' notice being given before recommencing hostilities. The line which separated the two armies, following the Rhine from Düsseldorf to above Neuwied, left the river there, formed a semicircle from Bingen to Mannheim, passing along the foot of the Vosges, rejoined the Rhine above Mannheim, and did not leave it again as far as Basle. Thus we had lost all the semicircle on the left bank. It was, however, a loss which a more well-conceived manœuvre might repair. The principal

* "The Directorial government, which was warmly attached to the Revolution, endeavoured to recall the enthusiasm and unanimity of its first years. 'You,' they wrote to their agents, 'whom we call to participate in our labours; you, whose duty it is, in conjunction with ourselves, to put the republican constitution in operation; your first feeling, your chief virtue should be that decided wish, that patriotic faith, which has produced its happy enthusiasts and performed its miracles. Surely it is a highly interesting spectacle to see the banners of liberty waving over every house, the republican motto over every door! Go on, hasten the day when the sacred name of the republic shall be voluntarily engraven on every heart.'—*Mignet*. E.

misfortune consisted in having lost, for the moment, the ascendancy of victory. The armies, exhausted with fatigue, entered into cantonments, and all the necessary preparations began to be made for enabling them, in the following spring, to open a decisive campaign.

On the frontiers of Italy, the season had not yet wholly forbidden military operations. The army of the Eastern Pyrenees had been removed to the Alps. The march from Perpignan to Nice had taken considerable time, and the want of provisions and shoes had rendered it still slower. At length, towards the month of November, Augereau came with a superb division, which had already signalized itself in the plains of Catalonia. Kellermann, as we have seen, had been obliged to draw back his right wing, and to relinquish the immediate communication with Genoa. He had his left on the high Alps, and his centre at the Col de Tende. His right was placed behind the line called the line of Borghetto, one of the three which Bonaparte had reconnoitred and marked out in the preceding year, in case of a retreat. Devins, quite proud of his petty success, was resting in the Riviera of Genoa, and making a great parade of his plans, without executing any of them. The brave Kellermann was impatiently awaiting the reinforcements from Spain, to resume the offensive, and to recover his communication with Genoa. He wished to terminate the campaign by a brilliant action, which should restore the Riviera to the French, open to them the door to the Apennines and to Italy, and detach the King of Sardinia from the coalition. Barthelemy, our ambassador in Switzerland, was constantly repeating that a victory towards the maritime Alps would gain us an immediate peace with Piedmont, and the definitive concession of the line of the Alps. The French government agreed with Kellermann upon the necessity of attacking, but not upon the plan to be adopted, and sent Scherer, who was already advantageously known for his success at the battle of the Ourthe and in Catalonia, to supersede him. Scherer arrived in the middle of Brumaire, and resolved to attempt a decisive action.

The reader is aware that the chain of the Alps, when it takes the name of Apennines, runs very close to the Mediterranean from Albenga to Genoa, leaving between the sea and the crest of the mountains only narrow and rapid slopes, scarcely three leagues in extent. On the opposite side, on the contrary, that is, towards the plains of the Po, the slopes decline gently for a space of twenty leagues. The French army, placed on the maritime declivities, was encamped between the mountains and the sea. The Piedmontese army, under Colli, established in the intrenched camp below Ceva, on the other side of the Alps, guarded the entrance to Piedmont against the left of the French army. The Austrian army was partly on the crest of the Apennines at Rocca-Barbenne, partly on the maritime slope in the basin of Loano, communicated thus with Colli by its right, occupied by its centre the crest of the mountains, and intercepted the line of coast by its left, so as to cut off our communications with Genoa. At the sight of such a state of things, an idea occurred. If the French, operating in force upon the right and centre of the Austrian army, were to drive it from the summit of the Apennines, and to take from it the upper crests, they would thus separate it from that of Colli, and, marching rapidly along those crests, they would enclose its left in the basin of Loano between the mountains and the sea. This plan had suggested itself to Massena, one of the generals of division, who had proposed it to Kellermann. It occurred also to Scherer, and he purposed carrying it into execution.

Devins, after making some attempts, during August and September, on our line of Borghetto, had renounced all idea of making an attack for that year. He was ill, and Wallis had been sent, on his application, to succeed him. The officers thought only of indulging in the dissipations of winter in Genoa and its environs. Scherer, having procured for his army some provisions and twenty-four thousand pair of shoes, of which it was in absolute want, fixed his movement for the 2d of Frimaire (November the 23d). He started with thirty-six thousand men to attack forty-five thousand; but the excellent choice of the point of attack compensated for the inequality of force. He directed Augereau to drive the left of the enemy into the basin of Loano; Massena to fall upon their centre at Rocca-Barbenne, and to make himself master of the summit of the Apennines; lastly, he ordered Serrurier to keep in check Colli, who formed the right on the opposite slope. Augereau, while pushing the Austrian right into the basin of Loano, was to act but slowly; Massena, on the contrary, was to file rapidly along the crests, and turn the basin of Loano, in order to shut up the Austrian left there; and Serrurier was to deceive Colli by false attacks.

On the morning of the 2d of Frimaire (November 23d, 1795), the French cannon awoke the Austrians, who had no expectation of a battle. The officers hastened from Loano and Finale to put themselves at the head of their astonished troops. Augereau attacked with vigour, but without precipitation. He was stopped by the brave Roccavina. This general, placed on a knoll, in the middle of the basin of Loano, defended it with obstinacy, and suffered himself to be surrounded by Augereau's division, but still refused to surrender. When encompassed, he rushed headlong upon the line that hemmed him in, and rejoined the Austrian army, cutting his way through a French brigade.

Scherer, repressing the ardour of Augereau, obliged him to employ his small arms only before Loano, that he might not push the Austrians too speedily on their line of retreat. Meanwhile Massena, charged with the brilliant part of the plan, climbed, with the vigour and boldness which distinguished him on all occasions, the crests of the Apennines, surprised d'Argenteau, who commanded the right of the Austrians, threw him into extreme disorder, drove him from all his positions, and encamped in the evening on the heights of Melogno, which formed the circumference of the basin of Loano, and closed its rear. Serrurier, by firm and well calculated attacks, had occupied Colli and the whole right of the enemy.

In the evening of the 2d, the troops encamped, in dreadful weather, on the positions which they had occupied. On the morning of the 3d, Scherer continued his operation; Serrurier, having been reinforced, began to attack Colli more seriously, in order to cut him off completely from his allies; Massena continued to occupy all the crests and outlets of the Apennines; Augereau, ceasing to restrain himself, vigorously pushed the Austrians, whose rear had been intercepted. From that moment they commenced their retreat, in tremendous weather, and by miserable roads. Their right and centre fled in disorder on the back of the Apennines; their left, pent in between the mountains and the sea, retired with difficulty along the shore by the road of La Corniche. A storm of wind and snow prevented so active a pursuit as might otherwise have taken place; nevertheless, five thousand prisoners, several thousand killed, forty pieces of cannon, and immense magazines, were the fruit of this battle, one of the most disastrous that the allies had fought since the beginning of the war, and one of the

most skilfully conducted on the part of the French, in the judgment of military men.

Piedmont was in consternation at these tidings. Italy gave itself up for lost, and was cheered only by the season, which was too far advanced for the French to follow up their operations. Considerable magazines served to mitigate the hardships and the privations of the army. There needed a victory so important to raise the drooping spirits, and to give strength to the new government. It was published and hailed with great joy by all the genuine patriots.

At the same moment, affairs took a no less favourable turn in the provinces of the West. Hoche, having increased the army which occupied the two Vendées to forty-four thousand men, having placed intrenched posts on the Nantes Sèvre, so as to separate Stofflet from Charette, having dispersed the first assemblage formed by Charette, and guarding by a camp at Soullans the whole coast of the Marais, was in a condition to oppose a landing. The English squadron, lying at the Ile-Dieu, was, on the contrary, in a very melancholy position. The island on which the expedition had so injudiciously landed, presented only a surface without shelter, without resources, and less than three-quarters of a league in extent. The shore of the island offered no safe anchorage. The ships were there exposed to all the fury of the wind over a bottom of rocks, which cut their cables and placed them every night in the greatest danger. The opposite coast, on which it was proposed to land, was one vast beach, without any depth of water, upon which the waves broke incessantly, and where boats, owing to the violence of the breakers, could not reach the shore without running the risk of foundering. Every day increased the dangers of the English squadron and the resources of Hoche. The French prince had been at the Ile-Dieu above six weeks. All the envoys of the Chouans and of the Vendéans surrounded him, and, mingling with his staff, each presented his ideas and strove to obtain their adoption. All were desirous of having the prince among them; but they all agreed in one thing, that he ought to land as soon as possible, no matter to what point the preference was given.

It must be confessed that, owing to this stay of six weeks at Ile-Dieu, in face of the coast, the landing had become difficult. Long hesitation ought no more to precede a descent, than the passage of a river, since the enemy is put on the alert, and apprized of the point threatened. The determination to land on the coast being once taken, notice should have been given to all the chiefs, and the descent should have been effected unawares, at a point which would have permitted the troops to remain in communication with the English squadron, and to which the Vendéans and the Chouans could have directed considerable forces. Assuredly, if the expedition had landed on the coast without threatening it so long, forty thousand royalists of Bretagne and La Vendée might have been collected before Hoche would have time to move his regiments. When we recollect what happened at Quiberon, the facility with which the landing was effected, and the time that it took to assemble the republican troops, we shall be convinced that the landing would have been very easy, had it not been preceded by a long cruise off the coast. While the name of Puisaye paralyzed all the chiefs, that of the prince would have rallied them all, and have caused risings in twenty departments. It is true that the new invaders would afterwards have had severe battles to fight, that they would have been obliged to disperse perhaps before the enemy, to run away like parti-

sans, to hide themselves in the woods, to reappear, hide again, and lastly, to run the risk of being taken and shot. Such is the price of thrones. There was nothing unworthy in *chouanning* in the forests of Bretagne, or in the marshes and moors of La Vendée. A prince issuing from those retreats to ascend the throne of his ancestors would not have been less glorious than Gustavus Vasa, emerging from the mines of Dalecarlia. Moreover, it is probable that the presence of the prince would have excited such zeal in the royalist districts that a numerous army, continually at his side, would have permitted him to attempt enterprises of importance. It is probable that none of those about him would have had sufficient genius to conquer the young plebeian who commanded the republican army; but, at least, they might have given him some trouble to conquer them. There are frequently many consolations in a defeat; Francis I. found great consolation in that of Pavia.

If the landing was practicable at the time when the squadron arrived, it was no longer so after passing six weeks at the Ile-Dieu. The English seamen declared that it would soon be impossible to keep the sea, and that it was absolutely necessary to come to some determination; the whole coast of Charette's country was covered with troops; there was no possibility of landing unless beyond the Loire, near the mouth of the Vilaine, or in the country of Scepeaux, or in Bretagne in Puisaye's. But the emigrants and the prince would not land anywhere but in that of Charette, in whom alone they placed confidence. Now the thing was impracticable on Charette's coast. The prince, according to the assertion of M. de Vauban, solicited the English ministry to recall him. The ministry at first refused, unwilling that the cost of its expedition should be thrown away. However, it left the prince at liberty to pursue whatever course he thought proper.

From that moment, every preparation was made for departure. Long and useless instructions for the royalist chiefs were drawn up. They were told that superior orders prevented for a moment the execution of a descent; that Messrs. Charette, Stofflet, Sapinaud, and Scepeaux, must arrange among themselves to bring together a force of twenty-five or thirty thousand men beyond the Loire, which, united to the Bretons, might form a picked corps of forty or fifty thousand men, sufficient to protect the landing of the prince; that they should be apprized of the point of landing as soon as these preliminary measures were taken; and that all the resources of the English monarchy would be employed in seconding the efforts of the royalist provinces. To these instructions were added a few thousand pounds sterling for each chief, some muskets, and a small quantity of powder. These things were put ashore at night on the coast of Bretagne. The provisions with which the English had loaded their squadron were spoiled and thrown into the sea. They were obliged also to throw over the five hundred horses belonging to the English cavalry and artillery, which were almost all diseased from being so long on shipboard.

The English squadron set sail on the 15th of November (Brumaire 26th), and, at its departure, left the royalists in consternation. They were told that it was the English who had obliged the prince to go back; they were indignant, and again gave full scope to their abhorrence of the perfidy of England. The most incensed was Charette, and he had some reason to be so, for he was the most compromised. Charette had taken up arms again in the hope of a great expedition, in the hope of immense means, which would counterbalance the inequality of force between him and the

republicans; this hope disappointed, he could have no other prospect but that of infallible and very speedy destruction. The threat of a descent had drawn upon him all the forces of the republicans; and this time he was obliged to renounce all hope of negotiating; he had nothing to expect but to be shot without mercy, and without even having any right to complain of an enemy by whom he had already been so generously pardoned.

He resolved to sell his life dearly and to employ his last moments in desperate efforts. He fought several actions with a view to get upon the rear of Hoche, to break through the line of the Nantes Sèvre, to throw himself into Stofflet's country, and to force this colleague to resume his arms. He could not accomplish this purpose, and was driven back into the Marais by Hoche's columns. Sapinaud, whom he had prevailed upon to arm again, surprised the town of Montaigu, and endeavoured to reach Châtillon; but he was stopped before that place, beaten, and obliged to disperse his corps. The line of the Sèvre could not be broken. Stofflet, behind that fortified line, was obliged to keep quiet, and besides he was not disposed to resume arms. He beheld with secret pleasure the destruction of a rival who had been loaded with titles, and who had intended to deliver him up to the republicans. Sceppeaux, between the Loire and the Vilaine, durst not yet stir. Bretagne was disorganized by discord. The division of Morbihan, commanded by George Cadoudal, had revolted against Puisaye. This was at the instigation of the emigrants, who surrounded the French prince, and who had retained their old resentment against the latter chief. They wished to deprive him of the command of Bretagne, but it was the division of Morbihan alone that threw off the authority of the generalissimo.

Such was the state of things when Hoche commenced the great work of pacification. This young general, a skillful politician as well as soldier,* clearly perceived that it was not by arms that he must endeavour to conquer an enemy with whom it was impossible to grapple, and who was nowhere to be come at. He had already despatched several moveable columns in pursuit of Charette; but heavily armed soldiers, who were obliged to carry everything with them and were unacquainted with the country, could not equal in speed peasants carrying nothing but their musket, who were sure of finding provisions everywhere, and acquainted with every ravine and every copse. In consequence, he immediately ordered all pursuit to cease, and formed a plan which, being followed up with firmness and perseverance, could not fail to restore peace to those desolated districts.

The inhabitant of La Vendée was at once peasant and soldier. Amid the horrors of civil war, he had not ceased to cultivate his fields and to attend to his cattle. His musket was at his side, hid beneath straw or in the ground. At the first signal of his chiefs, he hastened to them, attacked the republicans, then stole away through the woods, returned to his fields, and again concealed his piece; and the republicans found but an unarmed

* "Young Hoche was every way qualified for the important but difficult duty with which he was charged—the pacification of La Vendée. Endowed by nature with a clear judgment, an intrepid character, and an unconquerable resolution, firm, sagacious, and humane, he was eminently fitted for that mixture of gentleness and resolution which is necessary to heal the wounds, and subdue the passions, of civil war. This rare combination of civil and military qualities might have rendered him a formidable rival of Napoleon, and possibly endangered the public peace, had he not united to these shining parts a patriotic heart and a love of liberty, which rendered him superior to all temptation; and more likely, had he lived, to have followed the example of Washington, than the footsteps of Caesar or Cromwell."—*Alison*. E.

peasant, in whom they could not by any means recognise a soldier. In this manner the Vendéans fought, subsisted, and continued to be almost inaccessible. While they still possessed the means of annoyance and of recruiting themselves, the republican armies, whom a ruined administration could no longer support, were in want of everything, and found themselves in a state of utter destitution.

The Vendéans could not be made to feel the war except by devastations—a course which had been tried during the time of terror, but which had only excited furious resentments without putting an end to the civil war.

Hoche devised an ingenious method of reducing the country without laying it waste, by depriving it of its arms, and taking part of its produce for the supply of the republican army. In the first place, he persisted in the establishment of several intrenched camps, some of which, situated on the Sèvre, separated Charette from Stofflet, while others covered Nantes, the coast, and Les Sables. He then formed a circular line, which was supported by the Sèvre and the Loire, and tended to envelop progressively the whole country. This line was composed of very strong posts, connected by patrols, so as to leave no free space by which an enemy who was at all numerous could pass. These posts were directed to occupy every hamlet and village, and to disarm them. To accomplish this, they were to seize the cattle, which usually grazed together, and the corn stowed away in the barns; they were also to secure the principal inhabitants: they were not to restore the cattle and the corn, nor to release the persons taken as hostages, till the peasants should have voluntarily delivered up their arms. Now, as the Vendéans cared much more about their cattle and their corn than about the Bourbons and Charette, they could not fail to surrender their arms. In order not to be overreached by the peasants, who might give up a few wretched muskets and keep the others, the officers charged with the disarming were to demand the list of enrolment kept in every parish, and to require as many muskets as there were persons enrolled. In default of these registers, it was recommended to them to make an estimate of the population, and to require a number of muskets equal to one-fourth of the male portion of it. After receiving the arms, they were faithfully to restore the cattle and the corn, with the exception of a part to be levied by the name of a tax, and to be collected in magazines formed on the rear of that line. Hoche had directed that the inhabitants should be treated with the utmost mildness, and that the most scrupulous punctuality should be observed in restoring their cattle, their corn, and especially their hostages. He had particularly recommended to the officers to have intercourse with them, to treat them well, to send them even sometimes to his head-quarters, and to make them presents of corn or other things. He had also enjoined the greatest respect to be paid to the *curés*. The Vendéans, said he, have but one real sentiment, that is, attachment to their priests. These latter want nothing but protection and tranquillity; let us insure both to them, let us add some benefits, and the affections of the country will be restored to them.

That line, which he called the line of disarming, was to envelop Lower Vendée circularly, to advance by degrees, and, at length, to embrace the whole of it. As it advanced, it left behind it the disarmed country, reduced, nay, even reconciled with the republic. It moreover protected it against a return of the insurgent chiefs, who usually punished submission to the republic and the surrender of arms by devastations. Two moveable columns preceded it, to fight those chiefs and to seize

them if possible; and, cooping them up more and more, it could not fail at last to enclose and to secure them. The utmost vigilance was recommended to all the commandants of posts, to keep them constantly connected by means of patrols, and to prevent the armed bands from breaking through the line and again carrying the war upon its rear. But, in spite of all their caution, it was, nevertheless, possible that Charette and some of his partisans might elude the vigilance of the posts, and pass the line of disarming; yet, even in this case, they could not pass with more than a few persons, and they would find themselves in disarmed districts, restored to tranquillity and security, pacified by kind treatment, and intimidated, besides, by that vast net of troops which encompassed the country. The case of a revolt on the rear was provided against. Hoche had given orders that one of the moveable columns should immediately fall back upon the insurgent commune, and that, to punish it for not having surrendered all its arms, and having again made use of them, its cattle and corn should be taken away and its principal inhabitants seized. The effect of these punishments was certain, and dispensed with justice, they were calculated to inspire not hatred but a salutary fear.

Hoche's plan was immediately carried into execution in the months of Brumaire and Frimaire (November and December). The line of disarming, passing through St. Gilles, Legé, Montaigu, and Chantonay, formed a semicircle, the right extremity of which was supported by the sea and the left by the river Lay, and which was progressively to hem Charette in impracticable morasses. It was chiefly by the manner of its execution that a plan of this nature could succeed. Hoche directed his officers by luminous instructions, full of sound reason, and was indefatigable in attending to all the details. It was not merely a war, it was a great military operation, which required as much prudence as energy. The inhabitants soon began to surrender their arms, and to become reconciled with the republican troops. Hoche granted relief to the indigent from the magazines of the army; he himself saw the inhabitants detained as hostages, caused them to be kept a few days, and sent them away satisfied. To some he gave cockades, to others police caps, sometimes even corn to such as had none for sowing their fields. He was in correspondence with the *curés*, who placed great confidence in him, and acquainted him with all the secrets in the country. He thus began to acquire a great moral influence—a real power, with which it was requisite to terminate such a war. Meanwhile, the magazines, formed on the rear of the line of disarming, gradually filled: great numbers of cattle were collected; and the army began to live in abundance through the simple expedient of levying a tax and fines in kind.

Charette had sought refuge in the woods, with one hundred and fifty men as desperate as himself. Sapinaud, who, at his instigation, had again taken arms, offered to lay them down a second time, on the mere condition that his life should be spared. Stofflet, pent up in Anjou with his minister Bernier, collected there all the officers who had forsaken Charette and Sapinaud, and strove to enrich himself with their spoils. At his head-quarters at Lavoir he kept a sort of court, composed of emigrants and officers. He enrolled men and levied contributions, upon pretext of organizing the territorial guards. Hoche watched him very attentively, hemmed him in more and more by intrenched camps, and threatened him with a speedy disarming, on the first cause of dissatisfaction. An expedition ordered by Hoche into Le Loroux, a district which had a sort of independent existence, without obeying either the republic or any chief, struck

terror into Stofflet. Hoche sent this expedition to bring away the wine and the corn in which Le Loroux abounded, and of which the city of Nantes was utterly destitute. Stofflet was alarmed, and solicited an interview with Hoche, for the purpose of protesting his adherence to the treaty, interceding for Sapinaud and the Chouans, making himself, in some sort, the mediator of a new pacification, and securing, by these means, the continuance of his influence. He wished, also, to discover Hoche's intentions in regard to him. Hoche enumerated the grievances of the republic, and intimated that, if he afforded an asylum to all the brigands, if he continued to levy men and money, if he was determined to be anything more than the temporary chief of the police of Anjou, and to play the part of prince, he would carry him off immediately and then disarm his province. Stofflet promised the utmost submission, and retired full of apprehensions respecting the future.

Hoche had, at the moment, difficulties of a very different kind to encounter. He had drawn to his army part of the two armies of Brest and Cherbourg. The imminent danger of a landing had procured him these reinforcements, which had increased the number of the troops collected in La Vendée to forty-four thousand men. The generals commanding the armies of Brest and Cherbourg claimed the troops which they had lent, and the Directory seemed to approve of their claims. Hoche wrote that the operation which he had commenced was one of the utmost importance, that, if the troops, which he had spread like a net around the Marais, were taken from him, the submission of Charette's district and the destruction of that chief, which were near at hand, would be indefinitely deferred; that it would be better to finish what was so far advanced, before proceeding elsewhere; that he would then be the first to return the troops that he had borrowed, and even to assist the general commanding in Bretagne with his own, for the purpose of carrying into execution there the measures which were already found to have such happy effects in La Vendée. The government, struck with the reasons of Hoche, called him to Paris with the intention of approving of all of his plans, and giving him the command of the three armies of La Vendée, Brest, and Cherbourg. He was summoned thither at the end of Frimaire, to concert with the Directory the operations destined to put an end to the most calamitous of all wars.

Thus terminated the campaign of 1795. The reduction of Luxemburg, the passage of the Rhine, the victories in the Pyrenees, followed by the peace with Spain, and the destruction of the emigrant army at Quiberon, distinguished the beginning and the middle of it. The end was less prosperous. The return of the armies across the Rhine, the loss of the lines of Mayence, and of part of the territory at the foot of the Vosges, for a moment dimmed the brilliancy of our triumphs. But the victory of Loano, opening to us the door to Italy, re-established the superiority of our arms; and the operations of Hoche in the West commenced the real pacification of La Vendée, which had been so often and so vainly proclaimed.

The coalition, reduced to England, Austria, and a few princes of Germany and Italy, had reached the term of its efforts, and would have demanded peace but for its recent victories on the Rhine. These gained Clairfayt an immense reputation; and it seemed to be the opinion that the next campaign would open in the heart of our provinces on the Rhine.

Pitt, who needed subsidies, called parliament together again in autumn, in order to apply for fresh sacrifices. The people of London continued to cry out for peace as obstinately as ever. The Corresponding Society had

met in the open air, and had voted the boldest and most threatening addresses against the war-system and in behalf of parliamentary reform. When the king went to open the parliament, his carriage was pelted with stones, the glasses were broken, and it was even believed that an air-gun had been discharged at it.* Pitt, riding through the streets on horseback, was recognised by the populace, pursued to his own house and covered with mud. Fox and Sheridan, more eloquent than they had ever been, called him severely to account. Holland conquered, the Netherlands incorporated with the French republic, their conquest rendered definitive in some measure by the reduction of Luxemburg, enormous sums spent on La Vendée, unfortunate Frenchmen exposed to be uselessly shot, were serious charges against the judgment and policy of the administration. The expedition to Quiberon, in particular, excited general indignation. Pitt attempted to excuse himself by saying that English blood had not been spilt. "True," replied Sheridan, with an energy which it is difficult to transfuse into another language; "true, English blood has not been spilt, but English honour has oozed from every pore." Pitt, unimpassioned as usual, called all the events of the year mishaps, for which those ought to be prepared who stand the chance of arms; but he laid great stress on the recent victories of Austria on the Rhine; he greatly exaggerated their importance, and the facilities which they were likely to afford for treating with France. As usual, he asserted that our republic was approaching the term of its power; that an inevitable bankruptcy must plunge it into complete confusion and impotence; that, in continuing the war a year longer, the allies had gained a great point, that of reducing the common enemy to extremity. He solemnly promised that, if the new French government should appear to establish itself and to assume a regular form, the first opportunity for negotiating should be seized. He then asked for a new loan of three millions sterling and for restrictive laws against the press and against the political societies, to which he attributed the outrages committed upon the king and himself. The opposition replied that the boasted victories on the Rhine were victories only of a day; that defeats in Italy had since destroyed the effect of the advantages obtained in Germany; that the French republic, always held at bay, sprang up stronger at the opening of each successive campaign, that the assignats had long been done up, that they had completed their service, that the resources of France were elsewhere, and, besides, if she were exhausting herself, Great Britain was exhausting herself much more rapidly; that the debt, every day increasing, was overwhelming, and must soon crush the three kingdoms. As for the laws relative to the press and to the political societies, Fox, in a transport of indignation, declared that if they were adopted, the English people would have no resource left but resistance, and that he considered resistance no longer as a question of right but of prudence. This proclamation of the right of insurrection excited a great tumult, which ended in compliance with the demands of Pitt: he carried his motions for a new loan and for repressive measures, and promised to open a negotiation as soon as possible. The parliament was prorogued to the 2d of February, 1796.

* "On occasion of the king's going to parliament, at its opening in 1795, the general discontent broke out into open outrages of the most disgraceful kind. The royal carriage was surrounded by an immense crowd of turbulent persons, loudly demanding peace and the dismissal of Mr. Pitt. One of the windows was broken by a stone or bullet from an air-gun; showers of stones were thrown at the state-coach both going and returning from parliament; and the monarch narrowly escaped the fury of the populace in his way from St. James's Palace to Buckingham House."—*Alison*. E.

Pitt had no thoughts whatever of peace. He merely meant to make demonstrations, in order to satisfy opinion, and to hasten the success of his loan. The possession of the Netherlands by France rendered all idea of peace intolerable to him. He promised himself, in fact, to seize a moment for opening a feigned negotiation and offering inadmissible conditions.

Austria, in order to satisfy the Empire, which cried out for peace, had caused overtures to be made through Denmark. That power had proposed, on behalf of Austria, to the French government, the formation of a European congress; the French government had replied that a congress would render all negotiation impossible, because it would be necessary to reconcile too many interests; that, if Austria was desirous of peace, she had but to make direct overtures for it; that France was determined to treat individually with all her enemies, and to arrange matters with themselves without any mediator. This reply was just; for a congress would complicate the peace with Austria with the peace with England and the Empire, and render it impossible. In fact, Austria desired no other answer, for she did not mean to negotiate. She had lost too much, and her last successes had led her to hope too much, for her to consent to lay down her arms. She strove to infuse fresh courage into the King of Sardinia, terrified by the victory of Loano, and promised him a numerous army and another general for the ensuing campaign. The honors of a triumph were decreed to General Clairfayt, on his entry into Vienna; his carriage was drawn by the people; and the favours of the court were added to the demonstrations of popular enthusiasm.

Thus ended, for all Europe, the fourth campaign of this memorable war.

THE DIRECTORY.

CONTINUATION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE OPERATIONS OF THE DIRECTORY—CREATION OF MANDATS—DISCONTENT OF THE JACOBINS—CONSPIRACY OF BABŒUF.

THE republican government was cheered and strengthened by the events with which the campaign had just terminated. The Convention, by uniting Belgium with France, and by incorporating it with the constitutional territory, had imposed upon its successors the obligation to treat with the enemy on no other condition than the line of the Rhine. New efforts, and a new campaign, more decisive than the preceding, were required to force the house of Austria and England to consent to our aggrandizement. To attain this end, the Directory laboured with energy to complete the armies, to re-establish the finances, and to repress the factions.

It particularly laid stress upon the execution of the laws relative to the young requisitionists, and obliged them with the utmost rigour to rejoin the armies. It had caused all kinds of exemptions to be annulled, and had formed in every district a commission of medical men to decide upon cases of infirmity. A great number of young men had thrust themselves into

the administrations, where they plundered the republic and showed the worst spirit. The strictest orders were given to admit into the public offices none but men who did not belong to the requisition. The finances, in particular, attracted the attention of the Directory; it caused the forced loan of six hundred millions to be raised with extreme activity. But it was obliged to wait for the proceeds of that loan, for the alienation of the produce of the national forests, for the sale of the domains of three hundred acres, and for the collection of the arrears of contributions: meanwhile it was necessary to provide for expenses which unfortunately came all at once, because the installation of the new government was the time to which all payments were deferred, and because the winter was the season destined for preparations for the next campaign. But, while awaiting the moment for all these returns, the Directory had been obliged to avail itself of the resource which some had insisted on its retaining—that of assignats. But it had already issued in one month from twelve to fifteen thousand millions, in order to procure a few millions in specie, and it was on the point of not being able to make them pass anywhere. It conceived the idea of issuing a current paper at a short date, which should represent the revenue of the year, as is done in England with exchequer bills, and as we are now doing with royal *bons*. By the name of rescriptions it issued bills payable to bearer at the Treasury, with the specie which was to come in immediately either from the forced loan, which in Belgium was demandable in cash, or from the customs, or from the first treaties with the companies which should undertake the working of the forests. At first it issued thirty millions in these rescriptions, and soon raised them to sixty, availing itself of the assistance of bankers for the purpose.

Financial companies were no longer prohibited. It thought of employing them for the creation of a bank, which credit needed, especially at a moment when it was imagined that all the specie had been carried out of France. It formed a company, and proposed to give up to it a certain quantity of national domains, to serve for the capital of a bank. This bank was to issue notes, which would have lands for their pledge, and would be payable at sight like all bank-notes. It was to lend to the state these notes to an amount proportionate to the lands given in pledge. This was, as we see, another way of drawing upon the value of the national domains: it was, in fact, resorting to the expedient of bank-notes, instead of employing that of assignats.

The success was not very probable; but, in its unfortunate situation, the government tried everything and was right to do so. Its most meritorious operation was abolishing the rations, and restoring freedom of traffic in articles of consumption. We have seen what efforts it cost the government when it took upon itself to bring corn to Paris; and what an expense was entailed upon the exchequer, which paid for the corn in real value, and sold it again to the people of the capital for nominal value. Scarcely a two-hundredth part of the expense was repaid, so that the republic was nearly at the entire cost of feeding the population of Paris.

Benezech, the new minister of the interior, who had felt the inconvenience of this system, and who conceived that circumstances would permit it to be relinquished, advised the Directory to have the courage to give it up. Commerce began to revive; corn began to circulate; the people insisted on being paid their wages in cash, and thenceforward they could afford to buy their own bread, which was at a moderate price in specie. Benezech, in consequence, proposed to the Directory to suppress the dis-

tribution of rations which were paid for in assignats, and to continue them only to the indigent, or to the annuitants and the public functionaries whose annual income was under a thousand livres. All others, excepting these three classes, were to supply themselves at the bakers by the way of free trade.

This was a bold measure, and required real courage. The Directory carried it into immediate execution, regardless of the rage which it might excite in the populace, and the means of disturbance with which it might furnish the two factions conspiring against the tranquillity of the republic.

Besides these measures, it devised others which could not prove less prejudicial to private interests, but which were quite as necessary. A want particularly felt by the armies, and always felt by them after long wars, was that of horses. The Directory applied to the two councils for authority to levy all horses kept for luxury, and to take every thirtieth horse employed in tillage and draught on paying for it. The receipt for the horse was to be taken in payment of taxes. This measure, though harsh, was indispensable, and was adopted.

The two councils seconded the Directory and manifested the same spirit with the exception of the still temperate opposition of the minority. Some discussions had arisen relative to the verification of the powers, the law of the 3d of Brumaire, the successions of emigrants, the priests, the occurrences in the South, and parties had begun to declare themselves.

The verification of the powers had been referred to a commission which had numerous inquiries to make relative to the members whose eligibility could be contested. Its report, therefore, could not be made till very late, after the legislature had been sitting upwards of two months. It gave rise to many altercations respecting the application of the law of the 3d of Brumaire. This law, as we have seen, granted an amnesty for all offences committed during the Revolution, excepting such as related to the 13th of Vendémiaire; it excluded from public offices the relatives of emigrants and those persons, who, in the electoral assemblies, had set themselves in rebellion against the decrees of the 5th and 13th of Fructidor. It had been the last act of energy of the Conventional party, and was singularly offensive to men of moderate sentiments and to the counter-revolutionists, who concealed themselves behind them. It was necessary to enforce it in regard to several deputies, and especially to one Job Aymé, deputy of the Drôme, who had raised the electoral assembly of his department, and was accused of belonging to the companies of Jesus. A member of the Five Hundred ventured even to demand a repeal of that law. This motion caused all the parties to throw off the reserve which they had hitherto maintained. A dispute, similar to those which had decided the Convention, arose in the Five Hundred. Louvet, ever stanch to the revolutionary cause, rushed to the tribune to defend the law. Tallien, who had performed so conspicuous a part since the 9th of Thermidor, and who had been prevented, by the want of personal consideration, from attaining a seat in the Directory, here showed himself the constant advocate of the Revolution, and delivered a speech which produced a great sensation. Preceding speakers had recapitulated the circumstances under which the law had been passed; they seemed to insinuate that it was an abuse of the victory of Vendémiaire in regard to the vanquished; and a great deal had been said concerning the Jacobins and their new audacity. "Let them cease to alarm us," exclaimed Tallien, "by talking of terror, by reminding us of epochs totally different from the present, by exciting apprehensions of their

return. Times are, indeed, greatly changed. In the epochs on which people are so fond of descanting, the royalists did not lift an audacious head; the finical priests, the returned emigrants, were not protected; the chiefs of the Chouans were not acquitted. Why, then, compare circumstances which have no resemblance to each other? It is too evident that the intention is to sit in judgment on the 13th of Vendémiaire, on the measures which have followed that memorable day, and on the men who, amid these great dangers, saved the republic. Well then, let our enemies ascend this tribune; the friends of the republic will defend us there. The very men, who, in those disastrous circumstances, urged the misguided multitude to the cannons' mouth, would now reproach us with the efforts which we were obliged to make to repulse it; they would fain procure the repeal of the measures, which the most imminent danger forced you to take; but no, they will not succeed. The law of the 3d of Brumaire, the most important of those measures, will be upheld by you, for it is necessary to the constitution, and, assuredly, you are determined to uphold the constitution." "Yes, yes, we are," cried a multitude of voices. Tallien then moved the expulsion of Job Aymé. Several members of the new third opposed it. The discussion became extremely warm; the law of the 3d of Brumaire was sanctioned anew; Job Aymé was expelled, and the inquiry concerning those members of the new third to whom the same dispositions were applicable was continued.

The next question related to the emigrants and their right to successions not yet open. A law of the Convention had, with a view to prevent the emigrants from receiving any aid, seized their patrimony, and declared the successions to which they had a claim forfeited and vested in the republic. In consequence, the property of their relatives had been laid under sequestration. A resolution was proposed in the Five Hundred for authorizing the division and the seizure of the portion belonging to the emigrants, in order that the sequestration might be removed. A very warm opposition arose in the new third. This measure, which was quite revolutionary, was impugned on grounds deduced from the common law; it was alleged to involve a violation of property. This resolution was, nevertheless, adopted. In the Ancients it fared otherwise. This council, from the age of its members, and its function of supreme examiner, had more moderation than that of the Five Hundred. It partook less of the opposite passions. It was less revolutionary than the majority, and much more so than the minority. Like every intermediate body, it had an intermediate spirit, and rejected the measure, because it would lead to the execution of a law which it considered as unjust. The councils afterwards decreed that the Directory should be supreme judge of the applications for erasure from the list of emigrants. They renewed all the laws against the priests who had not taken the oath, or who had retracted it, and against those whom the authorities of the departments had sentenced to banishment. They decreed that these priests should be treated as returned emigrants, if they appeared again upon the territory. They merely consented to put into confinement such of them as were infirm and could not expatriate themselves.

Another subject greatly agitated the councils and produced an explosion in them. Fréron was still prosecuting his mission in the South, and composing the administrations and the tribunals of ardent revolutionists. The members of the companies of Jesus, the counter-revolutionists of all kinds, who had been committing murders ever since the 9th of Thermidor, found themselves, in their turn, exposed to new reprisals and raised loud outcries.

Simeon, the deputy, had already made temperate remonstrances. Jourdan of Aubagne, a man of an ardent mind, and Isnard, the ex-Girondin, complained vehemently in the Five Hundred; and filled several sittings with their declamations. The two parties were strongly excited. Jourdan and Talot quarrelled in the Assembly itself, and had nearly come to blows. Their colleagues interposed and separated them. A commission was appointed to make a report on the state of the South.

These different scenes caused the parties to declare themselves more decidedly. The majority in the councils was great, and wholly devoted to the Directory. The minority, though a cipher, grew daily bolder, and openly manifested a spirit of reaction. It was the continuation of the same spirit which had displayed itself ever since the 9th of Thermidor, and which had, at first, justly attacked the excesses of terror, but which, becoming from day to day more severe and more excited, at length ventured to sit in judgment on the entire Revolution. Some of the members of the Conventional two-thirds voted with the minority, and some of the members of the new third with the majority.

The Conventionalists seized the opportunity with which the anniversary of the 21st of January was about to furnish them, to put their colleagues suspected of royalism to a painful test. They proposed a festival to celebrate, every 21st of January, the death of the late King, and, on their motion, it was decided that every member of the two councils and of the Directory should, on that day, take an oath of hatred to royalty. This formality of an oath, so frequently employed by parties, never could be considered as a guarantee; it has never been anything but an annoyance of the conquerors, who have taken delight in forcing the conquered to perjure themselves. The proposal was adopted by the two councils. The Conventionalists awaited with impatience the sitting of the 1st of Pluviose (January 21st), to see their colleagues of the new third ascend the tribune. Each of the councils sat that day in solemn state. An entertainment was prepared in Paris, which was to be attended by the Directory and all the authorities. When the oath was to be pronounced, some of the new members appeared embarrassed. Dupont of Nemours, the ex-Constituent, who was a member of the Ancients, who retained to an advanced age a great vivacity of disposition, and showed the boldest opposition to the existing government—manifested, upon this occasion, some vexation, and, after pronouncing the words, *I swear hatred to royalty*, added, *and to every kind of tyranny*. This was one way of revenging himself, and of swearing hatred to the Directory under evasive words. Violent murmurs arose, and Dupont was obliged to adhere to the official form. In the Five Hundred, one André would have used the same expression as Dupont, but he was, in like manner, obliged to observe the usual form. The president of the Directory delivered an energetic speech, and the whole government thus made the most revolutionary profession of faith.

At this juncture the deputies who had been exchanged for the daughter of Louis XVI. arrived. These were Quinette, Bancal, Camus, Lamarque, Drouet, and Beurnonville, the ex-minister at war. They made a report of their captivity; the Assembly heard it with profound indignation, and bestowed on them just demonstrations of interest; and, amidst general satisfaction, they took that place which the Convention had insured to them in the councils. It had been decreed, in fact, that they should be, by right, members of the legislative body.

Such were the proceedings of the government and of parties during the winter of the year IV (1795-6).

France, which wished for a government and for the re-establishment of the laws, began to be satisfied with the new state of things, and would even have entirely approved it, but for the efforts that were required of her for the salvation of the republic. The rigorous execution of the laws concerning the requisitions, the forced loan, the levy of the thirtieth horse, and the wretched state of the annuitants paid in assignats, were grievous subjects of complaint: but for these causes, she would have deemed the new government excellent. It is only the select few of a nation who are alive to glory, to liberty, to noble and generous ideas, and who consent to make sacrifices for them. The mass wishes for quiet, and to have to make as few sacrifices as possible. There are moments when this entire mass is roused, moved by deep and mighty passions: such instances had been seen in 1789, when the French had been obliged to conquer liberty, and in 1793, when they were forced to defend it. But, exhausted by these efforts, the great majority of France was unwilling to make any more.* It required an able and vigorous government to secure the resources requisite for the salvation of the republic. Fortunately, the youth of the country, ever ready for an adventurous life, offered great resources for recruiting the armies. At first, they showed great unwillingness to leave their homes, and yielded after some resistance. When transferred to the camps, they acquired a decided partiality for war, and performed prodigies of valour. It was much more difficult to manage, and to reconcile with the government, those from whom sacrifices in money were demanded.

The enemies of the Revolution, taking for their text the new sacrifices required from France, declaimed in their journals against the requisition, the forced loan, the forced levy of horses, the state of the finances, the distress of the annuitants, and the strict execution of the laws relating to emigrants and priests. They affected to consider the government as being still a revolutionary government, and as having all its despotism and violence. According to them, it was impossible to place confidence in it any longer, and to feel security respecting the future. They inveighed particularly against the design of a new campaign. They alleged that the government was sacrificing the peace, the property, the lives of the citizens to the mania of conquest, and seemed mortified that the Revolution had the honour of giving Belgium to France. It was not surprising, they said, that the government should have such a spirit and such projects, since the Directory and the councils were full of the members of an Assembly which had sullied itself with all sorts of crimes.

The patriots, who were never behindhand with reproaches and recriminations, on the contrary, considered the government as too weak, and were quite ready to accuse it of indulgence to the counter-revolutionists. According to them, emigrants and priests were suffered to return; the conspirators of Vendémiaire were every day acquitted; the young men of the requisition were not sent back with sufficient severity to the armies; and the forced loan was too leniently raised. They disapproved, in particular, of the financial system, which appeared likely to be adopted. We have already seen that the idea of abolishing the assignats had exasperated them,

* "The age was far removed from France of the 14th of July, 1789, with its enthusiastic feelings, its high resolves, its ardent aspirations, its popular magistrates, and its buoyant population; it was still further removed from France of the 10th of August, when a single class had usurped the whole authority of the state, and borne to the seat of government its vulgar manners and sanguinary ideas, its distrust of all above, and its severity to all beneath itself. Society had now emerged, weakened and disjoined, from the chaos of revolution."—*Alison*. E.

and that they had immediately demanded the revolutionary means which, in 1793, had raised paper to par. The intention of having recourse to the financial companies, and of establishing a bank, revived all prejudices. The government, they said, was going to give itself up again to stockjobbers; it was about, by establishing a bank, to ruin the assignats and to destroy the paper-money of the republic, in order to substitute for it a private paper created by jobbers. They were incensed at the abolition of the rations. To restore a free trade in articles of consumption, to cease to feed the city of Paris, was an attack on the Revolution. It was an attempt to starve the people and to drive them to despair. On this point the journals of royalism seemed to agree with those of Jacobinism, and Benezech, the minister, was loaded with invectives by all parties.

One measure raised the indignation of the patriots against the new government to the highest pitch. The law of the 3d of Brumaire, while pardoning all offences relative to the Revolution, nevertheless excepted particular crimes, such as robbery and murder, which were still amenable to the laws. Thus the proceedings, commenced during the latter time of the Convention against the authors of the massacres of September, were prosecuted like ordinary proceedings against murder. At the same time, the conspirators of Vendémiaire were brought to trial and almost all acquitted. The proceedings against the authors of September were, on the contrary, extremely strict. The patriots were enraged. Babœuf,* a furious Jacobin, who had been confined in Prairial, and recovered his liberty by the effect of the law of amnesty, had commenced a paper, in imitation of that of Marat, by the title of the *Tribun du Peuple*. It is easy to conceive what the imitation of such a model was likely to be. Babœuf's paper, more violent than Marat's, was not cynical but low. What extraordinary circumstances had provoked were here reduced to a system, and supported with a folly and a frenzy hitherto unknown. When ideas which have engrossed the public mind are approaching their end, they stick fast in some heads, and are transformed into mania and idiocy. Babœuf was the head of a sect afflicted with mental malady, who insisted that the massacre of September had been incomplete, and that it ought to be renewed and rendered general, in order that it might be definitive. They publicly preached up the agrarian law, which the Hebertists themselves had never dared to

* "Babœuf was the son of a collector of the salt-tax, and, in 1777, entered into the service of a gentleman, who gave him some sort of education, and made him his confidential man of business. He soon afterwards married a chambermaid, made himself conspicuous by his revolutionary doctrines, and, in 1792, was appointed elector of the department of Somme. On the overthrow of Robespierre, he turned journalist, styled himself Gracchus, and wrote with severity against the Jacobins, to whom he gave the title of Terrorists. He afterwards attacked Tallien and the Thermidorians, and, on the establishment of the Directory, published his 'Tribune of the People,' in which he displayed the most extravagant democracy. Being brought before the minister of police, Babœuf confessed himself the author of a plan of insurrection, and showed great firmness, refusing to name his accomplices. He was condemned to death in 1797, and, on learning his sentence, stabbed himself, but his body was nevertheless dragged to the scaffold and beheaded."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

"Gracchus Babœuf, who called himself the 'Tribune of the People,' was a bold man, of an excited imagination, and fantastically attached to an extraordinary kind of democracy. This man, who possessed great power over his party, prepared it by his journal for the reign of, what he called, general happiness."—*Mignet*. E.

"On being arrested, Babœuf wrote thus to the Directory: 'Whatever may be my fate, my name will be placed with those of Barneveldt and Sidney; whether conducted to death or to banishment, I am certain of arriving at immortality.'"—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

do, and employed a new expression, the *common happiness*, to denote the aim of their system. This expression alone characterized in them the utmost limit to the tyranny of demagogues. It makes one shudder to read Babœuf's pages. In upright minds they excited pity; the alarmists pretended to believe in the approach of a new Terror, and it is true that the meetings of the society of the Pantheon afforded a specious pretext for their apprehensions. It was in the spacious church of St. Geneviève that the Jacobins had recommenced their club, as we have observed.* More numerous than ever, they amounted to nearly four thousand, vociferating all together, till the night was far advanced. By degrees they had overstepped the limits of the constitution, and given themselves all that it had forbidden, namely, a bureau, a president, and tickets. In short, they had resumed the character of a political assembly. There they declaimed against the emigrants and the priests, the stockjobbers, the bloodsuckers of the people, the plan of a bank, the suppression of the rations, the abolition of the assignats, and the proceedings instituted against the patriots.

The Directory, finding itself daily more and more firmly established, began to feel solicitous to please moderate and reasonable minds. It deemed it right to visit with severity this outburst of the Jacobin faction. The constitution of the existing laws furnished it with the means of doing so; and it resolved to employ them. In the first place, it ordered several numbers of Babœuf's paper to be seized, as instigating to the overthrow of the constitution; it then caused the Pantheon to be shut up, as well as the places of meeting of several other societies formed by the *gilded youth*, where the members read the newspapers and amused themselves with dancing. These latter were situated in the Palais-Royal and the Boulevard des Italiens, and were called *Société des Echecs*, *Salon des Princes*, *Salon des Arts*. There was little to be feared from them, and they were comprehended in the measure merely to show impartiality. The ordinance was published and executed on the 8th of Ventose (February 27, 1796). A resolution, proposed by the Five Hundred, added another condition to those which were already imposed by the constitution on the popular societies: they were not to consist of more than sixty members.

Benezech, the minister, accused by both parties, tendered his resignation. The Directory refused to accept it, and wrote him a letter commending his services. The letter was published. The new system relative to articles of consumption was maintained; the indigent, the annuitants, and the public functionaries, who had not an income of one thousand francs, were alone supplied with rations. Something was likewise done for the unfortunate *rentiers*, who were still paid in paper. The two councils decreed that they should receive ten for one in assignats; a very trifling augmentation, for the assignats had fallen to the two-hundredth part of their nominal value.

To the measures which it had just adopted, the Directory added that of, at last, recalling the Conventional deputies on mission. It appointed commissioners of the government in their stead. These commissioners, with armies or administrations, represented the Directory, and superintended the execution of the laws. They had not, as formerly, unlimited powers

* "The democrats had re-established their club at the Pantheon, and it was, for some time, tolerated by the Directory. The society, however, became daily more numerous and more alarming to the government, which, at first, endeavoured to restrain it within bounds, but its sittings were, in a short time, prolonged to a late hour. The democrats at length repaired thither in arms, and projected an expedition against the Directory and the Councils, who then determined on making an open attack upon them."—*Mignet* E.

in the armies; but, in an emergency, when the power of the general was insufficient, such as a requisition for provisions or troops, they were authorized to adopt a decision on the spur of the moment, which was carried into execution, and afterwards submitted to the approbation of the Directory. Complaints were made against many of the functionaries appointed by the Directory at the first moment of its installation; it enjoined its civil commissioners to keep an eye upon them, and to point out those whom it would be proper to supersede.

In order to watch the factions, which, being now obliged to conceal themselves, were likely to act in the dark, the Directory resolved upon the institution of a special ministry of police.

The police is an important object in times of disturbance. The three preceding assemblies had appropriated to it a numerous committee; the Directory did not deem it right to leave it among the auxiliary duties of the ministry of the interior, and proposed to the two councils to establish a special ministry. The opposition pretended that it was an inquisitorial institution, which was true, and which, unfortunately, was inherent in a time of factions, and, especially, of obstinate factions, and factions that were obliged to plot in secret. The plan was approved. Cochon, the deputy, was placed at the head of this new ministry. The Directory wished, moreover, for laws to regulate the liberty of the press. The constitution declared it to be unlimited, excepting the dispositions which might become necessary for repressing its excesses. The two councils, after a solemn discussion, rejected every restrictive *projet de loi*. The parts were again reversed in this discussion. The partisans of the Revolution, who should have been partisans of unlimited liberty, demanded means of repression; and the opposition, whose secret sentiments inclined rather to monarchy than to the republic, voted for unlimited liberty—so strongly are parties governed by their interest. For the rest, the decision was discreet. The press may be unlimited without danger; truth alone is formidable; that which is false is impotent; the more it exaggerates, the weaker it becomes. There never yet was a government that was overthrown by lies. What signified it if a Babœuf extolled the agrarian law, if a *Quotidienne* depreciated the grandeur of the Revolution, slandered its heroes, and strove to set up banished princes again? The government had only to allow them to declaim: a week's exaggeration and lies exhaust all the pens of pamphleteers and libellers. But a government must have time and philosophy before it admits these truths. It was, perhaps, not time for the Convention to listen to them. The Directory, which was more tranquil and more settled, ought to have begun to hearken to and to practise them.

The last measures of the Directory, such as the closing of the Pantheon, the refusal to accept the resignation of Benezech, the recall of the Conventionalists on mission, and the change of certain functionaries, produced the best effect. They gave confidence to those who dreaded the revival of Terror; they condemned to silence such as affected to dread it; and they gratified sober minds who wished the government to place itself above all parties. The continuity and activity of the operations of the Directory contributed, not less than all the rest, to gain it esteem. People began to hope for quiet, and to associate the idea of stability with the existing system. The five directors were surrounded by a certain degree of state. Barras, a man of pleasure, did the honours of the Luxembourg. He acted, in some measure, for his colleagues. Society wore nearly the same aspect as in the preceding year. It exhibited a singular medley of

conditions, great freedom of manners, an inordinate fondness for amusements, and extraordinary luxury.* The saloons of the Directory were full of generals, who had finished their education and made their fortune in a couple of years; of contractors and men of business, who had enriched themselves by speculations and rapine; of exiles, who had returned and were seeking to connect themselves with the government; of men of superior talents, who began to have confidence in the republic, and wished to take their place in it; and lastly, of intriguers, who were running after favour. Women of high and low birth came to these saloons to display their charms, and, sometimes, to use their influence at a moment when anything might be demanded and obtained. If, at times, manners had neither that decorum nor that dignity, on which so much stress is now laid in France, and which are the fruit of a polished, tranquil, exclusive society, there prevailed an extreme freedom of mind, and that great abundance of positive ideas, which the sight and the practice of great things suggests. The men who composed that society were not controlled by any kind of routine; they did not repeat insignificant traditions; what they knew, they had learned by their own experience. They had witnessed the greatest events in history. They had taken part, they were still taking part, in them; and it is easy to conceive what ideas such a spectacle must have excited in young minds, ambitious and full of hope. There young Hoche shone in the first rank, who, from a private in the French guards, had become, in one campaign, general-in-chief, and acquired in two years the most finished education. Handsome, of polished manners, renowned as one of the first captains of his time, and scarcely twenty-seven years of age, he was the hope of the republicans, and the idol of those females smitten with beauty, talent, and glory. Beside him was already remarked young Bonaparte, who had not yet acquired renown, but whose services at Toulon and on the 13th of Vendémiaire were well known, whose character and person astonished by their singularity, and whose understanding struck by its originality and vigour.† In this society, Madame Tallien fascinated by her beauty, Madame Beauharnais by her grace, Madame de Staël dis-

* The following is the Duchess d'Abrantes's account of the state of society in Paris at this period: "All those delightful reunions, which formerly constituted the charm of intimate acquaintance, now no longer existed, or were poisoned by odious politics, which engendered sharp contradiction, anger, quarrels, frequently terminating in ruptures between husband and wife, brother and sister, and, sometimes, between father and son. Such was the picture presented by society in Paris at the period of which I am now treating, that is, 1796. The word society was vulgarly used to designate assemblages of persons; but, in point of fact, there were no social meetings. Private individuals were afraid of appearing wealthy by receiving company habitually, and they contented themselves with frequenting those public assemblages, where, at that time, the best society was to be found. Such was the system adopted, not only in regard to concerts, but also to balls." E.

† Madame Bourrienne has drawn a curious and striking portrait of Bonaparte, as he appeared in Paris previous to his departure for the army of Italy, which we subjoin: "At this period (towards the close of year 1795) I remarked that Bonaparte's character was reserved, and frequently gloomy. His smile was hypocritical and often misplaced; and I recollect that he one day gave us one of those specimens of savage hilarity which prepossessed me against him. He was telling us that, being before Toulon, where he commanded the artillery, one of the officers was visited by his wife, to whom he had been but a short time married, and whom he tenderly loved. A few days after, orders were given for another attack upon the town, in which this officer was to be engaged. His wife came to General Bonaparte, and with tears entreated him to dispense with her husband's services on that day. The general was inexorable, as he himself told us. The moment of the attack arrived, and the officer, though a very brave man, as Bonaparte assured us, felt a presentiment of his approaching death. He turned pale and

played all the brilliancy of her intellect, heightened by circumstances and by liberty.*

Those young men called to govern the state chose their wives, some from among the ladies formerly of rank, who deemed themselves honoured by an alliance with them, others out of families enriched by the times, who were desirous of ennobling wealth by reputation. Bonaparte had just married the widow of the unfortunate General Beauharnais. Every one was anxious to fix his destiny, and foreboded a brilliant career for himself. Roads to fortune were open to all. The war upon the continent, the naval war, the tribune, the magistracy, in short, a great republic to defend and govern—these were grand objects, worthy to inflame every mind! The government had recently made a valuable acquisition; it was that of an ingenious and profound writer, who had devoted his youthful talents to reconcile opinion with the new republic. M. Benjamin Constant† had recently published a pamphlet, entitled *De la Force du Gouvernement*, which had produced a strong sensation. He therein demonstrated the necessity of rallying round a government which was the only hope of France and of all parties.

A daily recurring subject of anxiety was that of the finances. The recent measures were but an adjournment of the difficulty. A certain quantity of domains had been given to the government to sell, the letting of the great forests, and the forced loan; and the plate of the assignats had been left it as a last resource. To anticipate the produce of these different resources, it had, as we have seen, created sixty millions of rescriptions, something like exchequer bills, or royal *bons*, payable with the first specie that should reach the public coffers. But these rescriptions had not obtained currency without great difficulty. The bankers, who met to concert a plan for a territorial bank, founded on the national domains, separated amidst shouts uttered by the patriots against jobbers and brokers. The

trembled. He was stationed beside the general, and, during an interval when the firing from the town was very strong, Napoleon called out to him, 'Take care, there is a bomb-shell coming.' The officer, instead of moving to one side, stooped down, and was literally severed in two. The general laughed loudly while he described this event with horrible minuteness. There was always something eccentric in Bonaparte's behaviour. He would often slip away from us at the theatre without saying a word, and, when we supposed he had quitted it, we would suddenly discover him in the second or third tier sitting alone in a box, and looking rather sulky." E.

* "Madame de Staël was always in her element in Parisian society, and exhibited herself there to the greatest advantage; she could not live happily without the excitements and novelties that Paris alone could supply; and when these were withdrawn, not all the vivacity of her genius, nor all the warmth of her heart, could protect her from the benumbing influence of ennui." — *Edinburgh Review*. E.

† "Benjamin de Constant de Rebecque, born at Lausanne, in 1767, and one of the most distinguished authors and orators of the liberal party on the left side of the French chamber of deputies, was the son of a general in the Dutch service, who had retired into his native country, French Switzerland, and commanded the militia there. Young Benjamin was educated at Brunswick, in Germany, and, at a later period, studied the law. At the period of the Revolution he went to Paris, and, with equal courage and sternness of purpose, opposed both anarchy and despotism. In 1797 he distinguished himself by the fire of his orations, which caused his election to the office of tribune. He was the principal cause of the appointment of Talleyrand to the foreign office, by the Directory, in the same year. His speeches and writings rendered him odious to the First Consul, and he was consequently dismissed from his station in 1802. Similarity of sentiment connected him with Madame de Staël, with whom he travelled through several countries, till Napoleon permitted him to return to Paris for a limited period. In 1814 Constant showed himself zealous for the cause of the Bourbons; he suffered himself, however, to be elected councillor of state by Napoleon; and, on the return of the king, retired to Brussels. In 1816 he was allowed to return to Paris, and in 1819 was elected a member of the chamber of deputies. He was the author of several works, some of which are held in high repute." — *Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

forced loan was levied much more slowly than had been expected. The assessment rested on extremely arbitrary bases; as the loan was to be raised from the wealthiest classes every one complained; and each portion of it to be levied occasioned an altercation with the collectors. In two months, scarcely a third of it had been received. Some millions in specie and some thousand millions in paper had been collected. In the inadequacy of this resource, recourse had, once more, been had to the last engine left to the government for the purpose of supplying the deficiency of all the others—the plate for assignats. The issues had been extended, during the last two months, to the unheard-of sum of forty-five thousand millions. Twenty thousand millions had furnished scarcely one hundred millions, for the assignats were not worth more than the two-hundredth part of their nominal value. The public decidedly refused to take them, for they were good for nothing. They could not serve for the reimbursement of credits which were suspended; they could pay only half the rents and taxes, the other half of which was paid in kind; they were refused in the markets, or taken at their reduced value; lastly, they were taken in the sale of the domains, only at the same rate as in the markets, owing to the sales by auction; which caused the offer to rise in proportion to the depreciation of the paper. It was, therefore, impossible to put them to any use that could give them value. An issue, the limit of which was not known, gave reason to expect still more extraordinary figures for the purpose of expressing very moderate sums. Thousands of millions signified at most millions. This fall, to which we have already adverted, when the government refused to forbid the sale of the national domains by auction, was now realized.

Those minds in which the Revolution had left its prejudices, for all systems and all powers do leave them, wished that assignats might be raised by setting apart a great quantity of domains in mortgage for them, and by resorting to violent measures to make them circulate. But there is nothing which it is so impossible to re-establish as the reputation of paper-money; it was, therefore, found absolutely necessary to renounce the assignats.

One may ask why the paper-money was not immediately abolished, by reducing it to its real value, which was about two hundred millions at most, and by demanding payment of the taxes, and for the national domains, either in specie or in assignats at their current worth. Specie was, in fact, again making its appearance, and that in some abundance, especially in the provinces; thus it was an egregious error to apprehend its scarcity; for the paper reckoned as two hundred millions in the circulation: but another reason prevented the relinquishment of paper-money. The only resource, it should be borne in mind, consisted in the national domains. Their sale was considered as by no means certain, and, above all, as not very near at hand. Unable, therefore, to wait till their value should come spontaneously to the exchequer by sales, it was necessary to represent it beforehand in paper, and to issue it for the purpose of withdrawing it afterwards: in short, it was necessary to suspend the value before it was received. This necessity of spending before selling suggested the idea of the creation of a new species of paper-money.

The notes, which were a special mortgage upon each domain, would require long delays, because it was requisite that they should bear the description of each; besides, they would depend on the will of the taker, and would not remove the real difficulty. A paper was devised, which, by the name of *mandats*, was to represent a fixed value in land. Every domain was to be delivered, without sale by auction and upon a mere *procès-verbal*,

for a price in mandats equal to that of 1790 (twenty-two times its annual worth).

Mandats, to the amount of two thousand four hundred millions, were to be created, and domains to the like amount, according to the estimate of 1790, were to be immediately appropriated to them. Thus these mandats could not undergo any other variation than that of the domains themselves, since they represented a fixed quantity of them. It would not thence absolutely result that they should be on a par with money, for the domains were not worth so much as in 1790; but, at any rate, they must have the same value as the domains.

It was resolved to employ part of these mandats to withdraw the assignats. The plate of the assignats was broken upon the 30th of Pluviose: 45,500 millions had been issued. By the different returns, either by means of loans or of arrears, the circulating quantity had been reduced to 36,000 millions, and was soon to be further reduced to 24,000. These 24,000 millions, reduced to one-thirtieth, represented 800 millions: it was decreed that they should be exchanged for 800 millions in mandats, which was a liquidation of the assignat at one-thirtieth of its nominal value. Six hundred millions more in mandats were to be issued for the public service, and the remaining 1,200 were to be deposited in the chest with three keys, to be taken out, by decree, as they were wanted.

This creation of mandats was a reprint of the assignats, with a lower figure, another denomination, and a fixed value with respect to the domains. It was as if there had been created, besides the 24,000 millions that were to be left in circulation, 48,000 millions more, which would have made 72,000; it was as if it had been decided that these 72,000 millions should be taken in payment for domains, at thirty times their value in 1790, which would suppose 2,400 millions' worth of domains to be mortgaged. Thus the figure was reduced, the relation to the domains fixed, and the name changed.

The mandats were created on the 26th of Ventose. The domains were to be sold immediately, and delivered to the bearer of the mandat on a mere *procès-verbal*. Half the price was to be paid in the first decade, the other half in three months. The national forests were set apart; and the 2,400 millions' worth of domains were taken from those of less than three hundred acres. The measures which accompany a paper-money were immediately adopted. The mandat being the money of the republic, all payments were to be made in mandats. Credits stipulated in specie, rents, interest of capital, taxes, excepting the arrears, the *rentes* on the state, the pensions and salaries of the public functionaries, were all to be paid in mandats. There were great discussions on the land-tax. Those who foresaw that the mandats were liable to fall, like the assignats, proposed that, to insure to the state a certain return, the land-tax should continue to be paid in kind. Others objected strongly against the difficulties of the collection, and it was decided that it should be paid in mandats, as well as the customs, the registration and stamp-duty, the posts, &c. But the government did not stop there. It was deemed right to accompany the creation of the new paper with the severities that usually accompany forced values. It was declared that silver and gold should be no longer considered as merchandise, and that paper could, thenceforward, not be sold against gold and gold against paper. After the experience gained on former occasions, this was a miserable measure. Another that was adopted was not less so, and injured the Directory in the public opinion. This was, the shutting up of

the Exchange. It ought to have known that the closing of a market does not prevent a thousand others from being established elsewhere.

In making mandates the new money, and putting them everywhere in the place of specie, the government committed an egregious error. Even if it kept up its value, the mandat could never equal the standard of money. The mandat, it is true, was worth as much as the land, but it could not be worth more. Now land was not worth half as much as in 1790; even a patrimonial estate worth 100,000 francs would not have fetched 50,000 in money. How could 100,000 francs in mandates have been equal in value to 100,000 in specie? This difference, then, ought at least to have been admitted. The government, therefore, could not help finding, independently of all the other causes of depreciation, a first mistake arising from the depreciation of the domains.

The pressure was so urgent that, till the mandates themselves should be ready to be issued, promises of mandates were put into circulation. The promises were presently circulating at a value far inferior to their nominal value. People were extremely alarmed. They said to themselves that the new paper, from which so much was hoped, was about to fall like the assignats, and to leave the republic without any resource. There was, however, a cause for this anticipated fall, and it might very soon be removed. It was requisite that instructions should be addressed to the local administrations, for their guidance in the extremely complicated cases that must arise from the sale of the domains upon a mere *procès-verbal*. It took considerable time to draw up these instructions, before the sales could commence. During this interval the mandat fell, and it was said that its value would soon be so low, that the state would refuse to open the sales and to give up the domains for such a consideration; and the same thing would happen to the mandates as had happened to the assignats; that they would gradually fall to nothing, and that then they would be taken in payment for domains, not at their value when issued, but at their reduced value. Malevolent persons thus spread the idea that the new paper was a lure, that the domains would never be alienated, and that the republic was determined to reserve them to itself, as an apparent and everlasting pledge for all the kinds of paper that it should be pleased to issue. The sales, nevertheless, were opened. The subscriptions were numerous. The mandat of one hundred francs had passed at fifteen. It rose successively to thirty, forty, and in some places to eighty francs. Hopes, therefore, were for a moment entertained of the success of the new operation.

It was amid factions secretly conspiring against it that the Directory prosecuted its labours. The agents of royalty had continued their clandestine intrigues. The death of Lemaître had not dispersed them. Brottier, who was acquainted, had become the chief of the agency. Duverne de Presle,* Laville-Heurnois, and Despernelles, had joined him, and secretly formed the royal committee. These wretched agitators had no more influence than in time past. They intrigued, loudly demanded money, wrote a great many letters, and promised wonders. They were always the channel of communication between the pretender and La Vendée, where they had

* "Duverne-de-Présle, an officer in the royal navy, was denounced as one of the contrivers of a royalist conspiracy. He was arrested at the barracks of the military academy, and summoned by the Directory before a council of war. He was condemned to ten years' imprisonment, but ultimately purchased his pardon by turning evidence against the persons accused with him. He was afterwards said to have served in the police." *Biographie Moderne*. E.

numerous agents. They persisted in their ideas, and, when they saw the insurrection quelled by Hoche, and ready to expire under his strokes, they confirmed themselves more and more in the system of doing everything in Paris, even by a movement in the interior. They boasted, as in the time of the Convention, of being in connexion with several députés of the new third, and they concluded that they ought to temporize, to influence public opinion by the newspapers, to decry the government, and to prepare things in such a manner that the elections of the next year should bring in a new third of deputies entirely counter-revolutionary. They thus flattered themselves that they should destroy the republican constitution by means of the constitution itself. This plan was certainly the least chimerical, and it is the one that affords the most favourable idea of their intelligence.

The patriots were, on their part, contriving plots, but fraught with a different kind of danger, owing to the means which they had at their disposal. Driven from the Pantheon, absolutely condemned by the government, which had separated itself from them, and which had turned many of them out of the places that it had given them, they had declared against it and become its irreconcilable enemies. Finding themselves closely followed and watched, they had seen no other resource but to conspire most secretly, and in such a manner that the chiefs of the conspiracy should remain absolutely unknown. They had chosen four to form a secret directory of public welfare! Babœuf and Drouet were of the number. The secret directory was to communicate with twelve principal agents, who were unacquainted with one another, and who were to organize societies of patriots in all the quarters of Paris. These twelve agents, each thus acting by himself, were forbidden to name the four members of the secret directory; they were to speak and to enforce obedience in the name of a mysterious and supreme authority, which was instituted to direct the efforts of the patriots towards what was called the *common happiness*. In this manner the prime movers of the conspiracy could scarcely be laid hold of, and, if even one were seized, that circumstance would not insure the apprehension of the others. This organization was actually established agreeably to Babœuf's plan; societies of patriots existed all over Paris, and, through the medium of the twelve principal agents, received the impulse of an unknown authority.

Babœuf and his colleagues were considering what method should be employed to effect what they called *the deliverance*, and to whom the authority should be assigned, when the Directory should be despatched, the councils dispersed, and the people put in possession of their sovereignty. They still felt too much distrust of the provinces and of public opinion, to run the risk of an election and to convoke a new assembly. They meant merely to appoint one composed of chosen Jacobins selected from each department. They meant to make this selection themselves, and to complete the Assembly by adding to it all the Mountaineers of the old Convention who had not been re-elected. Even these Mountaineers did not seem to them to give sufficient guarantees, for many of them had adhered, before the close of the Convention, to what they called *liberticide* measures, and had even accepted office under the Directory. They had, nevertheless, chosen sixty-eight of them who were considered the purest, and had agreed upon their admission into the new assembly. That assembly was to take all the powers into its hands till the *common happiness* was insured.

It was deemed right to consult the Conventionlists not re-elected, most of whom were in Paris. Babœuf and Drouet entered into communication with them. Great discussions arose on the choice of the means. The

Conventionalists considered those proposed by the insurrectional directory as too extraordinary. They wished for the re-establishment of the old Convention, with the organization prescribed by the constitution of 1793. At length, the arrangements were agreed upon, and the insurrection was fixed for the month of Floreal. The means which the secret directory purposed to employ were truly terrible. In the first place, it had put itself in correspondence with the principal cities of France, so that the Revolution might be simultaneous and every where alike. The patriots were to issue from their quarters, bearing banners inscribed with these words: *Liberty, Equality, Constitution of 1793, Common Happiness*. Whoever should resist the sovereign people was to be put to death; as were also the five directors, certain members of the Five Hundred, and the general of the army of the interior. The insurgents were to make themselves masters of the Luxembourg, the treasury, the telegraph, the arsenals, and the depot of artillery at Meudon. To induce the people to rise, and to pay them no longer with empty promises, all the inhabitants in easy circumstances were to be forced to board and lodge every man who should have taken part in the insurrection. The bakers and the wine-dealers were to be required to furnish the people with bread and drink, for which an indemnity was to be paid them by the republic, upon pain of being hanged from the lamp in case of refusal. Every soldier who should go over to the side of the insurrection should have his equipments for his own property, be paid a sum of money, and be at liberty to return to his home. The insurgents hoped, in this manner, to gain all those who disliked the service. As for professed soldiers, who had contracted a fondness for war, they meant to give them the houses of the royalists to plunder. To keep up the armies to their complement, and to replace those who should be allowed to return to their homes, they purposed granting to the soldiers such advantages as would induce the spontaneous levy of a multitude of new volunteers.

We see what terrible and insensate combinations these desperate spirits had conceived. They had appointed Rossignol, ex-general of La Vendée, to command the Parisian army of insurrection. They had tampered with that police legion which constituted part of the army of the interior, and which had been composed of patriots, gendarmes of the tribunals, and old French Guards. It actually mutinied, but too soon, and was dissolved by the Directory. Cochon, the minister of the police, who was watching the progress of the conspiracy, of which he had been apprized by an officer of the army of the interior, whom the insurgents had attempted to gain, suffered it to proceed that he might secure all its threads. On the 20th of Floreal, Babœuf, Drouet, and the other chiefs and agents, were to meet at a cabinet-maker's in the Rue Bleue. Officers of police, stationed in the environs, seized the conspirators and immediately conducted them to prison. They apprehended also the ex-Conventionalists Laignelot,* Vadier, Amar, Ricord, Choudieu, Buonarotti, the Piedmontese, Antonelle, ex-member of the Legislative Assembly, and Pelletier de St. Fargeau, brother of him who had been assassinated. Application was forthwith made to the two councils to put Drouet, who was a member of the Five Hundred, under accusation;

* "Laignelot, deputy from Paris to the Convention, was born in 1752. Before the Revolution he cultivated letters and wrote tragedies. He voted for the King's death, and distinguished himself as a violent Jacobin. After the overthrow of Robespierre, he spoke against that party, but, subsequently, on the establishment of the Directory, joined the conspiracy of Babœuf, and, being acquitted, devoted himself wholly to literature, and published a tragedy entitled *Rienzi*."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

and the whole of the prisoners were sent before the national court, which was not yet formed, but which the government immediately set about organizing. Babœuf, whose vanity equalled his fanaticism, wrote an extraordinary letter to the Directory, which showed in a striking manner the delirium of his mind. "I am a power," he wrote to the five directors; "you heed not then be afraid to treat with me as with an equal. I am the chief of a formidable sect, which you will not destroy by sending me to death, and which, after my execution, will be only more exasperated and more dangerous. You have yet but a single thread of the conspiracy; you have done nothing in apprehending a few individuals; chiefs will spring up again continually. Spare the useless effusion of blood; you have not yet made much noise, make no more, treat with the patriots; they recollect that you were formerly sincere republicans; they will forgive you, if you will concur with them in the salvation of the republic."

The Directory took no notice of this extravagant letter, but ordered the institution of proceedings. These proceedings were likely to be long continued, for it was resolved that all the forms should be duly observed. This last act of vigour completely established the Directory in public opinion. The end of the winter approached; the factions were watched and repressed; the administration was directed with zeal and with care; the renewed paper-money alone caused uneasiness; it had, nevertheless, furnished momentary resources towards making the first preparations for the campaign.

THE DIRECTORY.

CAMPAIGN OF 1796—DEATH OF STOFFLET AND CHARETTE—PACIFICATION OF LA VENDEE—CONQUEST OF PIEDMONT AND LOMBARDY BY GENERAL BONAPARTE—BATTLES OF MONTENOTTE, MILLESIMO, AND LODI; ESTABLISHMENT AND POLICY OF THE FRENCH IN ITALY—PASSAGE OF THE RHINE BY GENERALS JOURDAN AND MOREAU; BATTLE OF RASTADT AND OF ETTLINGEN—FRENCH ARMIES ON THE DANUBE AND ON THE ADIGE.

THE season for military operations had now arrived. The English ministry, always wily in its policy, had made those overtures to the French government which public opinion expected from it. It had directed Wickham, its agent in Switzerland, to address some insignificant questions to Barthelemy, the minister of France. The object of these overtures, made on the 17th of Ventose (March 8th, 1796), was to inquire whether France was disposed for peace, whether she would consent to a congress for discussing its conditions, and whether she would intimate, beforehand, the principal bases on which she was resolved to treat.

Such an inquiry was only a vain satisfaction given by Pitt to the English nation, in order that he might be authorized, by a refusal, to demand new sacrifices. Had Pitt really been sincere, he would not have employed an agent without powers to make this overture; he would not have pro-

posed a European congress, which, from the complicated nature of the questions, could not bring anything to a close, and which, moreover, France had already refused to Austria, through the medium of Denmark; lastly, he would not have inquired on what bases the negotiation was likely to be opened, since he knew that, according to the constitution, the Netherlands had become part of the French territory, and that the existing government could not consent to the separation of that country from it. The Directory, unwilling to pass for dupes, caused the following answer to be given to Wickham: that neither the form nor the object of this procedure tended to prove its sincerity; that, nevertheless, in order to demonstrate its pacific intentions, it consented to give a reply to questions which did not deserve any; and that it declared that it was willing to treat on no other bases than those fixed by the constitution. This was declaring, in a definitive manner, that France would never relinquish Belgium. The letter of the Directory, written with temper and firmness, was immediately published together with that of Wickham. This was the first instance of a frank and firm diplomacy, without boasting.

Every one approved of the conduct of the Directory, and, on both sides, preparations were made in Europe for renewing hostilities. Pitt demanded of the English parliament a new loan of seven millions sterling, and he endeavoured to negotiate another of three millions for the emperor. He had taken great pains to persuade the King of Prussia to break his neutrality, and to engage again in the conflict. He had offered him funds, and had represented to him, that, when the war should be over and all parties exhausted, he would possess a decided superiority. The King of Prussia, resolving to shun his first faults, would not suffer himself to be misled, and persisted in his neutrality. One part of his army, stationed in Poland, was employed in the incorporation of new conquests; the other, drawn up along the Rhine, was ready to defend the line of neutrality against any of the powers that should violate it, and to take under its protection such of the states of the empire as should claim the Prussian mediation. Russia, still liberal of promises, sent as yet no troops, and was engaged in organizing that portion of Poland which had fallen to her share.

Austria, inflated with her successes at the close of the preceding campaign, prepared for war with ardour, and indulged the most presumptuous hopes. The general to whom she owed this slight favour of fortune, had, nevertheless, been displaced, notwithstanding all the brilliancy of his glory. Clairfayt had displeased the aulic council, and had been succeeded in the command of the army of the Lower Rhine by the young Archduke Charles, of whom great hopes were entertained, though no one had yet any foreboding of his talents. He had displayed in the preceding campaigns the qualities of a good officer. Wurmser still commanded the army of the Upper Rhine. To decide the King of Sardinia to continue the war, a considerable reinforcement had been sent to the imperial army which was fighting in Piedmont; and Beaulieu, who had gained great reputation in the Netherlands, was appointed to the command of it. Spain, beginning to enjoy peace, was attentive to the new struggle that was about to commence, and now, more enlightened respecting her true interests, her wishes were in favour of France.

The Directory, zealous as a new government, and anxious to give *éclat* to its administration, meditated important projects. It had put its armies on a respectable footing; but it had only been able to send them men, without furnishing them with the supplies which they needed. All Belgium

had been laid under contribution for the subsistence of the army of the Sambre and Meuse; extraordinary efforts had been made to furnish that of the Rhine, in the heart of the Vosges, with provisions. But it had not been possible either to afford them means of transport or to remount their cavalry. The army of the Alps had lived upon the stores taken from the Austrians after the battle of Loano; but it had neither shoes nor clothing, and its pay was in arrear.* The victory of Loano had thus been productive of no result. The armies of the western provinces were, thanks to the attention of Hoche, in a better state than any of the others, without, however, being provided with all that they needed. In spite of this want of many essential articles, our armies, accustomed to hardships, to live by expedients, and moreover inured to war by their glorious campaigns, were disposed to attempt great things.

The Directory meditated vast projects. It was anxious to finish in the spring the war in La Vendée, and then to take the offensive on all points. Its object was to push forward the armies of the Rhine into Germany, in order to blockade and besiege Mayence, to complete the submission of the princes of the empire, to separate Austria, to transfer the theatre of war to the heart of the hereditary dominions, and to subsist its troops at the expense of the enemy in the rich valleys of the Mayn and the Neckar. With respect to Italy, it cherished still more vast ideas, which had been suggested to it by General Bonaparte. The victory of Loano had not been followed up, according to that young officer, the French ought to gain a second, to force the King of Sardinia to make peace or to take his dominions from him, then to cross the Po, and to wrest from Austria the fairest jewel of her crown—Lombardy. There was the theatre of decisive operations, there they might inflict the severest blow on Austria, conquer equivalents to pay for the Netherlands, decide peace, and perhaps liberate beautiful Italy. Besides this course would afford the means of feeding and restoring the poorest of our armies amidst the most fertile country in the world.

The Directory, adopting these ideas, made some changes in the command of its armies. Jourdan retained the command which he had so well deserved, and continued at the head of the army of the Sambre and Meuse. Pichegru, who had betrayed his country, and whose guilt was already suspected, was succeeded by Moreau, who commanded in Holland. Pichegru was offered the embassy to Sweden, which he refused. Beurnonville, who had lately returned from captivity, replaced Moreau in the command of the French army in Holland. Scherer, with whom the government was dissatisfied on account of the little advantage which he had derived from the victory of Loano, was removed. A young and enterprising man was required to try a bold campaign. Bonaparte, who had already distinguished himself in the army of Italy, and who was, moreover, so impressed with the advantages of a march beyond the Alps, appeared to be the fittest man to succeed Scherer. He was, therefore, promoted from the command of the army of the interior to that of the army of Italy; and immediately set out for Nice. Full of ardour and joy, he declared, at starting, that in a month he would be either in Milan or in Paris.† This ardour appeared

* "An idea of the penury of the army may be collected from the correspondence of the commander-in-chief, who appears to have once sent Massena a supply of twenty-four francs to provide for his official expenses."—*Jomini*. E.

† "It may be imagined with what delight Napoleon, aged scarcely twenty-six, advanced to an independent field of glory and conquest, confident in his own powers, and his perfect knowledge of the country. His mind was made up to the alternative of conquest or ruin, as may be judged from his words to a friend at taking leave of him

rash ; but in a young man, and in a hazardous enterprise, it was a good omen.

Similar changes had been made in the armies which occupied the insurgent provinces. Hoche, who had been summoned to Paris, to concert with the Directory a plan for putting an end to the civil war, had there obtained the most deserved favour, and received the strongest testimonies of esteem. The Directory, acknowledging the excellence of his plans, had approved of them all ; and, that no one might have it in his power to thwart the execution of them, it had united the three armies of the coasts of Cherbourg, the coasts of Brest, and of the West, into one, by the name of the army of the coasts of the Ocean, and had given the supreme command of it to Hoche. This was the largest army of the republic, for it amounted to one hundred thousand men, extended over several provinces, and required in the commander a combination of very extraordinary powers, civil and military. A command so vast was the strongest proof of confidence that could be given to a general. Hoche certainly deserved it. Possessing, at the age of twenty-seven, such a variety of qualities, military and civil, as frequently becomes dangerous to liberty, cherishing even a lofty ambition, he had not that culpable boldness of mind which is capable of impelling an illustrious commander to aspire to more than the quality of citizen ; he was a sincere republican, and equalled Jourdan in patriotism and integrity. Liberty might applaud his successes without fear and wish him victories.

Hoche had passed scarcely a month in Paris. He had returned immediately to the West, that he might complete the pacification of La Vendée by the end of winter or the beginning of spring. His plan of disarming and pacification had been reduced into articles, and converted into an ordinance by the Directory. It was agreed, conformably with this plan, that a disarming cordon should surround the insurgent provinces, and scour them in succession. Until their complete pacification, they were to be subject to military law. All the towns were declared in a state of siege. It was acknowledged, in principle, that the army was to live at the expense of the insurgent country ; consequently, Hoche was authorized to levy the taxes and the forced loan, either in kind or in specie, as was most convenient to him, and to form magazines and chests for the supply of the army. The towns, which the country sought to starve by withholding from them articles of consumption, were to be provisioned in a military manner by columns attached to the principal of them. Pardon was granted to all the rebels who should lay down their arms. As for the chiefs, such of them as should be taken in arms were to be shot ; those who should submit were to be either confined or kept under *surveillance* in particular towns, or conducted out of France. The Directory, approving Hoche's plan, which consisted in first pacifying La Vendée before meddling with Bretagne, authorized him to finish his operations on the left bank of the Loire before he should bring back his troops to the right bank. As soon as La Vendée should be completely reduced, a line of disarming was to inclose Bretagne from Granville to the Loire, and thus advance across the Breton peninsula to the extremity of the Finistère. It was for Hoche to fix the moment when these provinces, appearing to him to be reduced, should be relieved from military law, and readmitted to the constitutional system.

‘ In three months,’ he said, ‘ I will be either at Milan or at Paris,’ intimating at once his desperate resolution to succeed, and his sense that the disappointment of all his prospects must be the consequence of a failure.”—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

Hoche, on his arrival at Angers, towards the end of Nivose, found his operations greatly deranged by his absence. The success of his plan, depending particularly on the manner in which it should be executed, indispensably required his presence. His place had been ill-supplied by General Willot. The line of disarming, which embraced Lower Vendée, had made little progress. Charette had crossed it, and got again upon his rear. The regular system of provisioning had not been well followed up; the army had frequently been in want of necessaries, had fallen again into insubordination, and had committed acts calculated to alienate the inhabitants. Sapinaud, after making, as we have seen, a hostile attempt on Montaigu, had offered to submit, and had obtained from General Willot a ridiculous peace, to which Hoche could not consent. Lastly, Stofflet, still playing the part of prince, and Bernier, his prime minister, were reinforcing themselves with the deserters who had forsaken Charette, and making secret preparations. The cities of Nantes and Angers were in want of provisions. The patriots, who had fled from the surrounding country, were crowded together there, and launched out in the clubs into furious declamations, worthy of Jacobins. Lastly, it was reported that Hoche had been recalled to Paris only to be stripped of his command. Some said that he had been displaced as a royalist, others as a Jacobin.

His return silenced all these rumours, and repaired all the evils occasioned by his absence. He gave directions for recommencing the disarming, for filling the magazines, and for provisioning the towns; he declared them all in a state of siege; and, thenceforth authorized to exercise a military dictatorship in them, he shut up the Jacobin clubs formed by the refugees, and particularly a society known at Nantes by the appellation of *Chambre ardente*. He refused to ratify the peace granted to Sapinaud; he occupied his district, and left to himself the option of quitting France or hiding in the woods at the risk of being taken and shot. He hemmed in Stofflet more closely than ever, and renewed the pursuit of Charette. He committed to Adjutant-general Travot, who combined with great intrepidity all the activity of a partisan, the task of pursuing Charette with several columns of light infantry and cavalry, so as to leave him neither rest nor hope.

Pursued night and day, Charette had now no means of escape. The inhabitants of the Marais, disarmed and watched, could no longer afford him assistance. They had already delivered up seven thousand muskets, several pieces of cannon, and forty barrels of powder; and it was impossible for them to betake themselves to arms. Had it even been in their power, they would not have done so, because they were happy in the quiet which they enjoyed, and had no inclination to expose themselves to fresh devastations. The peasants came to acquaint the republican officers with the roads which Charette was taking, with the retreats where he was for a moment resting his head; and when they could secure some of those who accompanied him, they brought and delivered them up to the army. Charette, attended by scarcely a hundred devoted servants, and followed by a few women who administered to his pleasures, had nevertheless no thoughts of surrendering. Full of confidence, he sometimes caused his hosts to be put to death, when he was apprehensive of being betrayed by them. It was said that he ordered a *curé* to be murdered, whom he suspected of having denounced him to the republicans. Travot fell in with him several times, killed about sixty of his men, several of his officers,

and, among the rest, his brother. He had now only about forty or fifty men left.

While Hoche was thus causing Charette to be harassed without intermission, and prosecuting his plan of disarming, Stofflet saw, with consternation, that he was surrounded on all sides, and was well aware that, when Charette and Sapinaud were destroyed, and all the Chouans subdued, he should not be long suffered to retain the princely kind of state which he had arrogated to himself in Upper Anjou. He thought that it would not be right to wait till all the royalists were exterminated before he began to act: alleging, as a pretext, a regulation of Hoche's, he again raised the standard of revolt and resumed arms. Hoche was at this moment on the banks of the Loire, preparing to set out for the Calvados, that he might judge from actual observation of the state of Normandy and Bretagne. He immediately deferred his departure, and made his preparations for taking Stofflet, before his revolt could acquire any importance. Hoche was otherwise pleased that Stofflet himself furnished him with occasion to break the pacification. This war embarrassed him but little, and authorized him to treat Anjou like the Marais and Bretagne. He despatched his columns from several points at once, from the Loire, the Layon, and the Nantes Sèvre. Stofflet, assailed on all sides, could not keep his ground. The peasants of Anjou were still more sensible of the benefits of peace than those of the Marais; they had not responded to the call of their old chief, and had allowed him to begin the war with the profligates of the country, and the emigrants, with whom his camp was filled. Two assemblages which he had collected were dispersed, and he was obliged to betake himself, like Charette, to the woods. But he had neither the obstinacy nor the dexterity of that chief, and his district was not so favourably disposed for concealing a troop of marauders. He was delivered up by his own followers. Lured to a farm house, upon pretext of a conference, he was seized, bound, and given up to the republicans. It is asserted that his trusty minister, the Abbé Bernier, had a hand in this treachery. The capture of this chief was of great importance, on account of the moral effect which it could not fail to produce in those parts. He was conveyed to Angers; and, after undergoing an examination, he was shot, on the 7th of Ventose, in the presence of an immense concourse.*

These tidings produced the greatest joy and anticipations of the speedy conclusion of the civil war in that unfortunate country. Hoche, amid the arduous duties of this kind of warfare, was overwhelmed with disgust. The royalists called him a villain and a drinker of blood; this was natural enough, though he resorted to the fairest means for destroying them; but the patriots themselves annoyed him by their calumnies. The refugees of La Vendée and Bretagne, whose fury he checked, and whose indolence he thwarted by ceasing to feed them as soon as they could return with safety to their lands, denounced him to the Directory. The authorities of the towns, also, which he placed in a state of siege, complained of the establishment of the military system, and denounced him. Communes, subjected to fines, or to the military levy of the taxes, complained in their turn. There was an incessant chorus of complaints and remonstrances. Hoche, whose

* "That intrepid Vendean chief, Stofflet, pressed by the forces of the republic, after braving and escaping a thousand dangers, was, at length, betrayed by one of his own followers, at the farm of Pegrimaud, where he was seized, gagged, conducted to Angers, and executed."—*Jomini*. E.

temper was irritable, was several times driven to despair, and formally tendered his resignation. The Directory refused it, and cheered him by new testimonies of confidence and esteem. It made him a national present of two fine horses—a present which was not merely a reward, but an indispensable aid. This young general, who was fond of pleasure, who was at the head of an army of one hundred thousand men, and who had at his disposal the revenues of several provinces, was frequently in want of necessities. His appointments, paid in paper, were reduced to nothing. He was in want of horses, saddles, bridles, and he solicited permission to take, on paying for them, six saddles, six bridles, horse-shoes, a few bottles of rum, and some loaves of sugar, from the stores left by the English at Quiberon—an admirable example of delicacy, which our republican generals frequently gave, and which daily grew more rare as our invasions became more extended, and as the manners of our military men became corrupted by the effect of conquests and of the manners of a court.

Encouraged by the government, Hoche continued his efforts for finishing his work in La Vendée. The complete pacification now depended entirely on the capture of Charette. That chief, reduced to extremity, sent to Hoche to demand permission to retire to England. Hoche granted it, agreeably to the authority which he found for doing so in the ordinance of the Directory relative to the chiefs who should submit. But Charette had made this application merely to gain a short respite, and had no intention of availing himself of the permission. The Directory, on its part, was resolved not to pardon Charette, because it conceived that this famous chief would always be a firebrand in the country. It wrote to Hoche, desiring him not to enter into any compromise. But, when Hoche received these new orders, Charette had already declared that his application was only a feint to obtain a few moments' rest, and that he wanted no pardon from republicans.* He had again betaken himself to the woods.

Charette could not escape the republicans much longer. Pursued at once by columns of infantry and cavalry, watched by troops of disguised soldiers, denounced by the inhabitants, who were anxious to save their country from devastation, tracked in the woods like a wild beast, he fell, on the 2d of Germinal (March 23), into an ambuscade laid for him by Travot. Armed to the teeth, and surrounded by some brave fellows, who strove to cover him with their own bodies, he defended himself like a lion, and at length fell, after receiving several sabre wounds. He would not deliver his sword to any but the brave Travot, who treated him with all the respect due to such extraordinary courage. He was taken to the republican head-quarters, and admitted to table by Hedouville, chief of the staff. He conversed with great serenity, and showed no concern about the fate that awaited him. Conveyed first to Angers, he was afterwards removed to Nantes, to end his life in the same place that had witnessed his triumph. He underwent an examination, at which he answered with great calmness and temper. He was questioned concerning the pretended secret articles of the treaty of La Jaunaye, and confessed that there existed none. He attempted neither to palliate his conduct nor to excuse his motives.

* "When the Directory offered Charette a safe retreat into England with his family, and a million of francs for his own maintenance, he replied, 'I am ready to die with arms in my hands, but not to fly and abandon my companions in misfortune. All the vessels of the republic would not be sufficient to transport my brave soldiers into England. Far from fearing your menaces, I will myself come to seek you in your own camp.'" E.

He acknowledged that he was a servant of royalty, and that he had striven with all his might to overthrow the republic. He behaved with dignity, and showed great unconcern. When led forth to execution, amidst an immense concourse of people, who were not generous enough to forgive him for the calamities of civil war, he retained all his assurance. He was covered with blood, had lost three fingers in the last combat, and carried his arm in a sling. A handkerchief was wrapped round his head. He would neither suffer his eyes to be bandaged, nor kneel down. Standing erect, he removed his arm from the sling, gave the signal, and instantly fell dead.* This was on the 9th of Germinal (March 30). Thus died that celebrated man, whose indomitable courage brought so many evils upon his country, and might have covered him with glory in a different career. Compromised by the last attempt at invasion which had been made upon these coasts, he would not again recede, and closed his life under the influence of despair. He is said to have expressed strong resentment against the princes whom he had served, and by whom he considered himself as having been abandoned.

The death of Charette caused as much joy as the most glorious victory over the Austrians. His death decided the termination of the civil war. Hoche, conceiving that there was nothing more for him to do in La Vendée, withdrew from it the mass of his troops, for the purpose of carrying them beyond the Loire, and disarming Bretagne. He left, however, forces sufficient to repress the solitary robberies which usually follow civil wars, and to complete the disarming of the country. Before he went to Bretagne, he had to quell an insurrectionary movement which broke out in the vicinity of Anjou, towards Le Berry. This was only the business of a few days. He then proceeded with twenty thousand men into Bretagne, and, adhering to his plan, inclosed it with a vast cordon from the Loire to Granville. The wretched Chouans could not withstand an effort so powerful and so well concerted. Scepeaux, between the Vilaine and the Loire, first tendered his submission. He delivered up a considerable quantity of arms. The nearer the Chouans were pushed to the sea, the more obstinate they grew. Having spent their ammunition, they fought hand to hand, with daggers and bayonets. At length they were driven back to the very sea. The Morbihan, which had long separated itself from Puisaye, surrendered its arms. The other divisions successively followed this example. All Bretagne was soon reduced, and Hoche had nothing to do but to distribute his hundred thousand men into a multitude of cantonments, that they might watch the country, and be enabled to subsist with the greater ease. The duties which still required his attention consisted only in mat-

* "After his capture, Charette entered into Nantes preceded by a numerous escort, closely guarded by gendarmes, and generals glittering in gold and plumes; himself on foot, with his clothes torn and bloody, pale and attenuated; yet more an object of interest than all the splendid throng by whom he was surrounded. Such was his exhaustion from loss of blood, that he fainted on leaving the Quarter of Commerce; but no sooner was his strength revived by a glass of water, than he marched on, enduring for two hours, with heroic constancy, the abuse of the populace. He was conducted to the military commission, and sentenced to death. On the following morning he was brought out on the scaffold. The roll of drums, the assemblage of all the troops and national guard, and a countless multitude of spectators, announced the great event, which was approaching. At length the hero appeared, descended with a firm step the prison stairs, and walked to the place where his execution was to take place. A breathless silence prevailed. Charette advanced to the appointed place, bared his breast, and himself gave the command, uttering, with his last breath, the words 'Vive le Roi!'

-Alison. E.

ters of administration and police. A few more months of mild and able government were requisite to appease animosities and to re-establish peace. Notwithstanding the outcry of the furious of all parties, Hoche was feared, beloved, and respected, in the country, and the royalists began to forgive a republic that was so worthily represented. The clergy in particular, whose confidence he had continued to gain, were wholly devoted to him, and gave him correct information of every matter that it was interesting for him to know. All things promised peace and the end of horrible calamities. England could no longer reckon upon the provinces of the West for attacking the republic in its own bosom. She beheld, on the contrary, one hundred thousand men, half of whom became disposable, and might be employed in some enterprise injurious to her: Hoche, in fact, had formed a grand plan, which he reserved for the middle of the summer. The government, pleased with the services which he had rendered, and wishing to reward him for the disgusting task that he had so ably performed, obtained for him, as for the armies which gained important victories, a declaration that the army of the Ocean and its commander had deserved well of the country.

Thus La Vendée was pacified so early as the month of Germinal, before any of the armies had taken the field. The Directory was enabled to attend, without uneasiness, to its great operations, and even to draw useful reinforcements from the coasts of the Ocean.

The fifth campaign of liberty was about to commence. It was going to open on the two finest military theatres in Europe—on those most beset with obstacles, with accidents, with lines of defence and attack. These were, on the one hand, the extensive valley of the Rhine and the two transverse valleys of the Mayn and the Neckar; and, on the other, the Alps, the Po, and Lombardy. The armies which were about to take the field were the most inured to war that had ever been seen under arms. They were sufficiently numerous to cover the ground on which they were to act, but not to render combinations useless, and to reduce war to a mere invasion. They were commanded by young generals, free from all routine, emancipated from all tradition, but yet well informed and roused by great events. Everything, therefore, concurred to render the conflict obstinate, varied, fertile in combinations, and worthy of the attention of men.

The plan of the French government was, as we have seen, to invade Germany, in order to maintain its armies in an enemy's country, to detach the princes from the Empire, to invest Mayence, and to threaten the hereditary states. It purposed, at the same time, to make a bold attempt upon Italy, with a view to maintain its armies and to wrest that rich country from Austria.

Two fine armies, of from seventy to eighty thousand men each, were given upon the Rhine to two celebrated generals. About thirty thousand famished soldiers were given to an unknown, but bold young man, to try Fortune beyond the Alps.

Bonaparte arrived at the head-quarters at Nice on the 6th of Germinal (March 27). Everything there was in a deplorable state. The troops were in the utmost distress. Without clothing, without shoes, without pay sometimes without food,* they, nevertheless, endured their privations with

* "The misery of the French army, until these Alpine campaigns were victoriously closed by the armistice of Cherasco, could, according to Bonaparte's authority, scarce bear description. The officers, for several years, had received no more than eight livres

extraordinary fortitude. Owing to that industrious spirit which characterizes the French soldier, they had organized plunder, and descended by turns and in bands into the plains of Piedmont to procure provisions. The artillery was absolutely destitute of horses. The cavalry had been sent to the rear, to seek subsistence on the banks of the Rhone. The thirtieth horse and the forced loan had not yet been levied in the south, on account of the troubles. Bonaparte had been furnished, as his sole resource, with two thousand louis in money, and a million in bills, part of which were protested. With a view to supply the deficiency, negotiations were set on foot with the Genoese government, in order to obtain from it some resources. Satisfaction for the outrage on the *Modeste* frigate had not yet been obtained, and, in reparation of that violation of neutrality, the senate of Genoa was required to grant a loan, and to deliver up to the French the fortress of Gavi, which commands the road from Genoa to Milan. The recall of the Genoese families, expelled for their attachment to France, was likewise insisted upon. Such was the state of the army when Bonaparte joined it.

It exhibited a totally different aspect in regard to the men who composed it. They generally consisted of soldiers who had hastened to the armies at the time of the levy *en masse*, well informed, young, accustomed to privations, and inured to war by the combats of giants amid the Pyrenees and the Alps. The generals were of the same quality. The principal were Massena, a young Nissard, of uncultivated mind, but precise and luminous amid dangers, and of indomitable perseverance; Augereau, formerly a fencing-master, whom great bravery and skill in managing the soldiers had raised to the highest rank; Laharpe, an expatriated Swiss, combining information with courage; Serrurier, formerly a major, methodical and brave; lastly, Berthier, whom his activity, his attention to details, his geographical acquirements, and his facility in measuring with the eye the extent of a piece of ground or the numerical force of a column, eminently qualified for a useful and convenient chief of the staff.

This army had its depots in Provence. It was ranged along the chain of the Alps, connecting itself by its left with that of Kellermann, guarding the Col di Tende, and stretching towards the Apennines. The active army amounted, at most, to thirty-six thousand men. Serrurier's division was at Garession, beyond the Apennines, to observe the Piedmontese in their intrenched camp of Ceva. Augereau's, Massena's, and Laharpe's divisions, forming a mass of about thirty thousand men, were on this side of the Apennines.

The Piedmontese, to the number of twenty or twenty-two thousand men, and under the command of Colli, were encamped at Ceva, on the back of the mountains. The Austrians, thirty-six or thirty-eight thousand strong, were advancing by the roads of Lombardy towards Genoa. Beaulieu, who commanded them, had distinguished himself in the Netherlands. Though advanced in years, he possessed all the ardour of youth. The enemy had, therefore, about sixty thousand men to oppose to the thirty thousand whom Bonaparte had to bring into line; but the Austrians and the Piedmontese were far from agreeing. Pursuant to the old plan, Colli was for covering

a month (twenty pence sterling a-week) in name of pay, and staff officers had not among them a single horse. Berthier preserved, as a curiosity, an order of the day, dated Albenga, directing an advance of four louis d'or to every general of division, to enable them to enter on the campaign."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

Piedmont; while Beaulieu wished to keep himself in communication with Genoa and the English.

Such was the respective force of the two parties. Though Bonaparte had already acquired reputation with the army of Italy, he was thought very young to command it. Short, slender, without any thing remarkable in his appearance but Roman features and a bright and piercing eye, there was nothing in his person or past life to make an impression upon men. He was not received with much cordiality. Massena owed him a grudge for having gained an influence over Dumerbion in 1794. He addressed the army in energetic language. "Soldiers," said he, "you are ill-fed and almost naked. The government owes you much, but can do nothing for you. Your patience, your courage, do you honour, but procure you neither glory nor advantage. I am going to lead you into the most fertile plains in the world; you will there find large cities, rich provinces; you will there find honour, glory, and wealth. Soldiers of Italy, would your courage fail you?" The army hailed this language with delight: young generals who all had their fortune to make, poor and adventurous soldiers, desired nothing better than to see the beautiful countries to which they were bound. Bonaparte made an arrangement with a contractor, and procured for his soldiers part of the arrears of their pay. He gave to each of his generals four louis in gold, which shows what was then the state of their fortunes. He afterwards removed his head-quarters to Albenga, and made all the authorities proceed along the coast under the fire of the English gun-boats.

The plan to be followed was the same that had suggested itself the year before at the battle of Loano. To penetrate by the lowest heights of the Apennines, to separate the Piedmontese from the Austrians by bearing strongly on their centre—such was the very simple idea conceived by Bonaparte on a survey of the situation. He commenced operations so early that he had hopes of surprising his enemies and throwing them into disorder. However, he was not able to anticipate them. Before he arrived, General Cervoni had been sent forward upon Voltri, quite close to Genoa, to intimidate the senate of that city, and to force it to consent to the demands of the Directory. Beaulieu, apprehensive of the result of this step, hastened to get into action, and moved his army upon Genoa, partly on one slope of the Apennines, partly on the other. Bonaparte's plan, therefore, was still practicable, excepting his intention of surprising the Austrians. Several roads led from the back of the Apennines to their maritime slope: in the first place, that running by the Bocchetta to Genoa, then that of Acqui and Dego, which crosses the Apennines at the Col de Montenotte, and debouches in the basin of Savona. Beaulieu left his right wing at Dego, despatched his centre under d'Argenteau to the Col de Montenotte, and proceeded himself with his left by the Bocchetta and Genoa, upon Voltri, along the coast. Thus his position was the same as that of Devins at Loano. Part of the Austrian army was between the Apennines and the sea; the centre, under d'Argenteau, was on the very summit of the Apennines, at the Col de Montenotte, and was connected with the Piedmontese encamped at Ceva, on the other side of the mountains.

The two armies, breaking up at the same time, met by the way, on the 22d of Germinal (April 11). Along the coast, Beaulieu fell in with the advanced guard of Laharpe's division, which had been detached upon Voltri, to alarm Genoa, and repulsed it. D'Argenteau, with the centre, crossed the Col de Montenotte, with the intention of falling at Savona upon the centre of the French army, during its supposed march towards

Genoa. At Montenotte he found only Colonel Rampon, at the head of twelve hundred men, and obliged him to fall back into the old redoubt of Montelegino, which intercepted the Montenotte road. The brave colonel, aware of the importance of this position, obstinately resisted all the efforts of the Austrians. Thrice was he attacked by the whole of the enemy's infantry, and thrice did he repulse it. Amidst the most galling fire, he called upon his soldiers to swear that they would die in the redoubt rather than give it up. The soldiers swore, and remained all night under arms. This act of courage saved the plans of General Bonaparte, and, perhaps, decided the fate of the campaign.

Bonaparte was at this moment at Savona. He had not caused the Col de Montenotte to be intrenched, because a general never intrenches himself when he is determined to take the offensive. He learned what had occurred during the day at Montelegino and Voltri. He immediately perceived that the moment was come for putting his plan in execution, and manœuvred in consequence. The very same night, he drew back his right, formed by Laharpe's division, and engaged along the coast with Beaulieu, and sent it by the Montenotte road to meet d'Argenteau. He then despatched Augereau's division upon the same point, to support Laharpe's. He ordered Massena's division to march by a by-road to the other side of the Apennines, so as to bring it into the very rear of d'Argenteau's corps. On the morning of the 23d (April 12), all his columns were in motion, and he was on an elevated knoll,* whence he saw Laharpe and Augereau marching upon d'Argenteau, and Massena coming by a circuit upon his rear. The Austrian infantry made a brave resistance; but, enveloped on all sides by superior forces, it was put to the route, and left two thousand prisoners and several hundred slain. It fled in disorder towards Dego, where the rest of the army was.

Thus Bonaparte, whose intention Beaulieu supposed it to be to file off along the coast upon Genoa, had suddenly slipped away, and, proceeding by the road which crosses the Apennines, had broken through the enemy's centre and victoriously debouched beyond the mountains.

In his estimation, it was nothing to have overwhelmed the centre, so long as the Austrians were not separated for ever from the Piedmontese. He proceeded, on the same day (23d), to Carcare, to render his position more central between the two allied armies. He was in the valley of the Bormida, which runs into Italy. Lower down, before him, and at the extremity of the valley, were the Austrians, who had rallied at Dego, guarding the road from Acqui into Lombardy. On his left, he had the gorges of Millesimo, which join the valley of Bormida, and in which the Piedmontese were posted, guarding the road to Ceva and Piedmont. It was requisite, therefore, that, at one and the same time, his left should force the gorges of Millesimo, to make itself master of the Piedmont road, and that, in front, he should take Dego, to open for himself the road to Acqui and Lombardy. Then, master of both roads, he would have separated the allies for ever, and might fall at pleasure upon either of them. On the morning of the next day, the 24th (April 13th), he pushed forward his army; Augereau, towards the right, attacked Millesimo, and Massena's and Laharpe's divisions advanced into the valley upon Dego. The impetuous Augereau dashed with such spirit upon the gorges of Millesimo that he forced them, entered, and

* "Napoleon placed himself on a ridge in the centre of his divisions, the better to judge of the turn of affairs, and to prescribe the manœuvres which might become necessary."—*Jomini*. E.

reached the extremity before General Provera, who was on a height, had time to fall back. The latter was posted in the ruins of the old castle of Cossaria. Finding himself enveloped, he attempted to defend himself there. Augereau surrounded and summoned him to surrender. Provera began to parley, and wanted to treat. It was of importance not to be stopped by this obstacle, and the troops immediately mounted to the assault of the position. The Piedmontese poured upon them a deluge of stones, and rolled down enormous rocks, which crushed whole lines. The brave Joubert* nevertheless encouraged his men, and climbed the height at their head. On arriving within a little distance, he sunk pierced by a ball. At this sight, the soldiers fell back. They were obliged to encamp in the evening at the foot of the height; here they protected themselves by some abattis, and kept watch the whole night to prevent the escape of Provera. The divisions sent to act at the bottom of the valley of the Bormida had, meanwhile, marched upon Dego and made themselves masters of the approaches to it. The morrow was to be the decisive day.

Accordingly, on the 25th (April 14), the attack again became general on all points. On the left, Augereau, in the gorge of Millesimo, repulsed all the efforts made by Colli to extricate Provera, fought him the whole day, and drove Provera to despair. At length the latter laid down his arms at the head of fifteen hundred men. Laharpe and Massena, on their part, fell upon Dego, where the Austrian army had been reinforced, on the 22d and 23d, by corps brought from Genoa. The attack was terrible. After several assaults, Dego was taken; the Austrians lost part of their artillery, and left four thousand prisoners, among whom were twenty-four officers.

During this action, Bonaparte had remarked a young officer, named Lannes,† charging with great intrepidity. He made him colonel on the field of battle.

* "Joubert had studied for the bar, but at the Revolution he was induced to adopt the profession of arms. He was tall, thin, and naturally of a weak constitution, but he had strengthened his frame amidst fatigues, camps, and mountain warfare. He was intrepid, vigilant, and active. In 1796 he was made a general of division. He was much attached to Napoleon. He fell gloriously at the battle of Novi."—*Hazlitt*. E.

† "Jean Lannes, who for his impetuous valour was called the Rolando and the Ajax of the French camp, was born in 1769. His parents were poor and intended him for some mechanical pursuit, but he was resolved to be a soldier. One of the first actions in which he was engaged was that of Millesimo, where he distinguished himself so highly that he was made a colonel on the field. At the bridge of Lodi he exhibited equal intrepidity. He had taken one ensign, and was about to seize a second from the Austrians, when his horse fell under him, and twelve cuirassiers raised their sabres to cut him down. Lannes instantly sprung on the horse of an Austrian officer, killed the rider, and fought his way through the cuirassiers, killing two or three and wounding more. Soon afterwards he was made general of division. In the Egyptian expedition he was always foremost in danger. He returned to France with Napoleon, whom he assisted to overthrow the Directory. He accompanied the First Consul over St. Bernard and fought nobly at Montebello, which afterwards gave him his title, and at Marengo. Lannes was afterwards sent ambassador to Portugal, and, on his return, was made marshal of France, and then Duke of Montebello. He was not very successful in Spain; he took indeed Saragossa, but stained his character there by perfidy, as well as cruelty. After the fall of this place, he retired to an estate which he had purchased near Paris, but, being recalled to the field, a cannon-ball at the battle of Essling carried away his right leg and the foot and ankle of the left. Napoleon showed great grief upon the occasion. On the ninth day of his wound, Lannes, grasping the Emperor's hand, said, 'Another hour and your majesty will have lost one of your most zealous and faithful friends.' And so indeed it proved. Lannes possessed dauntless courage, but was vulgar, and even coarse in his manners."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

"About the time of his marriage, Lannes was twenty-eight years of age, five feet five

After four days' fighting, the army needed repose; but scarcely had the soldiers rested from the fatigues of battle before the din of arms was heard. It was one of the Austrian corps, which had been left on the maritime slope of the Apennines, and which was recrossing the mountains. So great was the disorder, that this corps had got, before it was aware of it, into the middle of the French army. The brave Wukassovich, who commanded these six thousand grenadiers, thought to save himself by a bold stroke and had taken Dego. It was requisite, therefore, to begin the battle again, and to renew the efforts of the preceding day. Bonaparte galloped to the spot, rallied his columns, and urged them upon Dego. They were stopped by the Austrian grenadiers; but they returned to the charge, and, at length, led on by Adjutant-general Lanusse, who held up his hat on the point of his sword, they forced their way into Dego, and recovered their conquest, making some hundreds of prisoners.

Thus Bonaparte was master of the valley of the Bormida. The Austrians fled towards Aquis, upon the Milan road; the Piedmontese, after they had lost the gorges of Millesimo, retired upon Ceva and Mondovi. He was master of all the roads; he had nine thousand prisoners; and he spread consternation before him. By skilfully managing the mass of his forces, and directing it now upon Montenotte and now upon Millesimo and Dego, he had crushed the enemy everywhere by rendering himself superior to him on every point. This was the moment for taking a grand determination. Carnot's plan enjoined him to neglect the Piedmontese and stick to the Austrians. Bonaparte thought the Piedmontese army of too much consequence to be left in his rear; he was aware, moreover, that one stroke would be sufficient to destroy it; and he deemed it more prudent to complete the ruin of the Piedmontese. He did not, therefore, enter the valley of the Bormida and descend towards the Po in pursuit of the Austrians; but, turning to the left, he penetrated into the gorges of Millesimo and took the road to Piedmont. Laharpe's division alone was left in the camp of San

or six inches high, slender and elegant, his feet, legs, and hands being remarkable for their symmetry. His face was not handsome, but it was expressive; and when his voice pronounced one of those military thoughts, which had acquired for him the appellation of the Roland of the army, his eyes, said Junot, which appear so small, become immense, and dart flashes of lightning. Junot also told me that he looked upon Lannes as the bravest man in the army, because his courage was invariably the same. The same coolness with which he re-entered his tent he carried into the midst of the battle, the hottest fire, and the most difficult emergencies. Besides this, Junot considered him to possess the most rapid conception and accurate judgment of any person he had ever met with, except the First Consul. He was also amiable, faithful in friendship, and a good patriot. One curious trait in his character was the obstinacy with which he refused to have his hair cut short. In vain Napoleon entreated him to cut it off; he still retained a short, thick cue, full of powder and pomatum."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

"Marshal Lannes was one of the most gallant men our armies could at any time boast of. His life was too short for his friends; but his career of honour and glory was without a parallel."—*Duke de Rovigo*. E.

"The education of Lannes had been much neglected. However, he improved greatly; and, to judge from the astonishing progress he made, he would have been a general of the first class. He had great experience in war. He had been in fifty-four pitched battles, and in three hundred combats of different kinds. He was a man of uncommon bravery, cool in the midst of fire; and possessed of a clear, penetrating eye, ready to take advantage of any opportunity which might present itself. Violent and hasty in his expressions sometimes even in my presence, he was ardently attached to me. In the midst of his anger, he would not suffer any one to join him in his remarks. On that account, when he was in a choleric mood it was dangerous to speak to him, as he used to come to me in his rage, and say, such and such persons were not to be trusted. As a general, he was greatly superior to Moreau or to Soult."—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

Benedetto, commanding the course of the Belbo and the Bormida, to watch the Austrians. The soldiers were worn out with fatigue: they had fought on the 22d and 23d at Montenotte, on the 24th and 25th at Millesimo and Dego; they had lost and retaken Dego on the 26th, had rested only on the 27th, and were again marching on the 28th upon Mondovi. Amidst these rapid marches, there had not been time to make regular distributions; they were destitute of everything and ventured to pillage. Bonaparte, indignant, proceeded against the culprits with great severity, and displayed as much energy in re-establishing discipline as in pursuing the enemy. He had won in a few days the utmost confidence of the soldiers. The generals of division were overcome. They listened with attention, nay, with admiration, to the terse and figurative language of the young captain. On the heights of Monte Zemoto, which it is necessary to cross in order to reach Ceva, the army descried the lovely plains of Piedmont and Italy.* It beheld the Tanaro, the Stura, the Po, and all those rivers that run into the Adriatic; it saw in the back-ground the high Alps covered with snow; it was struck by the view of those beautiful plains of the *land of promise*.† Bonaparte was at the head of his troops: he was moved. "Annibal," he exclaimed, "crossed the Alps; as for us, we have turned them." This expression explained the campaign to every capacity. What destinies then opened before us!

Colli defended the intrenched camp of Ceva only just long enough to slacken our march a little. This excellent officer had contrived to cheer his soldiers and to keep up their courage. He had no longer any hope of beating his formidable enemy; but he determined to retreat foot by foot, and to give the Austrians time to come to his relief, in rejoining them by a circuitous march. He had received a promise to this effect. He halted behind the Cursaglia, in advance of Mondovi. Serrurier, who, on the opening of the campaign, had been left at Garessio to watch Colli, had just rejoined the army. It had thus one more division. Colli was covered by the Cursaglia, a deep and rapid stream, which falls into the Tanaro. On the right, Joubert endeavoured to cross, but he failed, and narrowly escaped drowning. In the front, Serrurier attempted to cross the bridge of St. Michael. He succeeded; but Colli, suffering him to pass, fell upon him unawares with his best troops, and obliged him to recross in disorder. The situation of the army was ticklish. On its rear was Beaulieu, who was reorganizing himself; and it was necessary to finish with Colli as speedily as possible. At the same time, it appeared scarcely possible to carry the position, if it were vigorously defended. Bonaparte ordered a fresh attack to be made on the following day. On the 2d of Floreal (April 21), the troops marched upon the Cursaglia, when they found the bridges abandoned. Colli had made the resistance of the preceding day merely to retard the retreat. He was surprised in line at Mondovi. Serrurier decided the victory by taking the principal redoubt, that of La Bicoque. Colli left three thousand killed or prisoners, and continued to retreat. Bonaparte arrived at Cherasco, an ill-defended place, but important from its position

* "The arrival of the army on the heights of Monte Zemoto was a sublime spectacle. The immense and fertile plains of Piedmont lay before them. The Po, the Tanaro, and a multitude of other rivers, meandered in the distance; in the horizon, a white girdle of snow and ice, of a stupendous height, surrounded these rich valleys—this promised land. Those gigantic barriers, which seemed the limits of another world, which nature had delighted in rendering thus formidable, and to which art had contributed all its resources, had fallen, as if by enchantment."—*Las Cases*. E.

† Bonaparte's own expression

at the conflux of the Stura and the Tanaro, and easy to arm with artillery taken from the enemy. In this position, Bonaparte was twenty leagues from Savona, his point of departure, ten leagues from Turin, and fifteen from Alexandria.

The court of Turin was in confusion. The king, who was very obstinate, would not yield. The ministers of England and Austria beset him with their remonstrances, and advised him to shut himself up in Turin, to send his army beyond the Po, and thus to imitate the great examples of his ancestors. They terrified him with the revolutionary influence which the French were likely to exercise in Piedmont; they demanded for Beau lieu the three fortresses of Tortona, Alexandria, and Valenza, that he might shut himself up and defend himself in the triangle which they form with the bank of the Po. It was to this that the King of Sardinia felt the strongest repugnance. To give his three principal fortresses to his ambitious neighbour of Lombardy, was an idea that he could not brook. Cardinal Costa decided him to throw himself into the arms of the French. He represented to him the impossibility of resisting so rapid a conqueror, the danger of irritating him by a long resistance, and thus driving him to revolutionize Piedmont, and all to serve a foreign and even inimical ambition—that of Austria. The king yielded, and caused overtures to be made by Colli to Bonaparte. They reached Cherasco on the 4th of Floreal (April 23); Bonaparte had not powers to sign a peace, but he was at liberty to sign an armistice, and he resolved to do so. He had not followed the plan of the Directory, which enjoined him to complete the reduction of the Piedmontese; but his aim had not been to conquer Piedmont; he merely wished to secure his rear. To conquer Piedmont he must have taken Turin, and he had neither the requisite artillery, nor forces sufficient to furnish a blockading corps and to reserve an active army. Besides, the campaign would then have been confined to a siege. By arranging with Piedmont, and requiring the necessary guarantees, he might push on in security after the Austrians and drive them from Italy. It was said around him that he ought not to grant any conditions, that he ought to dethrone a king who was a kinsman of the Bourbons, and spread the French Revolution in Piedmont. This was the opinion of many soldiers, officers, and generals, in the army, and especially of Augereau, who was born in the fauxbourg St. Antoine, and entertained its sentiments. Young Bonaparte was of a different opinion. He was aware of the difficulty of revolutionizing a monarchy which was the only military one in Italy, and in which old manners were preserved unchanged; he had no wish to raise up obstacles in his route; his aim was to march rapidly to the conquest of Italy, which depended on the destruction of the Austrians, and their expulsion beyond the Alps. He would not, therefore, do anything that might complicate his situation and retard his march.

In consequence, he assented to an armistice; but he represented that, in the respective state of the armies, an armistice would be ruinous to him if certain guarantees for the security of his rear were not given; he therefore required that the three fortresses of Coni, Tortona, and Alexandria, should be given up, with all the magazines which they contained, which would supply his army, and which the republic would afterwards account for; that the roads of Piedmont should be thrown open to the French, which would considerably abridge the distance between France and the banks of the Po; that stations should be prepared on these roads for the troops that should pass along them; and lastly, that the Sardinian army

should be dispersed in the fortresses, so that the French army might have nothing to fear from it. These conditions were accepted, and the armistice was signed at Cherasco on the 9th of Floreal (April 29), with Colonel Lacoste and Count Latour.

It was agreed that plenipotentiaries should set out immediately for Paris to treat for a definitive peace. The three fortresses demanded were delivered up, with immense magazines. From that moment the army had its line of operation covered by the three strongest places in Piedmont; it had safe, commodious roads, much shorter than those running through the Riviera of Genoa; it had abundance of provisions; it was reinforced by a multitude of soldiers, who, at the sound of victory, quitted the hospitals; it had a numerous artillery, taken at Cherasco, and from the different places; it possessed a great number of horses; it was supplied with everything;* and the promises of the general were fulfilled. Within the first few days after its entrance into Piedmont, it had plundered, because, in its rapid marches, it had received no rations. When it had appeased its hunger, order was restored. The Count de St. Marsan, the Sardinian minister, visited Bonaparte, and contrived to please him; even the king's son was desirous to see the young conqueror, and lavished testimonies of esteem, which made an impression upon him. Bonaparte adroitly returned the flatteries which they paid him; he cheered them in regard to the intentions of the Directory, and the dangers of the revolution. He was sincere in his protestations, for he already cherished an idea, of which he cleverly afforded a glimpse in the different interviews. Piedmont had sacrificed all her interests by allying herself with Austria: it was to France that she ought to ally herself; France was her natural friend, for she could not covet her dominions, from which she was separated by the Alps; she could, on the contrary, defend Piedmont against Austria, and even obtain aggrandizements for her. Bonaparte could not suppose that the Directory would consent to give any part of Lombardy to Piedmont; for it was not yet conquered; and, if there was an idea of conquering it, it was only for the purpose of making it an equivalent for the Netherlands; but a vague hope of aggrandizement might dispose Piedmont to ally herself with France, which would procure the latter a reinforcement of twenty thousand excellent troops. He promised nothing, but he contrived by a few words to excite the cupidity and the hopes of the cabinet of Turin.

Bonaparte, who, with a positive mind, possessed a strong and lofty imagination, and was fond of exciting those whom he addressed, resolved to proclaim his successes in a new and striking manner. He sent Murat, his aide-de-camp, to present solemnly to the Directory twenty-one pair of colours taken from the enemy. He then addressed the following proclamation to his soldiers:

"Soldiers! in a fortnight you have gained six victories, taken twenty-one pair of colours, fifty-five pieces of cannon, several fortresses, and conquered the richest part of Piedmont; you have made fifteen thousand prisoners,† and killed or wounded more than ten thousand men; you had hitherto

* "The soldiers who had no distributions during the first eight or ten days of this campaign, now began to receive them regularly. Pillage and disorder, the constant attendants of rapid movements, ceased; discipline was restored; and the appearance of the army improved daily amidst the abundance and resources presented by this fine country. Its losses were repaired. Previous to this period, the misery of the French had exceeded all description."—*Las Cases*. E.

† In reality only from ten to eleven thousand

been fighting for barren rocks, rendered glorious by your courage, but useless to the country; you now rival by your services the army of Holland and of the Rhine. Destitute of everything, you have supplied all your wants. You have gained battles without cannon, crossed rivers without bridges, made forced marches without shoes, bivouacked without brandy, and often without bread. The republican phalanxes, the soldiers of liberty alone, could have endured what you have endured. Thanks be to you for it, soldiers! Your grateful country will owe to you its prosperity; and, if your conquest at Toulon foreboded the glorious campaign of 1793, your present victories forebode one still more glorious. The two armies which so lately attacked you boldly are fleeing affrighted before you; the perverse men who laughed at your distress, and rejoiced in thought at the triumphs of your enemies, are confounded and trembling. But, soldiers, you have done nothing, since more remains to be done. Neither Turin nor Milan is yours; the ashes of the conquerors of Tarquin are still trampled upon by the murderers of Basseville.* There are said to be among you some whose courage is subsiding, and who would prefer returning to the summits of the Apennines and of the Alps. No; I cannot believe it. The conquerors of Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego, and Mondovi, are impatient to carry the glory of the French people to distant countries!"

When these tidings, these colours, these proclamations, arrived one after another at Paris, they produced extreme joy. On the first day, it was a victory which opened the Apennines and gave two thousand prisoners; on the second, it was a still more decisive victory, which separated the Piedmontese from the Austrians and gave six thousand prisoners. The following days brought news of farther successes: the destruction of the Piedmontese army at Mondovi, the submission of Piedmont at Cherasco, and the certainty of a speedy peace, which foreboded others. The rapidity of these successes, and the number of the prisoners, surpassed everything that had yet been seen. The language of these proclamations, imbued with the spirit of antiquity, astonished people's minds. They everywhere asked who this young general was, whose name, known to some appreciators, and unknown to France, burst forth for the first time. They could not yet well pronounce it, and they said with joy that the republic saw new talents daily springing up to shed lustre upon, and to defend her. The Councils decided three several times that the army of Italy had deserved well of the country, and decreed a festival to Victory, for the purpose of celebrating the prosperous commencement of the campaign. The aide-de-camp sent by Bonaparte presented the colours to the Directory. The ceremony was imposing. Several foreign ambassadors were on that day received, and the government appeared surrounded by a consideration which it had not hitherto enjoyed.

* "Three years before the French had sustained an actual injury from the See of Rome, which was yet unavenged. The people of Rome were extremely provoked that the French residing there, and particularly the young artists, had displayed the tricolour, and proposed to exhibit the scutcheon containing the emblems of the republic over the door of the French consul. The Pope had intimated his desire that this should not be attempted; the French, however, pursued their purpose, and a popular commotion arose. The carriage of the French envoy, named Basseville, was attacked in the streets, his house was broken into by the mob, and he himself, unarmed and unresisting, was cruelly assassinated. This affair happened in 1793, but was not forgotten in 1796."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

"Basseville received a thrust of a bayonet in the abdomen; he was dragged into the streets holding his bowels in his hands, and at length left on a field-bed in a guard-house where he expired."—*Montholon*. E.

After the submission of Piedmont, General Bonaparte had nothing to hinder him from marching in pursuit of the Austrians, and hastening to the conquest of Italy.* The news of the victories of the French had deeply agitated all the states of that peninsula. It was requisite that he who had entered it should be a profound politician as well as a great captain, in order to conduct himself there with prudence. Everybody knows what an aspect it exhibits to one emerging from the Apennines. The Alps, the loftiest mountains in Europe, after describing an immense semicircle from east to west, in which they embrace Upper Italy, turn short and run all at once in an oblique line towards the south, thus forming a long peninsula, washed by the Adriatic and the Mediterranean. Bonaparte, coming from the west, and having crossed the chain at the point where it lowers, and runs off, by the name of the Apennines, to form the peninsula, had before him the beautiful semicircle of Upper Italy, and on his right that long, narrow peninsula which forms Lower Italy. A number of petty states divided that country, which always sighed after a united government, without which a nation cannot be great.

Bonaparte had passed through the state of Genoa, situated on this side of the Apennines, and Piedmont, which is on the other. Genoa, an ancient republic, founded by Doria, was the only one of the Italian governments that retained any real energy. Placed for the last four years between the two belligerent armies, it had contrived to maintain its neutrality, and had thus secured all the advantages of commerce. Between its capital and the tract of coast, it numbered nearly one hundred thousand inhabitants; it kept in general from three to four thousand troops; in case of emergency, it could arm all the peasants of the Apennines, and form an excellent militia of them; and it possessed large revenues. Two parties divided it; the party adverse to France had had the ascendancy, and expelled several families. The Directory had to require the recall of these families and an indemnity for the outrage committed on the *Modeste* frigate.

On leaving Genoa, and advancing to the right into the peninsula, along the southern declivity of the Apennines, you first come to happy Tuscany, situated on the two banks of the Arno, in the mildest climate, and in one of the best sheltered parts of Italy. One portion of this tract formed the small republic of Lucca, peopled with one hundred and forty thousand inhabitants; the rest constituted the grand-duchy of Tuscany, lately governed by the Archduke Leopold, and now by the Archduke Ferdinand. In this country, the most enlightened and the most polished in Italy, the philosophy of the eighteenth century had kindly germinated. Leopold had there introduced his admirable legislative reforms, and successfully tried experiments most honourable to humanity. The Bishop of Pistoja had even commenced a sort of religious reform by propagating Jansenist doctrines there. Though the Revolution had alarmed the weak and timid minds of Tuscany, yet it was there that France had most appreciators and

* It was at this period that Bonaparte wrote to the Directory in the following energetic terms: "The King of Sardinia has surrendered at discretion, given up three of his strongest fortresses, and the half of his dominions. If you do not choose to accept his submission, but resolve to dethrone him, you must amuse him for a few weeks and give me warning; I will get possession of Valenza and march upon Turin. On the other hand, I shall impose a contribution of some millions on the Duke of Parma, and detach twelve thousand men to Rome, as soon as I have beaten Beaulieu, and driven him across the Adige, and when I am assured that you will conclude peace with the King of Sardinia, and strengthen me by the army of Kellermann. As to Genoa, by all means oblige it to pay fifteen millions."—*Napoleon's Secret Correspondence*. F.

friends. The archduke, though Austrian, had been one of the first princes in Europe to recognise the republic. He had a million of subjects, six thousand troops, and a revenue of fifteen millions. Unfortunately, Tuscany was the least able of all these principalities to defend itself. After Tuscany came the States of the Church. The provinces subject to the Pope, situated on both sides of the Apennines, and extending to the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, were the worst administered in Europe. They had only their admirable agriculture, an ancient tradition of remote ages, which is common to all Italy, and which makes amends for the absence of industry long banished from her bosom. Excepting in the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, where a profound contempt for the government of priests prevailed, and in Rome, the ancient abode of science and the arts, where a few nobles had participated in the philosophy of all the grandees of Europe, men's minds had remained in the most disgraceful barbarism. A superstitious and ferocious populace, and idle and ignorant monks, composed that population of two million and a half of subjects. The army amounted to four or five thousand men, everybody knows of what quality. The Pope, a vain, ostentatious prince, jealous of his authority and that of the Holy See, entertained a deep hatred for the philosophy of the eighteenth century. He had thought to recover for the chair of St. Peter part of its influence by displaying great pomp, and had undertaken works useful to the arts. Reckoning upon the majesty of his person and the persuasion of his words, which was great, he had formerly undertaken a journey to Vienna, to bring back Joseph II. to the doctrines of the Church, and to counteract philosophy, which seemed to be taking possession of the mind of that prince. This attempt had not been successful. The pontiff, filled with horror of the French Revolution, had launched his anathema against it; and preached a crusade. He had even winked at the murder of Basseville, the French agent in Rome. Inflamed by the monks, his subjects shared his hatred against France, and were seized with fanatic fury on hearing of the success of our arms.

The extremity of the Peninsula and Sicily compose the kingdom of Naples, the most powerful state in Italy, most like Rome in ignorance and barbarism, and still worse governed, if possible. There reigned a Bourbon, a mild, imbecile prince, devoted to one kind of pursuit, fishing and field sports. These occupations engrossed all his time; and, while he was engaged in them, the government of his kingdom was abandoned to his wife, an Austrian princess, sister of the Queen of France. This princess, a woman of a capricious disposition, of licentious passions, having a favourite sold to the English, the minister Acton, conducted the affairs of the kingdom in a senseless manner. The English, whose policy it always was to gain a footing on the continent by controlling the petty states bordering upon its coasts, had endeavoured to make themselves the patrons of Naples, as well as of Portugal and Holland. They excited the hatred of the queen against France, and infused with that hatred the ambition to rule Italy.

Such were the principal states in the Peninsula on the right of Bonaparte. Facing him, in the semicircle of Upper Italy, there was first, on the slope of the Apennines, the duchy of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, comprising five hundred thousand inhabitants, keeping three thousand troops, furnishing a revenue of four millions, and governed by a Spanish prince, formerly a pupil of Condillac, but who, in spite of a sound education, had fallen under the yoke of monks and priests. A little farther to the right, likewise

on the declivity of the Apennines, was the duchy of Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola, peopled with four hundred thousand inhabitants, having six thousand men under arms, and subject to the last descendant of the illustrious house of Este. This distrustful prince was so alarmed at the spirit of the age, that by dint of fear he had become a prophet, and foretold the Revolution. His predictions were quoted. In his terror, he had not forgotten to make provision against the strokes of fortune, and had amassed immense wealth by oppressing his people.* Avaricious and timid, he was despised by his subjects, who were the most enlightened and the most malicious in Italy, and the most disposed to embrace the new ideas. Farther on, beyond the Po, came Lombardy, governed for Austria by an archduke. This beautiful and productive plain, situated between the waters of the Alps which fertilize it, and those of the Adriatic which bring to it the wealth of the East, covered with corn, rice, pastures, herds of cattle, and rich beyond all the provinces in the world, was dissatisfied with its foreign masters. It was still Guelph, notwithstanding its long slavery. It contained twelve hundred thousand inhabitants. Milan was always one of the most enlightened cities in Italy. Less favoured in regard to the arts than Florence or Rome, it approached nearer to the illumination of the North, and contained a great number of persons who wished for the civil and political regeneration of the people. The last state in Upper Italy was the ancient republic of Venice. This republic, with its old aristocracy inscribed in the golden book, its state inquisition, its silence, its jealous and captious policy, had ceased to be a formidable power either to its subjects or to its neighbours. With its continental provinces, situated at the foot of the Tyrol, and those of Illyria, it numbered nearly three millions of subjects. It could raise so many as fifty thousand Sclavonians, good soldiers, because they were well disciplined, well fed, and well paid. It was rich in ancient wealth; but for two centuries its commerce had been transferred to the Ocean, which wafted its treasures to the islanders of the Atlantic. It still possessed a few ships; the passages of the lagoons were almost choked up; but it was yet powerful in revenues. Its policy consisted in amusing its subjects, in lulling them by pleasure and repose, and in observing the strictest neutrality in regard to other states. Yet the nobles of the main land were jealous of the golden book, and impatiently endured the yoke of the aristocracy intrenched in the lagoons. In Venice itself, the citizens, a wealthy class, began to think. In 1793, the coalition had forced the senate to declare against France: it had yielded, but had reverted to its neutral policy, as soon as the powers began to treat with the French republic. As we have seen elsewhere, it had been as eager as Prussia and Tuscany to send an ambassador to Paris. Now, too, complying with the remonstrances of the Directory, it had just given notice to the head of the house of Bourbon, then Louis XVIII., to quit Verona. That prince had accordingly departed, declaring that he should insist on the restitution of a suit of gilt armour given by his ancestor Henry IV.

* "The Duke of Modena was a man of moderate abilities; his business was hoarding money, and his pleasure consisted in nailing up, with his own princely hands, the tapestry, which ornamented churches on days of high holiday, from which he acquired the nickname of the Royal Upholsterer. But his birth was illustrious as the descendant of that celebrated hero of Este, the patron of Tasso and Ariosto; and his alliance was no less splendid, having married the sister of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette and of Joseph II.; then his daughter was married to the Archduke Ferdinand, the governor of Milan."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

the senate, and on the erasure of the name of his family from the pages of the golden book.

Such was Italy at that time. The general spirit of the age had penetrated thither, and inflamed many minds. All the inhabitants did not wish for a revolution, especially when they recollected the frightful scenes which had imbrued the French Revolution in blood; but all desired, though in different degrees, a reform; and there was not a heart but throbbed at the idea of the independence and unity of the Italian father-land. The nation, of husbandmen, tradesmen, artists, nobles—the priests alone excepted, who know no country but the Church—was fired with the hope of seeing all the divisions of the peninsula united into one, under one and the same government, republican or monarchical, but Italian. Assuredly a population of twenty millions, with an excellent soil, admirable coasts, spacious and magnificent cities, might compose a glorious and powerful state. It lacked but an army. Piedmont alone, always engaged in the wars of the continent, had brave and well-disciplined troops. Nature, indeed, was far from having refused natural courage to the other portions of Italy; but natural courage is nothing without a strong military organization. Italy had not a regiment that could bear the sight of the French or Austrian bayonets.

On the approach of the French, the enemies of political reform had been struck with consternation. Its partisans had been transported with joy. The entire mass was in anxiety; it had vague, uncertain presentiments; it knew not whether it ought to hope or to fear.

Bonaparte on entering Italy had orders, and for his object, to drive the Austrians out of it. His government being desirous, as we have stated, to procure peace, meant to conquer Lombardy, merely to restore it to Austria, and to compel her to cede the Netherlands. Bonaparte could not, therefore, think of emancipating Italy. Besides, with some thirty thousand men, how could he proclaim a political object? Still, if the Austrians were driven beyond the Alps, and his power firmly established, he might exercise great influence, and in the course of events attempt great things. If, for instance, the Austrians, beaten at all points, on the Po, on the Rhine, and on the Danube, were obliged to cede even Lombardy; if the people, truly inflamed for liberty, were to declare in favour of it on the approach of the French armies; then great destinies would open for Italy. But, in the meantime, it was incumbent on Bonaparte not to proclaim any object, lest he should irritate the princes whom he left in his rear. His intention, therefore, was not to show any revolutionary project, but at the same time not to damp the ardour of imaginations, and to await the effects of his presence upon the Italian people.

Accordingly, he had avoided encouraging the discontented in Piedmont, because he there saw a country difficult to revolutionize, a strong government, and an army the alliance of which might be serviceable to him.

No sooner was the armistice of Cherasco signed than he again set out. Many persons in the army disapproved of advancing.* What! said they, we are but thirty odd thousand; we have not revolutionized either Pied-

* "Many thought it madness to attempt the conquest of Italy with so small an army, and with a hostile kingdom in their rear. These persons were for revolutionizing Piedmont before they ventured further, but Bonaparte was of opinion that they ought not to halt till they reached the Adige. This counsel prevailed. To dare is in critical circumstances often the means of success; as to carry into effect what to others appears madness is the surest sign of genius."—*Hazlitt*. E.

mont or Genoa; we are leaving behind us governments which are secretly our enemies; and we are going to attempt the passage of a great river, the Po, to traverse Lombardy, and, perhaps, to decide by our presence the republic of Venice to throw fifty thousand men into the scale! Bonaparte had orders to advance, and he was not a man to fail to comply with a bold order; but he executed it because he approved of it, and he approved of it for profound reasons. Piedmont and Genoa would embarrass us much more, said he, if they were in revolution; thanks to the armistice, our line of march is now secured by three fortresses; all the governments of Italy will submit to us if we can drive the Austrians beyond the Alps; Venice will tremble if we are victorious at her side; the sound of our cannon will even decide her to ally herself with us: we must advance then, not only beyond the Po, but likewise the Adda and the Mincio, to the beautiful line of the Adige; there we will besiege Mantua, and we will make all Italy tremble on our rear. The head of the young general, heated by his march, conceived even still more gigantic projects than those which he avowed to his army. He proposed, after annihilating Beaulieu, to penetrate into the Tyrol, to cross the Alps a second time, and to throw himself into the valley of the Danube, for the purpose of joining there the armies which had started from the banks of the Rhine. This colossal and imprudent plan was a tribute which a great and enterprising mind could not fail to pay to the twofold presumption of youth and success. He wrote to his government soliciting authority to carry it into execution.

He had taken the field on the 20th of Germinal (April 11): the submission of Piedmont was complete on the 9th of Floreal (April 28), by the armistice of Cherasco; it had taken him eighteen days. He set out immediately in pursuit of Beaulieu. He had stipulated with Piedmont that Valenza should be delivered up to him; that he might pass the Po at that place; but this condition was a feint, it was not at Valenza that he intended to cross the river. Beaulieu, when informed of the armistice, had thought to possess himself by surprise of the three fortresses of Tortona, Valenza, and Alexandria. He succeeded in surprising Valenza only, into which he threw the Neapolitans; then, seeing Bonaparte advancing rapidly, he hastened to recross the Po, that he might place that river between himself and the French army. He went and encamped at Valeggio, at the conflux of the Po and the Tesino, near the apex of the angle formed by those two rivers. He there threw up some intrenchments, to strengthen his position and to oppose the passage of the French army.

Bonaparte, on quitting the dominions of the King of Sardinia and entering those of the Duke of Parma, was met by envoys from that prince, who came to solicit the clemency of the conqueror. The Duke of Parma was related to the King of Spain: it was requisite, therefore, to show him some indulgence, which, moreover, suited the views of the general. Still, he might fairly exercise upon him some of the rights of war. Bonaparte received his envoys at the passage of the Trebbia. He affected to be angry that the Duke of Parma had not availed himself, for making peace, of the moment when Spain, his relative, was treating with the French republic. He then granted an armistice, demanding a tribute of two millions in money, of which the chest of the army was much in need; sixteen hundred horses, requisite for the artillery and the baggage; a great quantity of wheat and oats; leave to pass through the duchy; and the establishment of hospitals for the sick at the expense of the prince. The general did not stop there. As an Italian, he was a lover and a connoisseur of the arts; he

knew how much they add to the splendour of an empire, and the moral effect which they produce on the imagination of men. He demanded twenty pictures, to be chosen by French commissioners and sent to Paris.* The envoys of the duke, glad to appease, at this price, the anger of the general, consented to all his demands, and hastened to execute the conditions of the armistice. They offered, however, a million to save the picture of St. Jerome. Bonaparte said to the army: "This million we should soon spend, and we shall find plenty more to conquer. A masterpiece is everlasting; it will adorn the country." The million was refused.

Bonaparte, having secured the advantages of conquest without its embarrassments, pursued his march. The condition inserted in the armistice of Cherasco, relative to the passage of the Po at Valenza and the direction of the principal French columns towards that town, induced a belief that Bonaparte would attempt the passage of the river in its environs. While the main body of his army was already collected at the point where Beaulieu was expecting him to cross, on the 17th of Floreal (May 6), he took a corps of three thousand five hundred grenadiers, together with his cavalry and twenty-four pieces of cannon, descended along the Po, and arrived on the morning of the 18th at Placentia, after a march of sixteen leagues in thirty-six hours. The cavalry had seized all the boats which it found on the banks of the river, and taken them along with it to Placentia: it had also taken a great quantity of forage, and the medical stores of the Austrian army. A barge carried the advanced guard commanded by Colonel Lannes. No sooner had that officer reached the other bank, than he dashed with his grenadiers upon some Austrian detachments, which were running upon the left bank of the Po, and dispersed them. The rest of the grenadiers successively crossed the river, and began to construct a bridge for the passage of the army which had received orders to descend in its turn to Placentia. Thus, by a feint and a bold march, Bonaparte found himself beyond the Po, with the additional advantage of having turned the Tesino. Had he crossed higher up, besides the difficulty of doing so in the presence of Beaulieu, he would have come upon the Tesino, and have had to cross that too. But at Placentia, he avoided that inconvenience, for the Tesino had already joined the Po.

On the 18th of May, Liptai's division, which was the first to receive the information, proceeded to Fombio, at a little distance from the Po, on the road to Pizzighitone. Bonaparte, sensible of the danger of suffering it to establish itself in a position where the whole Austrian army was likely to rally, and might then oblige him to receive battle with the river Po at his back, hastened to attack it with all the forces that he had at hand. Rushing upon this division, which had intrenched itself, he dislodged it after a sanguinary action, and took from it two thousand prisoners. The rest of the division gained the road to Pizzighitone, and went and shut itself up in that place.

On the evening of the same day, Beaulieu, apprized of the passage of the Po at Placentia, came up to the support of Liptai's division. Not aware

* "It was on this occasion that Napoleon exacted a contribution of works of art to be sent to the Museum at Paris, being the first instance of the kind that occurs in modern history."—*Hazlitt*. E.

"The republic had already received and placed in its Museum the masterpieces of the Dutch and Flemish schools. The Romans carried away from conquered Greece the statues which adorn the Capitol. Every capital of Europe contained the spoils of antiquity, and no one had ever thought of imputing it to them as a crime."—*Thibaudeau*. E

of the disaster which it had sustained, he fell in with the French advanced posts, was warmly received, and obliged to fall back in the utmost haste. Unfortunately, the brave General Laharpe, so useful to the army for his intelligence and his intrepidity, was killed by his own soldiers amidst the darkness of the night. The whole army regretted the loss of this brave Swiss, whom the tyranny of Berne had driven to France.*

The Po being crossed, the Tesino turned, and Beaulieu beaten and unable to keep the field, the route to Milan was open. It was natural that a conqueror of twenty-six should be impatient to enter that city. But Bonaparte was desirous, above all, to complete the destruction of Beaulieu. With this view, he meant not merely to fight him; he meant to turn him, to cut off his retreat, and to oblige him, if possible, to lay down his arms. To accomplish this object, it was necessary that he should anticipate him at the passage of the rivers. A great number of rivers descend from the Alps, and, running through Lombardy, fall into the Po or the Adriatic. Besides the Po and the Tesino, there are the Adda, the Oglio, the Mincio, the Adige, and many others. Bonaparte now had before him the Adda, which he had not been able to turn like the Tesino, because he must then have gone as high as Cremona before he crossed the Po. The passage of the Adda is at Pizzighitone, but the wrecks of Liptai's division had just thrown themselves into that place. Bonaparte hastened to ascend the Adda to reach the bridge of Lodi. Beaulieu was there before him. It was impossible, therefore, to anticipate him at the passage of that river. But he had with him at Lodi only twelve thousand infantry and four thousand horse. Two other divisions, under Colli and Vukassovich, had made a circuit to Milan, to throw a garrison into the citadel, and were then to return to the Adda, to cross it at Cassano, a great way above Lodi. By endeavouring, then, to cross the Adda at Lodi, in spite of the presence of Beaulieu, Bonaparte might possibly reach the other bank before the two divisions, which were to pass at Cassano, had completed their movement. There would then be a hope of cutting them off.

Bonaparte was before Lodi on the 20th (May 9). That town is situated on the same bank along which the French army was coming. Bonaparte caused it to be attacked unawares, and penetrated into it in spite of the Austrians. The latter, then, quitting the town, retired by the bridge, and went to rejoin the main body of their army on the other bank. This bridge it was necessary to pass over, on leaving Lodi, in order to cross the Adda. Twelve thousand infantry and four thousand horse were drawn up on the opposite bank; twenty pieces of artillery enfiladed the bridge; a host of sharpshooters was posted on the bank. It was not customary in war to confront such difficulties. A bridge defended by sixteen thousand men and twenty pieces of artillery was an obstacle which nobody would have attempted to surmount. The whole French army had sheltered itself from the fire behind the walls of Lodi, awaiting the orders of the general. Bonaparte sallied from the town, explored the banks of the river, amidst a shower of balls and grape-shot, and having formed his plan, returned to Lodi to put it in execution. He ordered his cavalry to go up the Adda and to endeavour to ford it above the bridge; he then caused a column of six

* "Laharpe was a Swiss of the canton of Vaud. He was an officer of distinguished bravery, and much beloved by his troops, though of an unquiet temper. It was remarked that, during the action of Fombio, on the evening preceding his death, he had appeared absent and dejected, giving no orders, seemingly deprived of his usual faculties, and overwhelmed by some fatal presentiment."—*Hazlitt*. E.

thousand grenadiers to be formed: he went through the ranks, encouraged them, and communicated extraordinary courage by his presence and his words. He then ordered them to debouch by the gate leading to the bridge, and to debouch in a run. He had calculated that, from the rapidity of the movement, the column would not have time to suffer much. This formidable column closed its ranks and debouched in a run upon the bridge. A tremendous fire was poured upon them. The entire head of the column was struck down. It nevertheless advanced: having reached the middle of the bridge, it hesitated; but the generals encouraged it by their voices and by their example. It recovered itself, advanced, rushed upon the guns, and killed the gunners who attempted to defend them. At this moment the Austrian infantry approached, in its turn, to support its artillery; but, after what it had just achieved, the terrible column was not afraid of bayonets; it dashed upon the Austrians at the moment when the cavalry, which had found a ford, was threatening their flanks; it overthrew them, dispersed them, and took two thousand prisoners.*

* The following is Bourrienne's account of the celebrated battle of Lodi:

"It now remained to cross the river; but thirty pieces of cannon placed in battery, some at the further end of the old bridge, and some a little above, and others a little below it, on the left bank, in order to produce a cross-fire, seemed to render such an enterprise next to impossible. More than one brave republican general recommended a pause, which must have ended in a retreat, but Bonaparte, keeping his eyes fixed, and his hand pointing at the bridge, said, 'That is the way to Milan—to Rome—to the possession of all Italy,—we must cross, let it cost what it may.' It must not be said that the tributary Adda stopped those heroes who had forced the Po!' On this occasion the French were pretty well supplied with artillery, and their first operation was to open a heavy fire across the river on the enemy's guns. General Beaumont, who commanded their cavalry, was sent to pass the Adda at a ford about a league above the bridge, and he took with him some flying artillery, with which he was to cannonade the right flank of the Austrians. By an inconceivable imbecility, the ford was not sufficiently guarded, and Beaumont, though not without difficulty, passed through it with his horses and guns. As soon as Bonaparte saw that the heads of the French cavalry were forming on the left bank of the Adda, and that the manœuvre gave great uneasiness to the Austrians, he pointed his sword at the bridge and sounded the charge. It was on the 10th of May, and about six o'clock in the evening, when 4,000 picked men, shouting 'Vive la Republique,' advanced on the bridge, which was literally swept by the enemy's guns. The first effect was tremendous; the French were involved in a murderous hailstorm of cannon-balls, grape-shot, and musket-balls;—they stopped—for a moment they wavered. Then Bonaparte, and Lannes, and Berthier, and Massena, and Cervoni, and Dallemagne, and Dupas, threw themselves at the head of the columns, which dashed across the bridge, and up to the mouths of the enemy's guns. Lannes was the first to reach the left bank of the Adda, Napoleon the second. The Austrian artillerymen were bayoneted at their guns before Beaulieu could get to their rescue, for this doomed old general had kept his infantry too far in the rear of the bridge. By this means also the French infantry was allowed time to debouch from the *tête-du-pont*, and form in pretty good order. The battle, however, was not over. Though stupid, Beaulieu was brave, and the Austrian troops had not yet lost their dogged obstinacy. They concentrated a little behind the river—they put their remaining artillery in battery, and for some minutes it seemed doubtful whether they would not drive their foes back to the blood-covered bridge, or into the waters of the Adda. But, in addition to Beaumont, who acted with his cavalry on their right flank, Augereau now came up from Borghetto to the opportune assistance of his comrades. Then Beaulieu retreated, but in such good order that the French made few prisoners. The shades of night closed over a scene of horror;—between the town and the bridge of Lodi, and the scene of the prolonged action on the left bank, 2,500 men and 400 horses, on the part of the Austrians, lay dead or wounded, and the French could not have left fewer than 2,000 men in the same condition, although Bonaparte owned only to the loss of 400. This battle, which he used to call 'the terrible passage of the bridge of Lodi,' carried his fame to the highest pitch, while the great personal bravery he displayed in it endeared him to the troops. The men, who cannot always appreciate military genius and science, know perfectly well how to estimate courage, and they soon idolize the commander that shows himself ready

This most daring deed struck the Austrians with astonishment, but unfortunately it proved useless. Colli and Vukassovich had succeeded in gaining the causeway of Brescia, and could no longer be cut off. If the result had failed, at least the line of the Adda was carried, the courage of the soldiers was elevated to the highest pitch, and their devotion to their general was unbounded. In their gaiety they conceived a singular idea, which serves to illustrate the national character. The oldest of the soldiers assembled, one day, and, seeing that their general was very young, they took it into their heads to make him pass through all the ranks: at Lodi they made him corporal, and when he appeared in the camp, they saluted him by the title since become so famous of the *little corporal*.* We shall find them hereafter conferring others upon him, according as he merited them.

The Austrian army had insured its retreat upon the Tyrol. It would have been of no use to follow it. Bonaparte then resolved to fall upon Lombardy, to take possession of, and to organize it. The remains of Lip-tai's division had intrenched themselves at Pizzighitone and might convert it into a fortification. He proceeded thither to drive them from the place; he then sent Massena before him to Milan; Augereau fell back to occupy Pavia. He wished to overawe that great city, celebrated for its university and to show it one of the finest divisions of the army. Serrurier's and Laharpe's divisions were left at Pizzighitone, Lodi, Cremona, and Cassano to guard the Adda.

Bonaparte at length set out for Milan. On the approach of the French army, the partisans of Austria, and all those who were terrified at the reputation of our soldiers, who were reported to be as barbarous as they were brave, had fled and covered the roads to Brescia and the Tyrol. The arch-duke had set out, and had been seen to shed tears on leaving his beautiful capital. The majority of the Milanese gave way to hope, and awaited our army in the most favourable mood. When they had received the first division

to share in their greatest dangers. It was on this occasion that the soldiers gave Bonaparte the honorary and affectionate nick-name of 'The little Corporal.' He was then slight in figure and had almost an effeminate appearance. 'It was a strange sight,' says a French veteran, 'to see him on that day on foot on the bridge, under a *feu-d'enfer*, and mixed up with our tall grenadiers—he looked like a little boy!' Those men of routine and prescription, the Austrian officers, who adhered to the old system of warfare, could not comprehend his new conceptions and innovations. 'This beardless youth ought to have been beaten over and over again,' said poor Beaulieu, 'for who ever saw such tactics!' A day or two after the battle of Lodi, an old Hungarian officer, who did not know his person, was brought prisoner to the French commander-in-chief. 'Well,' said Bonaparte, 'what do you think of the state of the war now?'—'Nothing can be worse on your side,' replied the old martinet. 'Here you have a youth who absolutely knows nothing of the rules of war; to-day he is in our rear, to-morrow on our flank, next again in our front. Such gross violations of the principles of the art of war are not to be supported!' E.

"Some one having read at St. Helena an account of the battle of Lodi, in which it was said that Bonaparte displayed great courage in crossing the bridge, and that Lannes passed it after him, 'Before me!' cried Bonaparte with much warmth, 'Lannes passed first, and I only followed him. It is necessary to correct that on the spot.' And the correction was accordingly made in the margin of the book."—*Hazlitt*. E.

"Vendémiaire and Montenotte," said the Emperor, "never induced me to look on myself as a man of a superior class; it was not till after Lodi that I was struck with the possibility of becoming famous. It was then that the first spark of my ambition was kindled."—*Las Cases*. E.

* "How subtle is the chain which unites the most trivial circumstances to the most important events! Perhaps this very nickname contributed to the Emperor's miraculous success on his return from Elba in 1815. While he was haranguing the first battalion he met, which he found it necessary to parley with, a voice from the ranks exclaimed, 'Vive notre petit caporal! We will never fight against him.'"—*Las Cases*. E.

commanded by Massena, and saw those soldiers, whom report painted in such frightful colours, respecting property and person, and manifesting the benevolence natural to their character, they were filled with enthusiasm and treated them with the utmost kindness. The patriots had assembled from all parts of Italy, and awaited the young conqueror, whose exploits were so rapid, and whose Italian name sounded so sweetly to the ears. The Count de Melzi was immediately sent to meet Bonaparte, and to promise him obedience.* A national guard was formed and clothed in the three colours, green, red, and white. The Duke de Serbelloni was appointed to command it. A triumphal arch was erected to receive the French general. On the 26th of Floreal (May 15), a month after the opening of the campaign, Bonaparte made his entry into Milan. The whole population of the capital went forth to meet him. The national guard was under arms. The municipality came and delivered to him the keys of the city. Acclamations accompanied him all the way to the Serbelloni palace, where quarters were prepared for him. He had now won the imagination of the Italians, as well as that of the soldiers, and he could act by moral force as powerfully as by physical force.

It was not his intention to stay long in Milan, any more than he had done at Cherasco after the submission of Piedmont. He meant to remain there merely sufficient time to organize the province temporarily, to draw from it the resources requisite for his army, and to regulate everything upon his rear. His plan was still to hasten afterwards to the Adige and Mantua, and, if possible, to penetrate into the Tyrol and beyond the Alps.

The Austrians had left two thousand men in the citadel of Milan. Bonaparte caused it to be immediately invested. It was agreed with the commandant of the citadel that he should not fire upon the city, for it was Austrian property, which he had no interest in destroying. The operations of the siege were forthwith commenced.

Bonaparte, without entering into any specific engagement with the Milanese, or promising them an independence which he could not insure to them, nevertheless, encouraged sufficient hopes to excite their patriotism. He held energetic language to them, and said, that, to obtain liberty, they ought to deserve it by assisting to emancipate Italy for ever from Austria. He instituted a provisional municipal administration; he caused national guards to be everywhere formed, in order to give Lombardy a commencement of military organization. He then turned his attention to the wants of his army, and was obliged to impose on the Milanese a contribution of twenty millions. This measure appeared to him detrimental, because it must retard the march of the public mind; but it was indispensable, and it excited, nevertheless, no very great discontent. Owing to the magazines found in Piedmont, and to the corn furnished by the Duke of Parma, the army had abundance of provisions. The soldiers grew fat, eating good bread and good meat, and drinking excellent wine. They were satisfied, and began to observe strict discipline. All that was now left to be done, was to clothe them. They had still the same old clothes as in the Alps; they were in rags, and were imposing only by their renown, their martial bearing, and their admirable discipline. Bonaparte soon found new resources. The Duke of Modena, whose states bordered upon the Po, below those of the Duke of Parma, despatched envoys to obtain the same condi-

* "It was in memory of this mission, that Napoleon, when King of Italy, created the duchy of Lodi, in favour of Melzi."—*Montholon*. E.

tions as the latter. This avaricious prince, seeing all his predictions realized, had fled to Venice with his treasures, leaving the government of his dominions to a regency. Not wishing, however, to ruin them, he applied to negotiate. Bonaparte could not grant peace, but he was at liberty to grant armistices, which were equivalent to it, and which rendered him master of all the states of Italy. He required ten millions, supplies of all kinds, horses and pictures.

With the resources which he had thus obtained in the country, he established on the banks of the Po, large magazines, hospitals furnished with necessaries for the accommodation of fifteen thousand sick, and filled all the chests of the army. Deeming himself rich enough, he even sent off some millions to Genoa for the Directory. As he knew, moreover, that the army of the Rhine was in want of funds, and that this penury prevented it from taking the field, he sent a million, by way of Switzerland, to Moreau. It was an act of kindness to a comrade, that was both honourable and serviceable to himself; for it was of importance that Moreau should take the field, to prevent the Austrians from directing their principal forces against Italy.

On consideration of all these things, Bonaparte was still more confirmed in his plans. It was not necessary, in his opinion, to march against the princes of Italy; it was requisite to act against the Austrians only. So long as he should be able to resist them and to prevent their return into Lombardy, all the Italian states, trembling under the ascendancy of the French army, would submit one after another. The Dukes of Parma and Modena had submitted. Rome and Naples would do the same, if he continued master of the gates of Italy. It was requisite, in like manner, not to be precipitate in regard to the people, and, without overthrowing governments, to wait till the subjects should rise of their own accord.

But, amidst these just ideas, these vast plans, he was stopped short by a most mortifying circumstance. The Directory was enchanted with his services. Carnot, on reading his despatches, written with energy and precision, but with extreme warmth of imagination, was alarmed at his gigantic plans. He justly thought, that to attempt to traverse the Tyrol and to cross the Alps a second time, was too extravagant a scheme, nay, even impossible; but, in his turn, to correct the plan of the young general, he conceived another far more dangerous. Lombardy being conquered, the French ought to advance, according to Carnot, into the Peninsula, to punish the Pope and the Bourbons of Naples, and to drive the English from Leghorn, where the Duke of Tuscany suffered them to be masters. To this end, Carnot, in the name of the Directory, ordered the army of Italy to be divided into two: one part under Kellermann, to be left in Lombardy; the other, under the command of Bonaparte, to march upon Rome and Naples. This disastrous plan renewed the fault which the French have always committed, that of penetrating into the Peninsula before they were masters of Upper Italy. It is not with the Pope, or with Naples, that the possession of Italy ought to be disputed, but with the Austrians. In this case, the line of operation is not on the Tiber, but on the Adige. Impatience to possess, has always urged us on to Rome and Naples, and, while we have been overrunning the Peninsula, we have always found the road closed upon us. It was natural that republicans should wish to chastise a Pope and a Bourbon; but they committed the same blunder as the ancient kings of France.

Bonaparte, in his plan for throwing himself into the valley of the Danube, had kept the Austrians alone in view. It was the exaggeration of truth in

a sound but young mind. With such a conviction, then, he could not consent to march into the Peninsula; besides, aware of the importance of unity of direction in a conquest which required as much political as military genius, he could not endure the idea of sharing the command with an old general, brave, but of moderate abilities, and full of vanity. This was in him that just egotism of genius, which is anxious to perform its task alone, because it feels that itself alone is capable of performing it. He behaved here as in the field of battle. He hazarded his future prospects, and tendered his resignation in a letter equally respectful and bold.* He was aware that the Directory durst not accept it; but it is certain that he would much rather have resigned than obeyed, because he could not consent to suffer his glory and the army to be thrown away in the execution of a vicious plan.

Opposing the most luminous reason to the errors of Carnot, he said that the French ought to continue to make head against the Austrians, and to attend to them alone; that a mere division, marching upon the Po and Ancona, would frighten the Peninsula, and force Rome and Naples to beg for quarter. He prepared immediately to leave Milan, to hasten to the Adige, and to lay siege to Mantua. There he proposed to wait for fresh orders from the Directory and a reply to his despatches.

He published a new proclamation to his soldiers, which could not fail to strike their imagination strongly, and which was also calculated to make a powerful impression on that of the Pope and the King of Naples:

“Soldiers! you have rushed like a torrent from the top of the Apennines; you have overthrown, dispersed, everything that opposed your progress. Piedmont, delivered from Austrian tyranny, has returned to her natural sentiments of peace and friendship for France. Milan is yours, and the republican flag waves throughout all Lombardy. The Dukes of Parma and Modena owe their political existence to your generosity alone. The army which proudly threatens you finds no longer any barrier to secure it against your courage: the Po, the Tesino, and the Adda, have not stopped you for a single day; those highly vaunted bulwarks of Italy have proved insufficient; you have passed them as rapidly as the Apennines. These successes have produced joy in the bosom of the country; your representatives have ordered a festival dedicated to your victories, which are celebrated in all the communes of the republic. There your fathers, your mothers, your wives, your sisters, your sweethearts, are rejoicing in your achievements, and boasting with pride that you belong to them. Yes, soldiers! you have done much; but is there nothing more left for you to do? Shall it be said of us that we knew how to conquer, but not how to follow up the victory? Shall posterity reproach you with having found a Capua in Lombardy? But I see you already running to arms. Well! let us set out! We have still forced marches to make, enemies to subdue, laurels to gather, injuries to revenge. Let those who have whetted the daggers of civil war in France, who have basely assassinated our ministers, who burned our ships at Toulon—let those tremble! The hour of vengeance has struck; but let not the people be alarmed; we are friends of the people everywhere, and more particularly of the descendants of the Brutuses, the Scipios, and the great

* The following are the terms in which Napoleon addressed Carnot on this occasion: “Kellermann would command the army as well as I; for no one is more convinced than I am of the courage and audacity of the soldiers; but to unite us together would ruin everything. I will not serve with a man who considers himself the first general in Europe; and it is better to have one bad general than two good ones. War is, like government, decided in a great degree by tact.” E.

men whom we have taken for our models. To re-establish the Capitol, to set up there with honour the statues of the heroes who rendered it celebrated; to rouse the Roman people, stupefied by several centuries of slavery—such will be the fruit of our victories. They will form an epoch with posterity. You will have the immortal glory of changing the face of the finest portion of Europe. The French people, free, and respected by the whole world, will give to Europe a glorious peace, which will indemnify her for the sacrifices of all kinds that she has been making for the last six years. You will then return to your homes, and your fellow-citizens, pointing to you, will say, *He belonged to the army of Italy.*”*

After a stay of only a week at Milan, he left it on the 2d of Prairial (May 22), to proceed to Lodi, and to advance towards the Adige.

While Bonaparte was pursuing his march, an unexpected event suddenly recalled him to Milan. The nobles, the monks, the servants of the fugitive families, a multitude of creatures of the Austrian government, prepared a revolt against the French army. They spread a report that Beaulieu, having been reinforced, was at hand with sixty thousand men; that the Prince of Condé was coming through Switzerland upon the rear of the republicans, and that they were on the brink of destruction. The priests, availing themselves of their influence over some of the peasantry, who had suffered from the passage of the army, excited them to take arms. Bonaparte having just quitted Milan, the moment was deemed favourable for carrying the revolt into execution, and for raising all Lombardy on his rear. The garrison of the citadel of Milan gave the signal by a sortie. The tocsin was immediately rung throughout the whole surrounding country; and armed peasants repaired to Milan, to make themselves masters of the city. But the division which Bonaparte had left to blockade the citadel quickly forced the garrison to fall back within its walls, and drove out the peasants who ventured to make their appearance. In the environs of Pavia the insurgents were more successful. They entered that city, and made themselves masters of it, in spite of the three hundred men whom Bonaparte had left in garrison there. These three hundred men, fatigued or sick, shut themselves up in a fort, to escape being slaughtered. The insurgents surrounded the fort, and summoned it to surrender. A French general, passing at that moment through Pavia, was seized, and obliged, while a dagger was held to his throat, to sign an order, commanding the garrison to open its gates. The order was signed and executed.

This revolt might produce disastrous consequences. It might provoke a general insurrection and bring ruin on the French army. The public mind of a nation is always more advanced in the cities than in the country. While the population of the cities of Italy was declaring for us, the peasants, excited by the monks, and suffering severely from the passage of the armies, were most unfavourably disposed. Bonaparte was at Lodi, when, on the 4th of Prairial (May 24), he received intelligence of the occurrences at Milan and Pavia. He immediately turned back with three hundred horse, a battalion of grenadiers, and six pieces of cannon. Order was already restored in Milan. He pursued his route to Pavia, sending the Archbishop of Milan before him. The insurgents had pushed an advanced guard as far as the village of Binasco. Lannes dispersed it. Bonaparte, conceiving that it behoved him to act with promptitude and energy, in order to put an end to the evil in its birth, caused the village to be set on fire, that the

* “On reading over this proclamation one day at St. Helena, the Emperor exclaimed, ‘And yet they have the folly to say that I could not write!’”—*Las Cases*. E.

sight of the flames might strike terror into Pavia. On arriving before that city, he halted. It contained thirty thousand inhabitants; it was enclosed within an old wall, and it was occupied by seven or eight thousand insurgent peasants. They had closed the gates and manned the walls. To take this city with three hundred horse and one battalion was no easy matter; yet there was no time to lose, for the army was already on the Oglio, and it required the presence of its general. In the night, Bonaparte caused a threatening proclamation to be posted on the gates of Pavia, in which he said that a misled mob, without any real means of resistance, was defying an army triumphant over kings, and meant to plunge the people of Italy into ruin; that, adhering to this intention of not making war upon the people, he would pardon this act of madness, and leave a door open for repentance; but that those who should not instantly lay down their arms, should be treated as rebels, and their villages burned. The flames of Binasco, he added, ought to serve as a warning to them. In the morning, the peasants, who were masters of the city, refused to deliver it up. Bonaparte ordered the walls to be cleared with grape and howitzer-shot: he then brought up his grenadiers, who broke open the gates with hatchets. They forced their way into the city, and had to sustain a combat in the streets. The resistance, however, was not long. The peasants fled, and left unfortunate Pavia to the wrath of the conqueror. The soldiers, with loud shouts, demanded leave to pillage. Bonaparte, by way of giving a severe example, allowed them three hours to plunder.* They were scarcely a thousand men, and they could not do any great mischief in so large a city as Pavia. They fell upon the goldsmiths' shops, and secured a considerable quantity of jewelry. The most censurable act was the pillage of the Mont de Piété, but fortunately, in Italy, as in every other country where there are poor and vain individuals among the great, the Monts de Piété were full of articles belonging to the higher classes of the country. The houses of Spallanzani and Volta were preserved by the officers, who themselves guarded the dwellings of those illustrious votaries of science—an example doubly honourable to France and to Italy.

Bonaparte then despatched his horse to the surrounding country, and ordered a great number of the insurgents to be put to death. This prompt severity produced universal submission, and overawed the party in Italy which was hostile to liberty and to France. It is painful to be obliged to employ such means; but Bonaparte was compelled to resort to them, upon pain of sacrificing his army and the destinies of Italy. The party of the monks trembled; the sufferings of Pavia, passing from mouth to mouth, were exaggerated; and the French army recovered its formidable reputation.

This affair finished, Bonaparte immediately returned to rejoin the army, which was on the Oglio, and about to enter the Venetian territory.

On the approach of the French army, the question so much agitated in Venice, whether to take part with Austria or France, was discussed anew by the senate. Some of the old oligarchy, who had retained a degree of energy, would have wished the republic to form an immediate alliance with Austria, the natural protector of all old despotisms; but Austrian ambition was dreaded for the future, and the vengeance of France at the moment. Besides, it would be necessary to take arms—a resolution

* "Pavia," said the Emperor, "is the only place I ever gave up to pillage. I had promised it to the soldiers for twenty-four hours; but after three hours I could bear it no longer, and put an end to it. Policy and morality are equally opposed to the system. Nothing is so certain to disorganize and completely ruin an army."—*Las Cases*. E.

extremely unpleasant to an enervated government. Some young members of the oligarchy, equally energetic, but less infatuated than their elders, likewise recommended a courageous determination. They proposed to raise a formidable armament, but to maintain the neutrality, and to threaten with fifty thousand men either of the powers which would violate the Venetian territory. This was a strong resolution, but too strong to be adopted. Some prudent persons, on the contrary, proposed a third course, namely, an alliance with France. Battaglia, the senator, a man of an acute, sagacious, and temperate mind, adduced arguments, which the lapse of time has invested, as it were, with the character of prophecies. In his opinion, neutrality, even an armed neutrality, was the worst of all determinations. It was impossible to make themselves respected, whatever force they displayed; and, not having attached either of the parties to their cause, they would, sooner or later, be sacrificed by both. It was absolutely necessary, therefore, to decide either for Austria or for France. Austria was for the moment driven out of Italy; and, even supposing her to possess the means of returning, she could not do so in less than two months, during which time the republic might be destroyed by the French army. Besides, the ambition of Austria was always more to be dreaded by Venice. She had always coveted her provinces in Illyria and Upper Italy, and would seize the first opportunity to possess herself of them. The only guarantee against this ambition was the power of France, which had nothing to envy Venice for, and which would always have an interest in defending her. France, it was true, professed principles which were repugnant to the Venetian nobility; but it was high time to make some indispensable sacrifices to the spirit of the age, and to yield to the nobles of the main land those concessions which could alone bind them to the republic and to the golden book. With some slight modifications in the ancient constitution, they might satisfy the ambition of all classes of Venetian subjects and attach France to them; if, moreover, they should take arms for the latter, they might hope, perhaps, to be rewarded for the services which they should have rendered by the spoils of Austria in Lombardy. In every case, repeated Battaglia, neutrality would be the very worst course for all parties.

This opinion, the wisdom of which time has demonstrated, too deeply wounded the pride and the prejudices of the old Venetian aristocracy to be adopted. It must also be observed that sufficient reliance was not placed on the duration of the French power in Italy, for Venice to seek an alliance with it. There was an ancient Italian adage which said that *Italy was the grave of the French*, and the Venetians were apprehensive lest they should afterwards find themselves exposed, without defence, to the wrath of Austria.

To these three courses one more convenient was preferred, and one more conformable with the routine and the weakness of this old government—unarmed neutrality. It was decided that *procreditori* should be sent to meet Bonaparte, to assure him of the neutrality of the republic, and to claim the respect due to the Venetian territory and subjects. A great dread of the French prevailed, but they were known to be easy and sensible to kind treatment. Orders were issued to all the agents of the government, to receive and to treat them in the best manner, and to pay particular attention to the officers and generals in order to gain their good will.

Bonaparte, on his arrival in the Venetian territory, had as much need of prudence as Venice herself. This power, though in the hands of an en-

feebled government, was still great. It behoved him not to indispose it to such a degree as to oblige it to take up arms; for then Upper Italy would be no longer tenable for the French; but it was also requisite, while observing the neutrality, to compel Venice to suffer us to remain upon her territory, to allow us to fight, and even to supply ourselves with provisions there, if possible. She had granted a passage to the Austrians: that was the reason which it would be necessary to urge for taking every liberty and demanding everything, while continuing within the limits of neutrality.

Bonaparte, on entering Brescia, published a proclamation, in which he declared that, in passing through the Venetian territory in pursuit of the imperial army, to which a passage had been granted, he should respect the territory and the inhabitants of the republic of Venice; that he should make his army observe the strictest discipline; that whatever it should take should be paid for; and that he should not forget the old ties which united the two republics. He was cordially received by the Venetian *proveditore* of Brescia, and continued his march. He had crossed the Oglio, which is the next stream to the Adda; he arrived before the Mincio, which, issuing from the lake of Garda, winds through the plain of the Mantuan, then, after a course of some leagues, forms a new lake, and at last falls into the Po. Beaulieu, reinforced by ten thousand men, had posted himself on the line of the Mincio, to defend it. An advanced guard of four thousand foot and two thousand horse was drawn up in advance of the river, at the village of Borghetto. The mass of the army occupied the position of Valeggio, beyond the Mincio; the reserve was a little farther back at Villa Franca; and detached corps guarded the course of the Mincio, above and below Valeggio. The Venetian town of Peschiera is situated on the Mincio, at the very point where it issues from the lake of Garda. Beaulieu, who wished to have that place, in order to gain a firmer support for the right of his line, deceived the Venetians, and, upon pretext of gaining a passage for fifty men, surprised the town and placed in it a strong garrison. It had a bastioned enclosure and eighty pieces of cannon.

Bonaparte, in advancing upon this line, wholly neglected Mantua, which was on his right, and which he had not yet time to blockade, and supported his left towards Peschiera. His plan was to cross the Mincio at Borghetto and Valeggio. To this end, it was requisite that he should deceive Beaulieu in regard to his intention. On this occasion, he had recourse to the same stratagem as at the passage of the Po. He directed one corps upon Peschiera and another upon Lonato, so as to alarm Beaulieu about the Upper Mincio, and to make him suppose that he designed to cross at Peschiera, or to turn the lake of Garda. At the same time, he directed his most serious attack against Borghetto. That village, situated in advance of the Mincio, was, as we have stated above, guarded by four thousand foot and two thousand horse. On the 9th of Prairial (May 29th), Bonaparte commenced the engagement. He had always had great trouble to make his cavalry fight. It was not accustomed to charge, because formerly very little use had been made of it, and it was, besides, intimidated by the high reputation of the German cavalry. Bonaparte was determined to bring it into action at all hazards, because he attached great importance to the services that it was capable of rendering. In advancing upon Borghetto, he distributed his grenadiers and his carbiniers on the right and left of his cavalry; he placed the artillery in the rear, and, having thus enclosed it, he launched it upon the enemy. Supported on either side, and led on by the impetuous Murat, it performed prodigies, and put to flight the Austrian

squadrons. The infantry then attacked the village of Borghetto and took it. The Austrians, retiring from it by the bridge leading from Borghetto to Valeggio, attempted to break it down. They actually succeeded in destroying one arch. But some grenadiers, led by General Gardanne, plunged into the Mincio, which was fordable in some places, and crossed it, holding their muskets above their heads, in defiance of the fire from the opposite heights. The Austrians fancied that they beheld the column of Lodi, and retired without destroying the bridge. The broken arch was repaired, and the army was enabled to cross. Bonaparte instantly started to ascend the Mincio with Augereau's division, in pursuit of the Austrians; but they declined battle the whole day. Leaving Augereau's division to continue the pursuit, he returned to Valeggio, where he found Massena's division beginning to make their soup. All at once the charge sounded, and the Austrian hussars dashed into the middle of the village. Bonaparte had scarcely time to escape. He mounted a horse and soon ascertained that this was one of the enemy's corps left to guard the Lower Mincio, and which was ascending the river to rejoin Beaulieu in his retreat towards the mountains. Massena ran to arms and gave chase to this division, which, however, succeeded in rejoining Beaulieu.

The Mincio was thus crossed. Bonaparte had decided for a second time the retreat of the Imperialists, who threw themselves definitively into the Tyrol. He had gained an important advantage, that of making his cavalry fight, and curing it of its dread of the Austrian cavalry. To this he attached great consequence. Before his time but little use was made of the cavalry, and he had judged that it might be rendered very serviceable by employing it to cover the artillery. He had calculated that the light artillery and the cavalry, seasonably employed, were capable of producing the effect of a mass of infantry of ten times the number. He began already to take a great liking to young Murat, who knew how to make his squadrons fight—a merit which he then considered as very rare among the officers of that army. The surprise which had endangered his person suggested another idea, namely, to form a corps to which he gave the name of guides. It was to consist of picked men, and its destination was to accompany him wherever he went. In this case, his personal safety was but a secondary consideration with him; he perceived the advantage of having always at hand a devoted corps, capable of the boldest actions. We shall hereafter see him, in fact, deciding important engagements by employing twenty five of these brave fellows. He gave the command of this corps to a cavalry officer, possessing great coolness and intrepidity, and afterwards well-known by the name of Bessières.*

* "Jean Baptiste Bessières was born in 1768. His family was of humble origin. At an early age he obtained admission into the Constitutional Guard of Louis XVI., and on the dissolution of that body was attached to the legion of the Pyrenees. In 1796 he joined the army of Italy, and was noticed for his bravery by Bonaparte, who entrusted him with the command of his *guides*, a corps which by successive augmentations became in the sequel the famous Imperial Guard, of which Bessières retained the command till his death. He attended the Emperor throughout his German campaigns, and fought at Jena, Friedland, and Eylau, exhibiting both valour and prudence. He then went to Spain, and defeated Cuesta in a pitched battle, which opened the way for the French to Madrid. At Wagram he led the French horse against the Austrian flank, and in 1812 went through the Russian campaign with honour. The opening of the next saw him in the place of Murat—at the head of the cavalry of the whole army. He was killed in the evening before the battle of Lutzen while forcing a defile. Marshal Bessières was an excellent soldier and a good man, and did all in his power to mitigate the horrors of war."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

"Bessières was a stouter man than Lannes, and, like him, he was from the South, as

Beaulieu, on evacuating Peschiera, had retreated to the Tyrol. A combat had taken place with the Austrian rear-guard, and it was not till after a very brisk action that the French army entered the town. The Venetians having been unable to recover it from Beaulieu, it had ceased to be neutral, and the French were authorized to establish themselves there. Bonaparte knew that the Venetians had been deceived by Beaulieu, and he resolved to avail himself of that circumstance to obtain from them all that he wished. He wanted the line of the Adda, and more particularly the important city of Verona, which commands the river; but, above all, he wanted to obtain supplies.

Foscarelli, the provveditore, an old Venetian oligarch, strongly wedded to his prejudices and full of hatred against France, was commissioned to repair to Bonaparte's head-quarters. He had been told that the general was highly enraged at what had happened at Peschiera, and report represented his anger as dreadful. Binasco and Pavia attested his severity; two armies destroyed and Italy conquered attested his power. The provveditore arrived at Peschiera full of terror, and, on setting out, he wrote to his government: *May God be pleased to accept me as a victim!* He was charged with the special mission of preventing the French from entering Verona. That city, which had afforded an asylum to the Pretender, was in the most painful anxiety. Young Bonaparte, who was subject to violent gusts of passion, but who could also feign them, omitted nothing to increase the fright of the provveditore. He inveighed vehemently against the Venetian government, which pretended to be neutral, and could not enforce respect for its neutrality; which, in suffering the Austrians to seize Peschiera, had exposed the army to the loss of a great number of brave fellows before that place. He said that the blood of his comrades cried for vengeance, and a signal vengeance they must have. The provveditore made many excuses for the Venetian authorities, and then adverted to the essential point, which was Verona. He declared that he had orders to forbid both the belligerent powers the entry into that city. Bonaparte replied that it was then too late; that Massena had already marched thither; that perhaps at that very moment he was setting fire to it, to punish a city which had had the insolence to consider itself for a moment as the capital of the French empire.*

the accent of both sufficiently testified; like him too, he had a mania for powder, but with a striking difference in the cut of his hair; a small lock at each side projected like little dog's ears, and his long and thin Prussian cue supplied the place of the *cadogan* of Lannes. He had good teeth, a slight cast in the eye, but not to a disagreeable extent; and a rather prepossessing address."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

"Bessières, Duke of Istria, always continued good, humane, and generous; of antique loyalty and integrity; and, whether considered as a citizen or a soldier, an honest, worthy man. He often made use of the high favour in which he stood to do extraordinary acts of kindness, even to people of very different ways of thinking from himself. He was adored by the guards, in the midst of whom he passed his life. At the battle of Wagram, a ball struck him off his horse, without doing him any further injury. A mournful cry arose from the whole battalion, upon which Napoleon remarked, the next time he saw him, 'Bessières, the ball which struck you drew tears from all my guard. Return thanks to it. It ought to be very dear to you.' After living like Bayard, Bessières died like Turenne. He was sincerely attached to the Emperor. Indeed, he almost worshipped him; and would certainly never have abandoned his person or his fortunes."—*Las Cases*. E.

* "To the Venetian commissioners, Napoleon, from the first, used the most insulting and rigorous language. 'Venice,' said he, 'by daring to give an asylum to the Count de Lille, a pretender to the throne of France, has declared war against the republic. I know not why I should not reduce Verona to ashes—a town which has had the presumption to esteem itself the capital of France.'"—*Memoirs of Prince Hardenberg*. E.

The proveditore renewed his supplications, and Bonaparte, affecting to be somewhat appeased, replied that the utmost he could do was, if Massena had not already entered by main force, to grant a delay of twenty-four hours, after which he would employ bombs and cannon.

The awe-struck proveditore retired. He returned to Verona, where he gave directions for admitting the French. On their approach, the wealthiest inhabitants, conceiving that they should not be forgiven for the residence of the Pretender in their city, fled in great numbers to the Tyrol, carrying with them their most valuable effects. The Veronese, however, soon regained confidence on seeing the French, and on convincing themselves with their own eyes that these republicans were not so barbarous as rumour had represented them.

Two other Venetian envoys arrived at Verona to see Bonaparte. Erizzo and Battaglia, senators, had been chosen for this mission. The latter was the person who had recommended an alliance with France, and it was hoped at Venice that these new ambassadors would succeed better than Foscarelli in pacifying the general. He actually received them much more favourably than Foscarelli; and, now that he had attained the object of his wishes, he affected to be appeased, and to consent to listen to reason. What he wanted for the future was provisions, and, if possible, an alliance between Venice and France. It was requisite to be by turns haughty and winning. He was both. "The first law," said he, "for men is to live. I would gladly spare the republic of Venice the trouble of feeding us; but, since the fortune of war has obliged us to come hither, we are forced to live where we happen to be. Let the republic of Venice furnish our soldiers with what they need: she may afterwards settle with the French republic." It was agreed that a Jew contractor should procure for the army all that it wanted, and that Venice should secretly pay this contractor, that she might not appear to violate the neutrality by supplying the French. Bonaparte then adverted to the subject of an alliance. "I have just occupied the Adige," said he; "I have done so because I must have a line, because that is the best, and because your government is incapable of defending it. Let it arm fifty thousand men, let it place them on the Adige, and I will restore to it the towns of Verona and Porto Legnago. For the rest," added he, "you must be pleased to see us here. What France sends me to do in these parts is entirely for the interest of Venice. I am come to drive the Austrians beyond the Alps, perhaps to constitute Lombardy an independent state: can nothing more advantageous be done for your republic? If she would unite with us, no doubt she would be handsomely rewarded for that service. We are not making war upon any government: we are the friends of all those who shall assist us to confine the Austrian power within its proper limits."

The two Venetians retired, struck by the genius of this young man, who, alternately threatening and caressing, imperious and supple, and conversing on all subjects, military and political, with equal profundity and eloquence, demonstrated that the statesman was as precocious in him as the warrior. "*That man,*" they observed, writing to Venice, "*will some day have great influence over his country.*"*

Bonaparte was, at length, master of the line of the Adige, to which he attached so much importance. He attributed all the blunders committed in the ancient campaigns of the French in Italy to the injudicious choice of the defensive line. The lines are numerous in Upper Italy, for a multi-

* The date of this prediction is June 5, 1796.

tude of rivers run from the Alps to the sea. The largest and the most celebrated of them, the Po, which traverses all Lombardy, was in his opinion bad, as being too extensive. In his opinion, an army could not guard a stream fifty leagues in length. A feint might always open the passage of a large river. He had himself crossed the Po, a few leagues from Beaulieu. The other rivers, such as the Tesino, the Adda, the Oglio, falling into the Po, mingled with it, and had the same inconveniences. The Mincio was fordable, and besides, that also fell into the Po. The Adige alone, coming from the Tyrol and running to the sea, covered all Italy: It was deep, and had only one channel, of no great extent, from the mountains to the sea. It was covered by two fortified places, Verona and Porto Legnago, which were very near each other, and which, without being strong, were capable of withstanding a first attack. Lastly, on leaving Legnago, it traversed impassable morasses, which covered the lower part of its course. The rivers farther on in Upper Italy, such as the Brenta, the Piave, the Tagliamento, were fordable, and, besides, were turned by the high-road from Tyrol, which debouched behind them. The Adige had the advantage of being placed at the outlet of that road, which runs through its own valley.

Such were the reasons which had decided Bonaparte in favour of that line, and a glorious campaign proved the accuracy of his judgment. This line being occupied, it now behoved him to think of commencing the siege of Mantua. This place was situated on the Mincio; it was behind the Adige, and was covered by that river. It was regarded as the bulwark of Italy. Situated amidst a lake formed by the waters of the Mincio, it communicated with the main land by five dikes. Notwithstanding its ancient fame, and that which a long campaign procured it, this fortress had inconveniences which diminished its real strength. Seated amidst marshy exhalations, it was liable to fevers; in the next place, the *têtes de chaussées* being carried, the besieged would be driven back in the place, and might be blockaded by a corps far inferior to the garrison. Bonaparte calculated upon taking it before a new army could come to the succour of Italy. On the 15th of Prairial (June 14), he ordered the *têtes de chaussées*, one of which was formed by the suburb of St. George, to be attacked, and carried them. From that moment, Serrurier, with eight thousand men, was enabled to blockade a garrison composed of fourteen thousand, ten of which were under arms and four in the hospitals. Bonaparte caused the works of the siege to be commenced, and the whole line of the Adige to be put in a state of defence. Thus, in less than two months, he had conquered Italy. The point now was, to keep it. This was matter of doubt, and it was the test by which people meant to try the young general.

The Directory had just replied to Bonaparte's letters on the plan for dividing the army and marching into the Peninsula. The ideas of Bonaparte were too correct not to strike Carnot's mind, and his services too eminent to admit of his resignation being accepted. The Directory hastened to write to him, to approve of his plans, to confirm him in the command of all the forces acting in Italy, and to assure him of the entire confidence of the government.* If the magistrates of the republic had possessed the

* "The Directory (wrote Carnot to Napoleon) has maturely considered your arguments; and the confidence which they have in your talents and republican zeal, have decided the matter in your favour. Kellermann will remain at Chambery, and you may adjourn the expedition to Rome as long as you please."—*Memoirs of Prince Hardenberg*. E.

gift of prophecy, they would have done well to accept the resignation of this young man, though he was right in the opinion which he supported, and though his retirement would have deprived the republic of Italy and of a great captain; but, at the moment, they beheld in him nothing but youth, genius, and victory, and they felt that interest, and showed that respect which all these things inspire.

The Directory imposed on Bonaparte a single condition—that of making Rome and Naples feel the power of the republic. All the sincere patriots in France insisted on this. The Pope, who had anathematized France, preached a crusade against her, and suffered her ambassador to be assassinated in his capital, certainly deserved chastisement. Bonaparte, now at liberty to act as he pleased, thought to obtain all these results without quitting the line of the Adige. While one part of the army was guarding that line, and another was besieging Mantua, he thought, with a mere division, moved *en échelon*, in rear, upon the Po, to make the whole Peninsula tremble, and to force the Pontiff and the Queen of Naples to sue for republican clemency. News arrived that a strong army, detached from the Rhine, was coming to dispute the possession of Italy with her conquerors. This army, which was to pass through the Black Forest, the Vorarlberg, and the Tyrol, could not arrive in less than a month. He had, therefore, time to finish everything in his rear without removing too far from the Adige, and so as to be able, by a mere retrograde march, to bring himself again in face of the enemy.

It was high time, indeed, that he should think of the rest of Italy. The presence of the French army there developed opinions with extraordinary rapidity. The Venetian provinces could no longer endure the aristocratic yoke. The city of Brescia manifested a strong inclination to revolt. Throughout all Lombardy, and especially in Milan, the public mind was making rapid progress. The duchies of Modena and Reggio, the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, would no longer have either their old duke or the Pope. On the other hand, the adverse party became more hostile. The Genoese aristocracy was very unfavourably disposed, and meditated mischievous designs on our rear. Gerola, the Austrian minister, was the secret instigator of all these projects. The state of Genoa was full of petty fiefs dependent on the empire. The Genoese nobles invested with these fiefs collected deserters, banditti, Austrian prisoners who had contrived to escape, and the Piedmontese soldiers who had been disbanded, and formed troops of partisans known by the name of *Barbets*. They infested the Apennines at the place where the French army had entered; they stopped the couriers, plundered our convoys, slaughtered the French detachments, when they were not numerous enough to defend themselves, and excited apprehension respecting the road to France. In Tuscany, the English had made themselves masters of the port of Leghorn, owing to the protection of the governor, and French commerce was treated as that of an enemy. Lastly, Rome was making hostile preparations; England promised her a few thousand men; and Naples, always agitated by the caprices of a violent queen, promised to equip a formidable force. The imbecile king, leaving his sports for a moment, had publicly implored the aid of Heaven. He had, in a solemn ceremony, taken off his royal ornaments, and laid them at the foot of the altar. The whole populace of Naples had applauded and raised horrible vociferations; a multitude of wretches, incapable of handling a musket or facing a French bayonet, demanded arms, and insisted on marching against our army.

Though in these movements there was nothing very alarming to Bonaparte, so long as he had a disposable force of six thousand men, still it was necessary that he should hasten to quell them, before the arrival of the new Austrian army required the presence of all his forces on the Adige. Bonaparte began to receive from the army of the Alps some reinforcements, which allowed him to employ fifteen thousand men in the blockade of Mantua and of the citadel of Milan, and twenty thousand in guarding the Adige, and to despatch a division upon the Po to execute his projects relative to the South of Italy.

He repaired first to Milan, to cause the trenches to be opened around the citadel, and to hasten its surrender. He ordered Augereau, who was on the Mincio, very near the Po, to cross that river at Borgo Forte and to march upon Bologna; and he directed Vaubois to proceed from Tortona to Modena, with four or five thousand men, who had come from the Alps. In this manner he could send eight or nine thousand men into the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, and thence threaten the whole Peninsula.

He awaited for some days the subsiding of the inundations on the Lower Po, before he set his column in motion. But the court of Naples, as feeble as it was violent, had passed from a state of fury to despondence. On receiving intelligence of the recent victories of the French in Upper Italy, it had sent Prince Belmonte Pignatelli to make its submission to the conqueror. Bonaparte referred for peace to the Directory, but he thought it right to grant an armistice. It did not suit him to push on so far as Naples with a few thousand men, and especially when he expected the arrival of the Austrians. For the moment he was content with disarming that power, with depriving Rome of her support, and of embroiling her with the coalition. He could not impose contributions on her; as on the petty princes whom he had at hand; but she engaged to open all her ports to the French, to withdraw from England five sail of the line and a great number of frigates furnished by her, and, lastly, to withdraw from Austria the two thousand four hundred horse who were serving in her ranks. This corps of cavalry was to remain sequestered in the power of Bonaparte, who was to have a right to make it prisoner on the first violation of the armistice. Bonaparte was well aware that such conditions would not be relished by the government; but, at the moment, it was of importance to him to have no annoyance in his rear, and he required no more than he believed that he could obtain. The King of Naples having submitted, the Pope could not resist; then the expedition to the right of the Po would be, as he intended that it should be, an expedition of a few days, and should return to the Adige.

He signed this armistice, and then set out to cross the Po and to put himself at the head of the two columns which he was directing upon the States of the Church, that of Vaubois coming from the Alps to reinforce him, and that of Augereau, which was falling back from the Mincio upon the Po. He attached great importance to the situation of Genoa, because it was placed on one of the two roads leading to France, and because its senate had always shown energy. He was aware that he must have demanded the expulsion of twenty feudatory families of Austria and Naples, to insure the domination of France in that state; but he had no orders on that subject, and he was, moreover, afraid of revolutionizing. He contented himself, therefore, with addressing a letter to the senate, in which he insisted that the governor of Novi, who had protected the banditti, should be punished in an exemplary manner, and that the Austrian minister should be ordered

to leave Genoa. He then demanded a categorical explanation. "Can you," he asked, "or can you not, clear your territory of the murderers who infest it? If you cannot take measures, I will take them for you. I will cause the towns and villages to be burned in which a murder shall be committed; I will cause the houses to be burned that shall afford an asylum to the murderers, and punish in an exemplary manner the magistrates who shall tolerate them. The murder of a Frenchman must bring wo upon the whole communes which have not prevented it." To obviate diplomatic delays, he sent Murat, his aide-de-camp, to carry his letter, and to read it himself to the Senate. "There needs," he observed, writing to Faypoult, the minister, "a kind of communication that shall electrify those gentry." At the same time, he despatched Lannes with twelve hundred men to chastise the imperial fiefs. The mansion of Augustin Spinola, the principal instigator of the revolt, was burned. The Barbets taken in arms were shot without mercy. The senate of Genoa, in consternation, displaced the governor of Novi, dismissed Gerola, the minister, and promised to have the roads guarded by its own troops. It sent Vincent Spinola to Paris, to come to an arrangement with the Directory about all matters in dispute, about the indemnity due for the *Modeste* frigate, about the expulsion of the feudatory families, and about the repeal of the exiled families.

Bonaparte then proceeded to Modena, where he arrived on the 1st of Messidor (June 19), and on the same day Augereau entered Bologna.

The enthusiasm of the Modenese was extreme. They went to meet him, and sent a deputation to compliment him. The principal of them beset him with solicitations, and implored him to emancipate them from the yoke of their duke, who had carried off the wealth squeezed out of them to Venice. As the regency left by the duke had faithfully adhered to the terms of the armistice, and Bonaparte had no reason to exercise the rights of conquest on the duchy, he could not satisfy the Modenese. It was, besides, a question of which policy counselled the adjournment. He contented himself with holding out hopes, and recommended quiet. He set out for Bologna. The fort of Urbino was on his route; it was the first place belonging to the Pope. He sent to summon it; the castle surrendered. It contained sixty pieces of cannon of large calibre, and a few hundred men. Bonaparte sent off this heavy artillery for Mantua, to be employed in the siege. He arrived at Bologna, where Augereau's division had preceded him. The joy of the inhabitants was most vehement.* Bologna is a city of about fifty thousand souls, magnificently built, celebrated for its artists, its men of science, and its university. Their love for France and hatred for the Holy See were carried to the highest pitch. Bonaparte was not afraid there to suffer sentiments of liberty to burst forth; for he was in the possessions of a declared enemy, the Pope, and he was justified in exercising the right of conquest. The two legations of Ferrara and Bologna beset him with their deputies; and he granted to them a provisional independence, promising to cause it to be acknowledged at the peace.

The Vatican was in alarm, and immediately sent a negotiator to intercede in its favour. D'Azara, the ambassador of Spain, known for his abili-

* "Napoleon's appearance at Bologna was the signal for universal intoxication. The people at once revolted against the papal authority, while the general encouraged the propagation of every principle which was calculated to dismember the ecclesiastical territories."—*Alison*. E.

ties and his partiality for France, and the minister of a friendly power, was chosen. He had already negotiated for the Duke of Parma. He arrived at Bologna, to lay the tiara at the feet of the victorious republic. Adhering to his plan, Bonaparte, who would not yet either demolish or build up, required in the first place that the legations of Bologna and Ferrara should remain independent, that the city of Ancona should receive a French garrison, that the Pope should give twenty-one millions, corn, cattle, and one hundred pictures or statues: these conditions were accepted. Bonaparte had a long conversation with D'Azara, and left him full of enthusiasm. He wrote a letter, in the name of the republic, to Oriani, the celebrated astronomer, desiring to see him. That modest cultivator of science was thunderstruck in the presence of the young conqueror, and paid homage to him only by his embarrassment. Bonaparte omitted nothing to honour Italy, and to rouse her pride and her patriotism. He was not a barbarous conqueror come to ravage, but a champion of liberty come to rekindle the torch of genius in the ancient land of civilization. He left Monge, Berthollet, and the brothers Thouin, whom the Directory had sent to him, to select the articles destined for the museums of Paris.

On the 8th of Messidor (June 26th), he crossed the Apennines with Vaubois's division and entered Tuscany. The duke, in alarm, sent to him Manfredini, his minister. Bonaparte strove to allay his fears, but without disclosing his intentions. Meanwhile, his column proceeded by forced marches to Leghorn, entered the city unawares, and took possession of the English factory. Spannochi, the governor, was seized, put into a post-chaise, and sent to the grand-duke, with a letter explaining the motives of this act of hostility committed against a friendly power. He was told that his governor had violated all the laws of neutrality, by oppressing French commerce, by affording an asylum to the emigrants and to all the enemies of the republic; and it was added that, out of respect for his authority, the punishment of an unfaithful servant was left to himself. This act of vigour proved to all the neutral states that the French general would take their police into his own hands, if they could not manage it themselves. All the vessels of the English could not be secured; but their commerce sustained a great loss. Bonaparte left a garrison at Leghorn, and appointed commissioners to see that everything belonging to the English, the Austrians, and the Russians, was given up. He then proceeded himself to Florence, where the grand-duke gave him a magnificent reception.* Having passed three days there, he recrossed the Po, on his return to his head-quarters at Roverbella, near Mantua. Thus in twenty days, and with one division marched *en échelon* on the right of the Po, he had overawed the powers of Italy, and insured tranquillity during the fresh struggles which he had still to maintain against the Austrian power.

* "Bonaparte contented himself with seizing on the grand-duke's seaport of Leghorn, confiscating the English goods which his subjects had imported, and entirely ruining the once flourishing commerce of the dukedom. It was a principal object with the French to seize the British merchant-vessels, who, confiding in the respect due to a neutral power, were lying in great numbers in the harbour; but the English merchantmen had such early intelligence, as enabled them to set sail for Corsica, although a very great quantity of valuable goods fell into the possession of the French. While Bonaparte was thus violating the neutrality of the grand-duke, and destroying the commerce of his state, that unhappy prince was compelled to receive him at Florence, with all the respect due to a valued friend."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

While the army of Italy was acquitting itself with such glory of the task imposed upon it in the general plan of the campaign, the armies of Germany had not yet put themselves in motion. The difficulty of forming magazines and procuring horses had kept them so long inactive. Austria, on her part, who would have had the strongest interest in briskly commencing the campaign, was inconceivably dilatory in her preparations, so that she would not be in a state to commence hostilities before the middle of Prairial (the beginning of June). Her armies were on a formidable footing, and far superior to ours. But our successes in Italy had obliged her to detach Wurmser with thirty thousand of her best troops from the Rhine, to collect and reorganize the wrecks of Beaulieu's army. The Aulic council, which had resolved to take the offensive, and to carry the theatre of the war into the heart of our provinces, thenceforth thought only of keeping the defensive, and opposing our invasion. It would even have gladly suffered the armistice to continue; but it was denounced, and hostilities were to commence on the 12th of Prairial (May 31).

We have already given an idea of the theatre of war. The Rhine and the Danube, issuing, the one from the high Alps, the other from the Alps of Swabia, after approaching each other in the environs of the Lake of Constance, separate, and run, the first of them towards the north and the second towards the east of Europe. Two transverse and almost parallel valleys, those of the Mayn and the Neckar, form, as it were, two passes through the chain of the Swabian Alps into the valley of the Danube, or from the valley of the Danube into that of the Rhine.

This theatre of war, and the plan of operation suitable to it, were not then so well known as, owing to great examples, they now are. Carnot, who directed our plans, had formed a theory for himself from the celebrated campaign of 1794, which had gained him so much glory in Europe. At that period, the enemy's centre, intrenched in the forest of Mormal, could not be touched; the French had filed off upon his wings, and by attacking them had obliged him to retreat. This example had deeply engraven itself in Carnot's memory. Endowed with an innovating but systematic mind, he had formed a theory from that campaign, and persuaded himself that it was always requisite to act at once on both wings of an army, and to strive invariably to overpower them. Military men have considered this idea as a real advance, and as being far preferable to the system of cordons, tending to attack the enemy at all points; but on Carnot's mind it had changed into a settled and dangerous system. The circumstances which here presented themselves held out a still stronger inducement to follow this system. The army of the Sambre and Meuse and that of the Rhine and Moselle were both placed upon the Rhine at points very far distant from one another; two valleys ran off at these points and debouched upon the Danube. There were sufficient motives for Carnot to form the French into two columns, one of which, ascending along the Mayn, the other along the Neckar, should thus tend to fall upon the wings of the Imperial army, and to force them to retire upon the Danube. He, therefore, directed Generals Jourdan and Moreau to set out, the former from Düsseldorf, the latter from Strasburg, and to advance separately into Germany. As a great captain and a shrewd critic have remarked, and as facts have since proved, to form into two corps was at once to give the enemy the faculty and the idea of concentrating himself, and of overwhelming one or other of these corps with the entire mass of

his forces. Clairfayt had made very nearly this manœuvre in the late campaign, by first driving Jourdan back upon the Lower Rhine, and then falling upon the lines of Mayence. If even the enemy's general were not a superior man, we forced him to adopt this plan, and suggested to him an idea which genius ought to have inspired.

The invasion was, therefore, concerted on this vicious plan. The means of execution were as injudicious as the plan itself. The line which separated the armies ran along the Rhine from Düsseldorf to Bingen, then described an arc from Bingen to Mannheim, by the foot of the Vosges, and followed the Rhine again to Basle. Carnot's intention was that Jourdan's army, debouching by Düsseldorf and the *tête de pont* of Neuwied, should cross, to the number of forty thousand men, to the right bank, to get at the enemy; that the rest of that army, twenty-five thousand strong, setting out from Mayence, under the command of Marceau, should ascend the Rhine, and filing off in the rear of Moreau, should clandestinely cross the river in the environs of Strasburg. Generals Jourdan and Moreau joined in representing the inconveniences of this plan to the Directory. Jourdan, reduced to forty thousand men on the Lower Rhine, might be overwhelmed and destroyed, while the rest of his army would lose incalculable time in ascending from Mayence to Strasburg. It was much more natural that the passage near Strasburg should be effected by the extreme right of Moreau. This mode of proceeding promised quite as much secrecy as the other, and would not occasion a loss of valuable time to the armies. This modification was admitted. Jourdan, availing himself of the two *têtes de pont* which he had at Düsseldorf and Neuwied, was to cross first, to draw the enemy upon him, and thus to divert his attention from the Upper Rhine, where Moreau had to effect a passage by main force.

The plan being thus fixed, preparations were made for putting it into execution. The armies of the two nations were nearly equal in force. Since the departure of Wurmser, the Austrians had on the whole line of the Rhine one hundred and fifty and a few odd thousand men, cantoned between Basle and the environs of Düsseldorf. The French had as many, exclusively of forty thousand who occupied Holland, and were maintained at its own expense. There was, however, a difference between the two armies. The Austrians had, in their one hundred and fifty thousand men, nearly thirty-eight thousand horse, and one hundred and fifteen thousand foot; the French had more than one hundred and thirty thousand foot, but at most only fifteen or eighteen thousand horse. This superiority in cavalry gave the Austrians a great advantage, especially for retreat. The Austrians had another advantage, that of being commanded by a single general. Since the departure of Wurmser, the two Imperial armies had been placed under the supreme command of the young Archduke Charles, who had already distinguished himself at Turcoing, and from whose talents great things were augured. The French had two excellent generals, but acting separately, at a great distance from one another; and under the direction of a cabinet seated two hundred leagues from the theatre of the war.

The armistice expired on the 11th of Prairial (May 30). Hostilities commenced by a general reconnoissance of the advanced posts. Jourdan's army extended, as we have seen, from the environs of Mayence to Düsseldorf. He had at Düsseldorf a *tête de pont* for debouching on the right bank; he could then ascend between the Prussian line of neutrality and

the Rhine to the banks of the Lahn, with a view to proceed from the Lahn to the Mayn. The Austrians had from fifteen to twenty thousand men, under the prince of Wirtemberg, scattered between Mayence and Düsseldorf. Jourdan sent Kleber to debouch by Düsseldorf with twenty-five thousand men. That general made the Austrians fall back, beat them on the 16th of Prairial (June 4), at Alten Kirchen, and ascended the right bank between the line of neutrality and the Mayn. When he had proceeded as high as Neuwied, and had covered that *débouché*, Jourdan, availing himself of the bridge which he had at that point, crossed the river with part of his troops and rejoined Kleber on the right bank. He thus found himself with nearly forty-five thousand men on the Lahn, on the 17th (June 5). He had left Marceau with thirty thousand before Mayence. The Archduke Charles,* who was near Mayence, on learning that the French were repeating the excursion of the preceding year, and again debouching by Düsseldorf and Neuwied, crossed with part of his forces to the right bank to oppose their march. Jourdan purposed to attack the corps of the Prince of Wirtemberg before he should be reinforced; but, being obliged to defer his intention for a day, he lost the opportunity, and was himself attacked at Wetzlar on the 19th (June 7). He bordered the Lahn, having his right on the Rhine, and his left on Wetzlar. The archduke, pressing with the mass of his forces on Wetzlar, beat his extreme left, formed by Lefebvre's division, and obliged it to fall back. Jourdan, beaten on the left, was obliged to support himself on his right, which was near the Rhine; and was thus pushed toward that river. To avoid being thrown into it, he must attack the archduke. In this event he would be obliged to fight with his back to the Rhine; he might thus, in case of defeat, have to regain with difficulty his bridges at Neuwied and Düsseldorf, and, perhaps, sustain a disastrous rout. A battle would, therefore, be dangerous, and perhaps useless, since he had accomplished his object by attracting the attention of the enemy, and drawing off the Austrian forces from the Upper to the Lower Rhine. He thought it best, therefore, to fall back, and gave orders for retreat, which was effected coolly and firmly. He recrossed at Neuwied, and directed Kleber to descend again to Düsseldorf, and there return to the left bank. He recommended to him to march slowly, but not to involve himself in any serious action. Kleber, finding himself too closely pressed at Ukerath, and hurried away by his martial instinct, instantly faced about and dealt the enemy a vigorous but useless blow; after which he regained his intrenched camp at Düsseldorf. Jourdan, in advancing for the purpose of afterwards falling back, had performed an ungrateful task for the benefit of the army of the Rhine. Ill-informed persons might, in fact, consider this manœuvre as a defeat; but the devotedness of that brave general disregarded every consideration, and he waited, to resume the offensive, till the army of the Rhine should have profited by the diversion that he had just operated.

Moreau, who had displayed extraordinary prudence, firmness, and coolness, in the operations in which he had been previously engaged in the North, made all necessary dispositions for worthily performing his task.

* Napoleon entertained a high opinion of this illustrious military chief: "Prince Charles," said he, "is a man whose conduct can never attract blame. His soul belongs to the heroic age, but his heart to that of gold. More than all, he is a good man and that includes everything when said of a prince."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

He had resolved to cross the Rhine at Strasburg. This large fortress was an excellent point of departure. He could there collect a great number of boats and troops, and a large quantity of provisions. The woody islands which stud the course of the Rhine at this point, favoured the passage of the river. The fort of Kehl, situated on the right bank, might be easily surprised; once in our possession, it might be repaired and employed to protect the bridge which was to be thrown across before Strasburg.

Everything being prepared for this purpose, and the attention of the enemy being directed to the Lower Rhine, Moreau ordered, on the 26th of Prairial (June 14), a general attack on the intrenched camp of Mannheim. The object of this attack was to fix upon Mannheim the attention of General Latour, who commanded the troops of the Upper Rhine under the Archduke Charles, and to confine the Austrians within their line. This attack, directed with skill and vigour, was completely successful. Immediately afterwards Moreau despatched part of his troops upon Strasburg. It was reported that they were going to Italy, and provisions were bespoken for them all through Franche-Comté, in order to give an air of semblance to that rumour. Other troops set out from the environs of Huningen to descend to Strasburg; and these, it was asserted, were going to garrison Worms. These movements were so concerted that the troops should arrive at the destined point on the 5th of Messidor (June 23). Accordingly, on that day twenty-eight thousand men were collected, either in the polygon of Strasburg, or in the environs, under the command of General Desaix. Ten thousand men were to endeavour to cross below Strasburg in the environs of Gambenheim, and fifteen thousand were to pass from Strasburg to Kehl. On the evening of the 5th (June 23d), the gates of Strasburg were shut, that information of the passage might not be given to the enemy. In the night, the troops proceeded in silence towards the river. The boats were taken into the Mabile branch, and from the Mabile branch into the Rhine. The large island of Ehrle Rhine offered a favourable stepping-stone for the passage. The boats landed upon it two thousand six hundred men. These brave fellows, to avoid giving an alarm by the report of fire-arms, rushed with the bayonet upon the troops stationed in the island, pursued them, and did not allow them time to break down the little bridges which connect it with the right bank. They crossed these bridges at their heels, and, though neither the artillery nor the cavalry could follow them, they had the hardihood to debouch alone in the extensive plain which borders the river, and to approach Kehl. The Swabian contingent was encamped at some distance, at Wilstett. The detachments sent from it, and especially the cavalry, rendered the situation of the French infantry, which had dared to debouch on the right bank, very dangerous. It hesitated not, however, to despatch the boats which brought it, and thus to compromise its retreat, for the purpose of fetching succours. More troops arrived; they advanced upon Kehl, attacked the intrenchments with the bayonet, and carried them. The artillery found in the fort was immediately turned upon the enemy's troops coming from Wilstett, and they were repulsed. A bridge was then thrown over from Strasburg to Kehl, and finished the next day, the 7th (June 25th). The whole army now crossed it.* The ten thousand men

* "Such was the passage of the Rhine at Kehl, which, at the time, was celebrated as an exploit of the most glorious character. Without doubt, the secrecy, rapidity, and

sent to Gamsheim were unable to attempt the passage, on account of the swelling of the river. They ascended to Strasburg, and crossed there by means of the bridge which had just been constructed.

This operation had been executed with secrecy, precision, and boldness; but the distribution of the Austrian troops from Basle to Mannheim served materially to diminish the difficulty and the merit of it. The prince of Condé was with three thousand eight hundred men towards the Upper Rhine, at Breisach; the Swabian contingent, to the number of seven thousand five hundred, was near Wilstett, opposite to Strasburg, and nearly eight thousand men under Starrai, were encamped between Strasburg and Mannheim. The enemy's forces, therefore, were not formidable at this point, but this advantage itself was owing to the secrecy of the passage, and that secrecy to the prudence with which it had been prepared.

This situation afforded occasion for the most splendid triumphs. If Moreau had acted with the rapidity of the conqueror of Montenotte, he might have fallen upon the corps scattered along the river, destroyed them one after another, and even overwhelmed Latour, who recrossed from Mannheim to the right bank, and who, at the moment, had at most only thirty-six thousand men. He might thus have put the whole army of the Upper Rhine *hors de combat*, before the Archduke Charles could return from the banks of the Lahn. History demonstrates that rapidity is all-powerful in war, as in all situations of life. Anticipating the enemy, it destroys in detail; striking blow after blow, it gives him no time to recover himself, demoralizes him, takes from him all his presence of mind and courage. But this rapidity, of which we have just seen such bright examples on the Alps and on the Po, supposes more than mere activity; it supposes a great object, a great mind to conceive it, and great passions to dare pretend to it. Nothing great whatever is to be accomplished without passions, and without the ardour and the daring which they impart to the conceptions. Moreau, a man of luminous and firm mind, had not that impetuous ardour which, in the tribune, in war, and in all situations, hurries men away, and elevates them in spite of themselves to vast destinies.

Moreau took from the 7th to the 10th of Messidor (June 25th to the 28th) to assemble his divisions on the right bank of the Rhine. That of St. Cyr, which he had left at Mannheim, was coming by forced marches. While waiting for that division, he had at his disposal fifty-three thousand men, and he saw about twenty thousand scattered around him. On the 10th (June 28th), he attacked ten thousand Austrians intrenched on the Renchen, beat them, and took eight hundred prisoners. The wrecks of this corps fell back upon Latour, who was ascending the right bank. On the 12th (June 30th), St. Cyr having arrived, the whole army was beyond the river. It numbered sixty-three thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry, forming a total of seventy-one thousand men. Moreau gave the right to Ferino, the centre to St. Cyr, the left to Desaix. He was at the foot of the Black Mountains.

The Alps of Swabia form a chain, which, as is well known, sends forth the Danube to the east and the Rhine to the north. Through this chain wind the Neckar and the Mayn to throw themselves into the Rhine. They

decision with which it was carried into effect, merit the highest eulogium. But the weakness and dispersion of the enemy's forces rendered it an enterprise of comparatively little hazard; and it was greatly inferior, both in point of difficulty and danger, to the passage of the same river in the following campaign at Dursheim."—*Alison. E.*

are mountains of moderate height, covered with wood and intersected by narrow defiles. The valley of the Rhine is separated from that of the Neckar by a chain called the Black Mountains. Moreau, removed to the right bank, was now at the foot of them. He would be obliged to cross them to debouch in the valley of the Neckar. The Swabian contingent and Condé's corps were ascending towards Switzerland, to guard the upper passes of the Black Mountains. Latour, with the principal corps, was coming from Mannheim for the purpose of securing the lower passes by Rastadt, Ettlingen, and Pforzheim. Moreau might, without inconvenience, have disregarded the detachments retiring toward Switzerland, and have borne down with the entire mass of his forces upon Latour. He must infallibly have overwhelmed him. He might then have debouched as conqueror, in the valley of the Neckar, before the Archduke Charles. But, in general prudent, he directed Ferino to follow with his right the detached corps of the Swabians and of Condé; he despatched St. Cyr with the centre direct for the mountains, for the purpose of occupying certain heights, and himself skirted the foot of them to descend to Rastadt before Latour. This march was the double effect of his caution and of Carnot's plan. He wished to cover himself everywhere, and, at the same time, to extend his line towards Switzerland, that he might be ready to support by the Alps the army of Italy. Moreau set himself in motion on the 12th (June 30th). He marched between the Rhine and the mountains, through an unequal country, interspersed with woods and intersected by torrents. He advanced with circumspection, and did not arrive at Rastadt till the 15th (July 3d). He was still in time to overwhelm Latour, who had not yet been rejoined by the Archduke Charles. That prince, after receiving intelligence of the passage, was coming by forced marches with a reinforcement of twenty-five thousand men. He left thirty-six thousand on the Lahn, and twenty-seven thousand before Mayence, to make head against Jourdan, the whole under the command of General Wartensleben. He made all possible haste, but the heads of his columns were still at a great distance. Latour, after leaving a garrison in Mannheim, had at most thirty-six thousand men. He was ranged along the Murg, which falls into the Rhine, having his left at Gernsbach, in the mountains; his centre at their foot towards Kuppenheim, a little in advance of the Murg; his right in the plain along the woods of Niederbuhl, which extend to the banks of the Rhine; and his reserve at Rastadt. It would have been imprudent in Latour to fight before the arrival of the Archduke Charles. But, deriving confidence from his position, he determined to resist, for the purpose of covering the high-road which leads from Rastadt to the Neckar.

Moreau had only his left with him: his centre, under St. Cyr, had stayed behind, to take possession of some posts in the Black Mountains. This circumstance diminished the inequality of the forces. On the 17th (July 5th), he attacked Latour. His troops behaved with great intrepidity, took the position of Gernsbach on the Upper Murg, and penetrated to Kuppenheim, towards the centre of the enemy's position. But in the plain his divisions found it difficult to debouch, under the fire of the artillery and in presence of the numerous Austrian cavalry. They, nevertheless, pushed on to Niederbuhl and Rastadt, and succeeded in making themselves masters of the Murg at all points. A thousand prisoners were taken.

Moreau halted on the field of battle, without attempting to pursue the enemy. The archduke had not yet arrived, and he might still have

overwhelmed Latour; but he thought that his troops were too much fatigued; he deemed it necessary to call St. Cyr to him, that he might act with a greater mass of force, and he awaited till the 21st (July 9th), before making a new attack. This interval of four days allowed the archduke to arrive with a reinforcement of twenty-five thousand men, and gave an equal chance to the combatants.

The respective position of the two armies was nearly the same. They were both in a line perpendicular to the Rhine, with one wing in the mountains, the centre at the foot of them, and the left in the woody and marshy plain bordering the Rhine. Moreau, who was slow of conviction, but who had still time to be convinced, because he still retained the coolness requisite for correcting his faults, had perceived, when engaged at Rastadt, the importance of making his principal effort in the mountains. In fact, he who was master of them possessed the avenues to the valley of the Neckar, the principal object in dispute. He had it in his power, besides, to fall upon his adversary and to drive him into the Rhine. Moreau had an additional reason for fighting in the mountains; this was his superiority in infantry and his inferiority in cavalry. The archduke was as well aware as he of the importance of establishing himself there, but he had in his numerous squadrons a strong reason too for keeping in the plain. He rectified the position taken by Latour; he threw the Saxons into the mountains to meet Moreau; he sent reinforcements to the plateau of Rothensol, on which his left supported itself; he deployed his centre at the foot of the mountains in advance of Malsch, and his cavalry in the plain. He meant to attack on the 22d (July 10). Moreau anticipated him, and attacked on the 21st (July 9th).

General St. Cyr, whom Moreau had called in, and who formed the right, attacked the plateau of Rothensol. He displayed that precision, and that skill in manœuvring, which distinguished him throughout his glorious career. Finding himself unable to dislodge the enemy from a formidable position, he surrounded him with riflemen, then ordered a charge to be sounded, and feigned a flight to induce the Austrians to quit their position and to pursue the French. This stratagem was successful: the Austrians, seeing the French advance, and then flee in disorder, dashed after them. General St. Cyr, who had troops ready, then threw them upon the Austrians, who had quitted their position, and made himself master of the plateau. From that moment he kept advancing, intimidated the Saxons destined to attack our right, and obliged them to fall back. At Malsch, in the centre, Desaix had a brisk action with the Austrians, took and lost that village, and finished the combat by taking possession of the last heights that border the foot of the mountains. In the plain our cavalry had not been engaged, and Moreau had kept on the skirt of the woods.

The battle was, therefore, indecisive excepting in the mountains. But that was the important point, for, in following up his success, Moreau might extend his right wing around the archduke, take from him the avenues to the valley of the Neckar, and drive him into the Rhine. It is true that the archduke, if he lost the mountains, which were his base, could, in his turn, deprive Moreau of his, which was the Rhine; he might renew his efforts in the plain, beat Desaix, and, advancing along the Rhine, plow Moreau into the air. On these occasions, it is the least bold who is compromised: it is he who fancies that he is cut off who really is so. The archduke deemed it prudent to retire, lest he might by a hazardous move-

ment compromise the Austrian monarchy, which had no other support than his army. This resolution, which led to the retreat of the imperial armies, and exposed Germany to an invasion, has been censured. We may admire those sublime darings of genius, which obtain great results at the expense of great dangers; but we must not make a law of them. Prudence alone is a duty in the situation in which the archduke was, and we cannot blame him for having retreated, in order to reach the valley of the Neckar before Moreau, and thus cover the hereditary states. Accordingly, he immediately formed the resolution of abandoning Germany, which no line was capable of covering, and ascending the Mayn and the Neckar to the grand line of the hereditary states, that of the Danube. This river, covered by the two fortresses of Ulm and Ratisbon, was the surest rampart of Austria. In concentrating his forces there, the archduke was at home, *à cheval* on a large river, with forces equal to those of the enemy, with the power of manœuvring on both banks, and of overwhelming one of the two invading armies. The enemy, on the contrary, would be very far from his home, at an immense distance from his base, without that superiority of forces which compensates for the danger of that distance, with the disadvantage of a frightful country to traverse for the purpose of invading, and to traverse again for the purpose of returning, and lastly, with the inconvenience of being divided into two corps and commanded by two generals. Thus the Imperialists would gain in approaching the Danube as much as the French would lose. But, to insure all these advantages, it was necessary that the archduke should reach the Danube without defeat; and, after that, it was requisite that he should retire with firmness, but without exposing himself to the risk of any engagement.

After leaving a garrison at Mayence, Ehrenbreitstein, Cassel, and Mannheim, he ordered Wartensleben to retire foot by foot through the valley of the Mayn, and to gain the Danube, fighting daily enough to keep up the courage of his troops, but not enough to involve himself in a general action. He pursued the same course himself with his army. He proceeded with it to Pforzheim in the valley of the Neckar, and halted there no longer than was requisite to collect his artillery, and to allow time for its retreat. Wartensleben fell back with thirty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse; the archduke with forty thousand infantry and eighteen thousand cavalry; amounting in the whole to one hundred and three thousand men. The remainder was in fortresses, or had filed off by the Upper Rhine into Switzerland, before General Ferino, who commanded Moreau's right.

Jourdan's army, as soon as Moreau had decided the retreat of the Austrians, again crossed the Rhine at Düsseldorf and Neuwied, manœuvring as it had always done, and proceeding towards the Lahn, with the intention of afterwards debouching into the valley of the Mayn. The French armies advanced, therefore, in two columns, along the Mayn and the Neckar, following the two imperial armies, which made a most admirable retreat. The numerous squadrons of the Austrians, hovering in the rear-guard, overawed by their mass, covered their infantry from the insults of the French, and frustrated all their efforts to get at it. Moreau, who had not had any fortress to mask on leaving the Rhine, marched with seventy-one thousand men. Jourdan, who had to blockade Mayence, Cassel, and Ehrenbreitstein, and who had been obliged to devote twenty-seven thousand men to these various purposes, marched with only forty-six thousand, and was very little superior to Wartensleben.

According to the vicious plan of Carnot, it was still necessary to attack the wings of the enemy, that is to say, to relinquish the essential object, that of a junction of the two armies. This junction would have enabled the French to direct upon the Danube a mass of one hundred and fifteen or twenty thousand men, an enormous, an overwhelming mass, which would have thrown out all the calculations of the archduke, foiled all his efforts to concentrate himself, crossed the Danube before his face, taken Ulm, and from that base threatened Vienna and shaken the imperial throne.*

Agreeably to Carnot's plan, Moreau was to support himself on the Upper Rhine and the Upper Danube, Jourdan towards Bohemia. Moreau was furnished with an additional reason for appying on this point, namely, the possibility of communicating with the army of Italy by the Tyrol, which presupposed the execution of the gigantic plan of Bonaparte, justly disapproved of by the Directory. As Moreau wished, at the same time, not to be too far separated from Jourdan, and to extend his left hand to him while he gave the right to the army of Italy, he was seen on the banks of the Neckar occupying a line of fifty leagues. Jourdan, on his part, directed to follow up Wartensleben, was obliged to separate from Moreau; and, as Wartensleben, a common-place general, comprehending nothing of the archduke's plan, instead of approaching the Danube, proceeded towards Bohemia with the intention of covering it, Jourdan, in order to comply with his instructions, was obliged to extend himself more and more. Thus the two hostile armies were both doing the contrary to what they ought to have done. There was this difference between Wartensleben and Jourdan, that the former disobeyed an excellent order, and the latter was obliged to comply with a bad one. Wartensleben's fault was his own, Jourdan's was that of Carnot, the director.

Moreau fought a battle at Canstadt for the passage of the Neckar, and then penetrated into the defiles of the Alb, a chain of mountains separating the Neckar from the Danube, as the Black Mountains separate it from the Rhine. He cleared these defiles, and debouched in the valley of the Danube, about the middle of Thermidor (the end of July), after a month's march. Jourdan, after proceeding from the banks of the Lahn to those of the Mayn, and fighting a battle at Friedberg, halted before the city of Frankfurt, which he threatened to bombard unless it were given up to him immediately. The Austrians complied only on condition of a suspension of arms for two days. This suspension would allow them to cross the Mayn, and to gain a considerable start; but it would save an interesting city, the resources of which might prove serviceable to the army. Jourdan assented to it. The place was given up on the 28th of Messidor (July 16th). Jourdan levied contributions on this city, but acted with great moderation, and even displeased his army by the lenity which he showed to an enemy's country. The report of the opulence in which the army of Italy lived had inflamed the imaginations of the army, and excited a wish to live in the same manner in Germany. Jourdan ascended the Mayn, made himself master of Wurzburg on the 7th of Thermidor (July 25th), and then debouched beyond the mountains of Swabia, on the banks of the Naab, which falls into the Danube. He was nearly on a level with Moreau,

* On this subject, the reader should refer to the arguments employed by Napoleon, and which he has supported by such striking examples.

and, at the same time, that is, about the middle of Thermidor (the beginning of August), Swabia and Saxony had acceded to the neutrality, sent agents to Paris to treat for peace, and consented to contributions. The Saxon and Swabian troops retired, and thus reduced the Austrian army by about twelve thousand men, of little use it is true, and fighting without zeal.

Thus, about the middle of summer, our armies, masters of Italy, the whole of which they controlled, masters of half of Germany, which they had overrun as far as the Danube, threatened Europe. It was two months since La Vendée had been subdued. One hundred thousand men were in the West, and fifty thousand of them might be detached in any direction. The promises of the directorial government could not be more gloriously accomplished.

END OF VOLUME III.

THE
HISTORY
OF
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BY M. A. THIERS,
LATE PRIME MINISTER OF FRANCE.

TRANSLATED,
WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS
FROM THE
MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES,
BY
FREDERICK SHOBERL.

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HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

THE DIRECTORY.

INTERNAL STATE OF FRANCE—FALL OF THE MANDATS—ATTACK ON THE CAMP OF GRENELLE BY THE JACOBINS—RENEWAL OF THE FAMILY COMPACT WITH SPAIN, AND PROJECT OF A QUADRUPLÉ ALLIANCE—NEGOTIATIONS IN ITALY—CONTINUATION OF HOSTILITIES; ARRIVAL OF WURMSER ON THE ADIGE; BATTLES OF LONATO AND CASTIGLIONE—OPERATIONS ON THE DANUBE; BATTLE OF NERESHEIM; MARCH OF THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES AGAINST JOURDAN—MARCH OF BONAPARTE FOR THE BRENTA; BATTLES OF ROVEREDO, BASSANO, AND ST. GEORGE; RETREAT OF WURMSER TO MANTUA—RETURN OF JOURDAN TO THE MAYN; BATTLE OF WURZBURG; RETREAT OF MOREAU.

FRANCE had never appeared greater abroad than during this summer of 1796; but her internal situation was far from corresponding with her external glory. Paris exhibited a singular spectacle; the patriots, furious ever since the apprehension of Babœuf, Drouet, and their other chiefs, execrated the government, and wished the republic no more victories, since they proved beneficial to the Directory. The declared enemies of the Revolution stoutly denied them; the men who were tired of it affected not to believe them. Some recently-enriched upstarts, who owed their wealth to jobbing or contracts, displayed unbounded luxury,* and manifested the most ungrateful indifference for that revolution which had made their fortune. This moral state was the inevitable result of a general weariness in the nation, of inveterate passions in the parties, and of cupidity excited by a financial crisis. But there were still republican and enthusiastic Frenchmen, who retained their old sentiments, whose hearts rejoiced at

* "In the midst of the wreck of ancient opulence, modern wealth began to display its luxury; and the riches of the bankers and those who had made fortunes in the Revolution, began to shine with unprecedented lustre. Splendid hotels sumptuously furnished in the Grecian taste were embellished by magnificent fêtes."—*Lacretelle*. E.

our victories, who, so far from denying them, on the contrary hailed the tidings of them with transport, and pronounced with affection and admiration the names of Hoche, Jourdan, Moreau, and Bonaparte. These were desirous that fresh efforts should be made, that the evil-disposed and the indifferent should be obliged to contribute, with all their means, to the glory and the greatness of the republic.

To dim the lustre of our triumphs, the parties fell to work to decry the generals. They were particularly bitter against the youngest and the most brilliant of them, against Bonaparte, whose name had in two months become so glorious. He had, on the 13th of Vendémiaire, struck great terror into the royalists, and they did not spare him in the newspapers. It was known that he had manifested a very imperious disposition in Italy; people were struck by the manner in which he treated the states of that country, granting or refusing at pleasure armistices which decided peace or war; they knew that, without making the treasury the vehicle, he had transmitted funds to the army of the Rhine. They, therefore, took delight in maliciously reporting that he was intractable, and that he was about to be removed. A great general would thus have been lost to the republic, and a vexatious glory cut short in its outset. Accordingly, the malcontents assiduously circulated the most absurd reports. They went so far as to say that Hoche, who was then in Paris, was going off to arrest Bonaparte in the midst of his army. The government wrote a letter to Bonaparte contradicting these rumours, and repeating the assurance of its entire confidence. It caused this letter to be published in all the papers. The brave Hoche, incapable of any mean jealousy of a rival who had raised himself in two months above the greatest generals of the republic, wrote to disavow that part that was ascribed to him. It may not be amiss to quote this letter, so honourable to the two young heroes. It was addressed to the minister of the police and published:

“Citizen Minister—Men who, concealed or unknown during the first years of the foundation of the republic, now think only of seeking the means of destroying it, and speak of it merely to slander its firmest supporters, have, for some days past, been spreading reports most injurious to the armies, and to one of the general officers who commanded them. Can they then no longer attain their object by corresponding openly with the horde of conspirators, resident at Hamburg? Must they, in order to gain the patronage of the masters whom they are desirous of giving to France, vilify the leaders of the armies? Do they imagine that these, as weak as in times past, will suffer themselves to be calumniated without daring to reply, and to be accused without defending themselves? Why is Bonaparte then the object of the wrath of these gentry? is it because he beat their friends and themselves in Vendémiaire? is it because he is dissolving the armies of kings, and furnishing the republic with the means of bringing this honourable war to a glorious conclusion? Ah! brave young man, where is the republican soldier whose heart does not burn with the desire to imitate thee! Courage, Bonaparte! lead our victorious armies to Naples, to Vienna; reply to thy personal enemies by humbling kings, by shedding fresh lustre over our armies, and leave to us the task of upholding thy glory.

“I have smiled with pity on hearing a man, in other respects of very shrewd understanding, express an alarm which he does not feel, respecting the powers conferred on the French generals. You are acquainted with almost all of them, citizen minister. Which of them is it, supposing him even to possess sufficient authority over his army to induce it to march against the government—which of them is it, I ask, who would ever at-

tempt to do so, without being immediately crushed by his comrades? The generals are scarcely acquainted, scarcely correspond, with one another. Their number ought to make people easy respecting the designs which are gratuitously ascribed to one of them. Who is ignorant how powerfully envy, ambition, and hatred, influence men—and I believe I may add, love of country and honour? Cheer up, then, ye modern republicans!

“Some journalists have carried their absurdity so far as to state that I am going to Italy to arrest a man whom I esteem, and with whom the government has the greatest reason to be satisfied. It may be asserted that, in the times in which we live, few general officers would undertake the duty of gendarmes, though many may be disposed to combat the factions and the factious.

“During my stay in Paris, I have seen men of all opinions. I have been enabled to appreciate some of them at their just value. Some there are who think that the government cannot proceed without them. They raise an outcry, that they may obtain places. Others, though nobody cares about them, imagine that their destruction has been sworn. They cry out, to render themselves interesting. I have seen emigrants, more Frenchmen than royalists, weep with joy at the recital of our victories; I have seen Parisians throw doubts upon them. It has appeared to me that one party, daring, but without means, was desirous of overthrowing the present government, in order to introduce anarchy in its stead; that a second, more dangerous, more adroit, and which numbers friends everywhere, was aiming at the destruction of the republic, in order to give back to France the rickety constitution of 1791 and a thirty years' civil war; that, lastly, a third, if it is capable of despising the other two, and assuming over them that empire which is conferred on it by the laws, will conquer them, because it is composed of genuine, laborious, and upright republicans, whose means are talents and virtues, because it numbers among its partisans every good citizen and the armies, who assuredly have not been conquering for these five years merely to suffer the country to be enslaved.”

This letter put an end to all the reports, and imposed silence on the malicious circulators of them.

Amidst its glory, the government excited pity by its poverty. The new paper-money had kept its ground for a very short time, and its fall deprived the Directory of an important resource. It will be recollected, that on the 26th of Ventose two thousand four hundred millions of mandats had been created, and a corresponding value in national domains had been pledged for them. One part of these mandats had been appropriated to the withdrawing of the twenty-four thousand millions remaining in circulation, and the remainder to the supply of current wants. It was, in some sort, as we have observed, a new edition of the old paper, with a new title and a new figure. For the twenty-four thousand millions in assignats were given eight hundred millions in mandats, and, instead of creating forty-eight thousand millions more in assignats, one thousand six hundred millions in mandats were created. The difference was, therefore, in the title and the figure, and also in the pledge; for the assignats, owing to the effect of the sales by auction, did not represent a determinate value in domains; the mandats, on the contrary, as they were capable of procuring domains on the mere offer of the price in 1790, exactly represented the sum of two thousand four hundred millions. All this did not prevent their fall. It was owing to various causes. France would not have any more paper and was determined to place no more confidence in it. Now, let the

guarantees be ever so good, if people will no longer regard them, *they are* as though they did not exist. Then, the figure of the paper, though reduced, was not sufficiently reduced. Twenty-four thousand millions in assignats were converted into eight hundred millions in mandats; the old paper, therefore, was reduced to one-thirtieth, and it ought, by right, to have been reduced to the two hundred and twentieth, for twenty-four thousand millions were worth at most one hundred and twenty millions. To throw them back into circulation for eight hundred millions, by converting them into mandats, was an error. It is true that there was appropriated to them a like value in domains; but an estate which, in 1790, was worth one hundred thousand francs, would not, at this time, sell for more than thirty thousand or twenty-five thousand. Consequently the paper, bearing this new title and this new figure, even while exactly representing domains, must, like them, be worth no more than one-third of the money. Now, to attempt to make it circulate at par, as had been done, was again to support a fallacy. Thus, if there had even been a possibility of restoring confidence to the paper, the exaggerated supposition of its value must still have made it fall; therefore, though its circulation was forced everywhere, people would not countenance it for a moment. The violent measures which it was possible to impose in 1793 were, at this time, powerless. Nobody bargained but for a money price. That specie, which was supposed to be hoarded or carried abroad, found its way into circulation. That which had been hidden came forth; that which had quitted France returned. The southern provinces were full of piasters, which came from Spain, and were introduced among us from necessity. Gold and silver come, like all commodities, whithersoever the demand calls them; only their price is higher, and keeps up till the quantity is sufficient and the want is supplied. Some rogueries were also committed by means of payments in mandats, because the laws, giving the forced currency of money to paper, allowed it to be employed in acquitting written engagements; but people scarcely durst avail themselves of that faculty, and as for all stipulations, they were made in specie. In all the markets nothing was to be seen but gold and silver, and the wages of the lower classes were paid in no other medium. One would have imagined that there was no paper in France. The mandats were in the hands of speculators only, who received them from the government and sold them to the purchasers of national domains.

In this manner, the financial crisis, though existing for the state, had almost ceased to affect individuals.* Commerce and industry, availing themselves of the first moment of quiet, and of some communications reopened with the continent in consequence of our victories, began to resume some activity.

It is not requisite, as governments have had the vanity to assert, to encourage production in order that it may prosper; all that it needs is, not to be thwarted. It takes advantage of the first moment to develop itself with wonderful activity. But, if the circumstances of private individuals were improved, the government, that is to say, its chiefs, its agents of all kinds, military men, administrators or magistrates, and its creditors, were reduced to extreme distress. The mandats which were given to them were power-

* "Government and all the persons who received payment from it, including the public creditors, the army, and the civil servants, were still suffering the most severe privations; but the crisis had passed with the great bulk of individuals in the state. The fall in the value of the assignats had been so excessive, that no one would take either them or their successors in change." — *Alison*. E.

less in their hands; they could make but one use of them, namely, pass them to speculators in paper, who took one hundred francs for five or six, and afterwards sold these mandates to the purchasers of national domains. Thus the annuitants were perishing of hunger; the functionaries were giving up their places, and, contrary to the usual custom, instead of soliciting appointments people were resigning them. The armies of Germany and Italy, living at the enemy's cost, were protected from the general want; but the armies of the interior were in extreme distress. Hoche had nothing with which to subsist his soldiers but the articles of consumption levied in the provinces of the West, and he was obliged to maintain the military system in those provinces in order to have a right to levy in kind the supplies which he needed. As for the officers and himself, they had not wherewithal even to procure clothing and other necessities. The supply of the stations established in France for the troops marching through the country had frequently failed, because the contractors would no longer make advances. The detachments sent from the coasts of the Ocean to reinforce the army of Italy had been stopped by the way. Hospitals had even been shut up, and the unfortunate soldiers who filled them turned out of the asylum which the republic owed to their infirmities, because they could no longer be supplied either with medicines or with food. The gendarmerie was entirely disorganized. Being neither clothed nor equipped, it had almost ceased to do any duty. In order to spare their horses which were not replaced, the gendarmes no longer protected the roads; they were infested by robbers, who abound after civil wars. They broke into country-houses, and frequently penetrated into the towns, plundering and murdering with unheard-of audacity.

Such then was the internal state of France. The particular character of this new crisis was the poverty of the government amidst the improved circumstances of private individuals. The Directory subsisted entirely on the wrecks of the paper, and a few millions which its armies sent to it from abroad. General Bonaparte had already remitted thirty millions, and sent it one hundred fine carriage-horses to contribute a little to its pomp.

It now became necessary to destroy the whole system of paper-money. To this end it was requisite that its circulation should no longer be forced, and that the taxes should be received in real value. It was, therefore, declared on the 28th of Messidor (July 16), that every one might bargain in whatever money he pleased; that the mandates were in future to be taken only at their real currency, and that this currency should be daily ascertained and published by the treasury. At length, the government ventured to declare that the taxes should be paid in specie or in mandates at the current value. The only exception made was for the land-tax. Ever since the creation of the mandates, it had been required to be paid in paper and no longer in kind. It was now felt that it would have been better to continue to levy it in kind, because, amidst the fluctuations of the paper, articles of consumption would, at least, have been obtained. It was, therefore, decided, after long discussions and several plans successively rejected by the Ancients, that, in the frontier departments of those contiguous to the armies, the taxes might still be demanded in kind; that in the others they should be paid in mandates, at the current price of corn. Thus corn was valued in 1790 at ten francs the quintal; it was valued at the present time at eighty francs in mandates. Every ten francs assessed, representing a quintal of corn, was now to be paid at eighty francs in mandates. It would have been much more simple to require payment in specie, or in mandates at

the current value ; but this the government durst not yet venture upon ; it began therefore to return, but with hesitating steps, to reality.

The forced loan was not yet entirely raised. The supreme authority had no longer that arbitrary energy requisite to insure the prompt execution of such a measure. There remained nearly three hundred millions to be collected. It was decided that, in payment of the loan and taxes, mandats should be received at par, and assignats at the rate of one hundred for one, but for a fortnight only ; and that, after the expiration of this term, paper should be taken only at the current value. This was one way of encouraging those who were backward in paying up.

The fall of the mandats being declared, it was no longer possible to take them in integral payment for the national domains which were appropriated to them. The bankruptcy predicted to them, as to the assignats, became inevitable. Notice was actually given that, as the mandats issued for two thousand four hundred millions had fallen far below that value, and were not worth more than two hundred or three hundred millions, the state would no longer give the promised value in domains, namely, two thousand four hundred millions. The contrary had been maintained, in the hope that the mandats would keep up to a certain value ; but, one hundred francs falling to five or six, the state could no longer give land, worth one hundred francs in 1790, and thirty or forty francs at that time, for five or six francs. It was the same kind of bankruptcy that the assignats had experienced, and the nature of which we have already explained. The state then did what is done at the present day by a sinking fund which redeems at the currency of the Exchange, and which, in case of an extraordinary fall, would redeem perhaps at fifty what might have been placed at eighty or ninety. In consequence, it was decided on the 8th of Thermidor, that the last fourth of the national domains appropriated by the law of the 26th of Ventose (that which created the mandats) should be paid for in mandats at the current value, and by six equal instalments. It had appropriated to the amount of eight hundred millions. This fourth was, of course, two hundred millions.

Paper-money was, therefore, drawing near to its end. It may be asked why the government had made this second trial of assignats, which had had so short a duration and so little success. In general, we are too apt to judge of all measures independently of the circumstances which have commanded them. Fear of the want of specie had no doubt contributed to the creation of the mandats, and, had there been no other reason, the government would have been egregiously mistaken, for there cannot be any want of specie ; but it had been particularly impelled by the imperative necessity of living upon the produce of the domains, and of anticipating upon their sale. It was necessary to put their price in circulation before receiving it, and for this purpose to issue it in the form of paper. The resource had indeed not been great, because the mandats had fallen so speedily, but at any rate the government had lived upon it for four or five months. And was that nothing ? The mandats must be considered as a new discount of the value of the national domains, as a makeshift till these domains could be sold. We shall see what moments of distress the government had still to go through, before it could realize their sale in specie.*

* "The mandats completed the revolutionary cycle of assignats of which they formed the second period. They procured the Directory a momentary supply, but they also in turn lost their credit, and insensibly led the way to bankruptcy, which was the transition from paper to cash payments."—*Mignet*. E.

The treasury was not deficient in resources demandable by it ; but these resources were in the same predicament as the national domains ; they had to be realized. It had yet to receive three hundred millions of the forced loan ; three hundred millions of the land-tax for the year, that is to say, the whole amount of that tax ; twenty-five millions of the tax on moveable property ; the whole rent of the national domains, and the arrears of that rent, amounting together to sixty millions ; various military contributions ; the price of the moveable property of the emigrants ; divers arrears ; lastly, eighty millions in paper on foreigners. All these resources, added to the two hundred millions of the last fourth of the price of the domains, amounted to one thousand one hundred millions, an enormous sum, but difficult to realize. To complete its year, that is, to go on till the 1st of Vendémiaire, it wanted only four hundred millions. It would be saved if out of the one thousand one hundred it could realize four hundred. For the following year, it had the ordinary contributions which it hoped to raise all in specie, and which, amounting to some five hundred millions, covered what were called the ordinary expenses. For the war expenses, if a new campaign were necessary, it had the remainder of the one thousand one hundred millions just mentioned, and of which it was to absorb this year about four hundred ; lastly, it had the new appropriations of the national domains. But the difficulty still was how to get in those sums. Ready money never consists of anything but the proceeds of the year ; now it was difficult to raise them at once by the forced loan, by the tax on land and moveables, and by the sale of the domains. The government fell to work afresh to collect the contributions, and the Directory was invested with the extraordinary faculty of pledging Belgian domains for one hundred millions in specie. The rescriptions, of the nature of royal *bons*, having for their object to discount the proceeds of the year, had shared the fate of all the paper. Being unable to avail himself of this resource, the minister settled with the contractors by orders, which were to be paid out of the first receipts.

Such were the distresses of this government, which was so glorious abroad. At home, parties were still at work. The submission of La Vendée had greatly abated the hopes of the royalist faction ; but the Paris agents felt only the more convinced of the merit of their old plan, which consisted in not having recourse to civil war, but in corrupting opinions, and in gaining an influence by degrees over the Councils and the authorities. At this they laboured in their journals. As for the patriots, they had arrived at the highest point of indignation. They had favoured the flight of Drouet, who had found means to escape from prison, and they meditated new plots, notwithstanding the discovery of Babœuf's. Many old Conventionalists and Thermidorians, heretofore connected with the government, which they had themselves formed, began immediately after the 13th of Vendémiaire to be discontented. A law enjoined, as we have seen, the ex-Conventionalists not re-elected and all dismissed functionaries to quit Paris. The police, by mistake, sent orders for apprehending four Conventionalists, members of the legislative body. These orders were denounced with acrimony in the Five Hundred. Tallien, who, at the time of the discovery of Babœuf's plot, had loudly declared his adhesion to the system of the government, inveighed bitterly against the police of the Directory, and against the distrust of which the patriots were the object. Thibaudeau, his habitual opponent, answered him, and, after a very warm

discussion and some recriminations, each fell back into sullen silence. Cochon, the minister, his agents, his spies, were particular objects of the hatred of the patriots, who had been the first that were galled by his vigilance. For the rest, the course to be pursued by the government was clearly marked out; and, if it was decidedly hostile to the royalists, it was equally unconnected with the patriots, that is, with that portion of the revolutionary party which was desirous to return to a more democratic republic, and deemed the present system too mild for the aristocrats. But, setting aside the state of the finances, this situation of the Directory, detached from all parties, curbing them with a strong hand, and supported by admirable armies, was very cheering and very brilliant.

The patriots had already made two attempts, and been twice foiled, since the installation of the Directory. They had endeavoured to recommence the club of the Jacobins at the Pantheon, and had seen it shut up by the government. They had then hatched a mysterious plot under the direction of Babeuf; they had been discovered by the police and deprived of their new chiefs. Still they were restless, and thought of making a last attempt. The opposition, in once more attacking the law of the 3d of Brumaire, excited in them redoubled rage, and impelled them to a final struggle. They had already striven to corrupt the police legion. That legion had been dissolved, and changed into a regiment, which was the 21st dragoons. They conceived the design of trying the fidelity of that regiment, and hoped, in gaining it, to gain the whole army of the interior, encamped in the plain of Grenelle. They purposed at the same time to excite a commotion by firing muskets in Paris, by scattering white cockades in the streets, by shouting *Vive le Roi!* and, by thus inducing a belief that the royalists were taking up arms, to destroy the republic. They meant then to avail themselves of this pretext to run to arms, to seize the reins of government, and to make the camp of Grenelle declare in their favour.

On the 12th of Fructidor (August 29) they executed part of their plan, fired petards, and threw white cockades about in the streets. But the police, being forewarned, had taken such precautions that they found it impossible to excite any commotion. They were not, however, disheartened, and some days afterwards, on the 23d of Fructidor (September 9), they resolved to carry their plan into effect. Thirty of the principal assembled at the Gros Caillou, and resolved that very night to collect a mob in the quarter of Vaugirard. That quarter, near the camp of Grenelle, was full of gardens, and intersected by walls; it afforded lines behind which they could assemble and make resistance, in case they should be attacked. Accordingly, in the evening, they collected, to the number of seven or eight hundred, armed with muskets, pistols, swords, and sword-sticks. This assemblage comprehended all the most determined men of the party. There were among them some dismissed officers, who headed the mob, in their uniforms and with their epaulettes. There were also some ex-Conventionalists, in the costume of representatives, and also, it was said, Drouet, who had been concealed in Paris ever since his escape. An officer of the guard of the Directory, at the head of ten horse, was patrolling in Paris, when he was informed of the concourse collected at Vaugirard. He hastened thither with his little detachment, but, on coming up, was received with a discharge of musketry, and attacked by two hundred armed men, who obliged him to retreat at full gallop. He went immediately to order the guard of the Directory to be put under arms, and sent an officer to the camp of Grenelle to give the alarm. The patriots lost no time, and, the

alarm being given, repaired in all haste to the plain of Grenelle, to the number of some hundreds.* They proceeded towards the quarters of the 21st dragoons, lately the police legion, and endeavoured to gain it over by saying that they had come to fraternize with it. Malo, *chef d'escadron*, who commanded that regiment, immediately left his tent, mounted his horse half-dressed, rallied around him some officers and the first dragoons whom he met with, and charged with drawn sword those who proposed to him to fraternize. This example decided the soldiers; they ran to their horses, dashed upon the mob, and soon dispersed it. They killed and wounded a great number of persons, and apprehended one hundred and thirty-two. The noise of this combat roused the whole camp, which was instantly under arms, and filled Paris with consternation; but it soon subsided, when the folly and the result of the attempt became known. The Directory immediately ordered the prisoners to be shut up, and applied to the two Councils for authority to make domiciliary visits, for the purpose of securing in certain quarters many of the rioters whose wounds had prevented them from leaving Paris. Having formed part of an armed assemblage, they were amenable to the military tribunals, and were delivered up to a commission, which began by ordering a certain number of them to be shot. The organization of the high national court was not yet completed, and its installation was urged anew, that the trial of Babeuf might commence.

This rash enterprise was estimated at its real value, that is to say, it was considered as one of those indiscretions which characterize an expiring party. The enemies of the Revolution alone affected to attach great importance to it, that they might have a new occasion to raise an outcry against terror, and to excite alarm. People in general were not much frightened; and this vain attack proved more clearly than all the other successes of the Directory that its establishment was definitive, and that the parties must relinquish all hopes of destroying it.

Such were the events that were occurring in the interior. While fresh battles were about to be fought abroad, important negotiations were preparing in Europe. The French republic was at peace with several powers, but in alliance with none. The detractors, who have asserted that it would never be recognized, now said it would never have any allies. By way of replying to these malicious insinuations, the Directory thought of renewing the family compact with Spain, and projected a quadruple alliance between France, Spain, Venice, and the Porte. By these means, the quadruple alliance, composed of all the powers of the South, against those of the North, would control the Mediterranean and the East, give uneasiness to Russia, threaten the rear of Austria, and raise up a new maritime enemy against England. It would moreover procure great advantages for the army of Italy, by insuring to it the support of the Venetian squadron and of thirty thousand Sclavonians.

* "The camp at Grenelle had retired to rest when the conspirators arrived. When the sentinels demanded, 'Who goes there?' they replied, 'Long live the republic! Long live the constitution of Ninety-three!' The sentinels immediately gave the alarm. The conspirators, relying upon the assistance of a battalion of the guard which had been reduced, marched towards the tent of Malo, the commander, who ordered his men to sound to horse, and his dragoons, who were half-naked, to mount. Surprised at this reception, the insurgents made but a feeble resistance. They were put to flight, leaving a number of dead, and many prisoners on the field of battle. This unfortunate expedition was almost the last of the party; at each successive defeat it lost its energy and its leaders, and at length acquired the secret conviction that its reign was at an end."—*Mignet*. E.

Spain was the easiest of the three powers to decide. She had grievances against England that dated from the commencement of the war. The principal were the conduct of the English at Toulon, and the secrecy observed towards the Spanish admiral, at the time of the expedition against Corsica. The English had insulted her ships, detained supplies destined for her, violated her territory, taken posts threatening for her in America, infringed the custom-house regulations in her colonies, and openly excited them to revolt. These causes for discontent, added to the splendid offers of the Directory, which held out to her hopes of possessions in Italy, and the victories which authorized her to believe in the accomplishment of these offers, at length decided Spain to sign, on the 2d of Fructidor (August 19th), a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with France, on the bases of the family compact. By this treaty, those two powers mutually guaranteed to each other all their possessions in Europe and in the Indies; they reciprocally promised one another succours to the extent of eighteen thousand infantry, and six thousand cavalry, fifteen first rates, fifteen seventy-fours, six frigates, and four cutters. These succours were to be furnished on the first requisition of either of the two powers that should be at war.

Instructions were sent to our ambassadors to represent to the Porte and to Venice the advantages which they would derive from concurring in such an alliance.

The French republic, therefore, was no longer solitary, and she had raised up a new foe against England. Everything indicated that a declaration of war by Spain against England would soon follow the treaty of alliance with France. The Directory was preparing for Pitt perplexities of a different nature.

Hoche was at the head of one hundred thousand men spread along the coast of the Atlantic. La Vendée and Bretagne were quelled; he was impatient to employ these forces in a manner more worthy of himself, and to add new exploits to those of Weissenburg and Landau. He suggested to the government a plan which he had long meditated, that of an expedition to Ireland. Now, said he, that we have driven civil war from the coasts of France, we must carry that scourge to the shores of England, and, by exciting an insurrection of the Catholics in Ireland, repay the mischief which she did us in raising the Poitevins and the Bretons. The moment was favourable. The Irish were more incensed than ever against the oppression of the English government; the people of the three kingdoms were suffering severely from the war; and an invasion, added to the other evils which they were already enduring, was likely to goad them to the last degree of exasperation. Pitt's finances were tottering; and the enterprise directed by Hoche might be productive of the most important consequences. The plan was at once approved. Truguet, minister of the marine, seconded it by all means in his power. He collected a squadron in the harbour of Brest, and made every effort which the state of the finances permitted to equip it in a suitable manner. Hoche selected all the best troops from his army, and marched to Brest to embark. Care was taken to spread various reports; sometimes they were intended for an expedition to St. Domingo, at others for an expedition to Lisbon, in order to drive the English out of Portugal, aided by Spain.

England, suspecting the object of these preparations, was seriously alarmed. The treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between Spain and France foreboded new dangers to her; the defeats of Austria caused

her to apprehend the loss of this powerful and last ally; her finances were in a state of great embarrassment; the Bank had contracted its discounts; capital began to fail; and the loan opened for the emperor had been stopped to prevent further funds from leaving the country. The ports of Italy were closed against English ships; so were those of the Ocean as far as the Texel; and those of Spain were to be closed also. Thus the commerce of Great Britain was singularly threatened.

To all these difficulties were added those of a general election; for the parliament, approaching its seventh year, had to be wholly re-elected. The elections took place amidst shouts of malediction against Pitt and the war.

The Empire had almost entirely abandoned the cause of the coalition. The states of Baden and Wirtemberg had just signed a definitive peace, allowing the belligerent armies a passage through their territories. Austria was alarmed on seeing two French armies on the Danube, and a third on the Adige, which seemed to close Italy against her. She had sent Wurmser, with thirty thousand men, to collect several reserves in the Tyrol, to rally and reorganize the wrecks of Beaulieu's army, and to descend into Lombardy with sixty thousand men. In this quarter she thought herself least in danger, but she was in great apprehension with respect to the Danube, and turned all her attention in that direction. To prevent alarming reports, the Aulic Council* had forbidden public events to be talked of at Vienna. It had organized a levy of volunteers, and laboured with extraordinary activity to equip and arm fresh troops. Catherine, who always promised and never performed, had rendered one service; she had guaranteed Galicia to Austria, and this arrangement had enabled the latter to withdraw her troops from that country, and to march them towards the Alps and the Danube.

Thus France everywhere affrighted her enemies, and people awaited with impatience to see what the fortune of arms would decide along the Danube and the Adige. On the immense line extending from Bohemia to the Adriatic, three armies were about to encounter three others, and to decide the fate of Europe.

During the suspension of hostilities, negotiations had been going on in Italy. Peace had been made with Piedmont, and the armistice had been succeeded, two months afterwards, by a treaty. It stipulated the definitive cession of the duchy of Savoy and of the county of Nice to France; the destruction of the forts of Susa and Brunetta, situated at the outlet of the Alps; the occupation during the war of the fortresses of Coni, Tortona, and Alexandria; a free passage for the French troops through the states of Piedmont; and the supply of necessaries for these troops during their march. The Directory, at the instigation of Bonaparte, proposed moreover an offensive and defensive alliance with the King of Sardinia, that it might have ten or fifteen thousand men of his excellent army. But this prince wished for Lombardy, which France could not yet give away, and which she still meant to employ as an equivalent for the Netherlands. This concession being refused, the king would not consent to an alliance. The Directory had not yet settled anything with Genoa; discussions were still going on relative to the recall of the exiled families, to the expulsion

* "The Aulic Council at Vienna (that pernicious tribunal which, in the Seven Years' War, called Laudohn to account for taking Schweidnitz without orders) has destroyed the schemes of many an Austrian general, for, though plans of offensive operations may be concerted at home, it is impossible to frame orders for every possible contingency."—*Gentz*. E.

of the feudatory families of Austria and Naples, and to the indemnity for the Modeste frigate. The relations were friendly with Tuscany; but the means employed towards the Leghorn merchants, to obtain a declaration of the merchandise belonging to the enemies of France, had sown the seeds of dissatisfaction. Naples and Rome had sent agents to Paris in conformity with the armistice; but the negotiation for peace was attended with considerable delay. It was evident that the powers were waiting to see what turn the war would take before they concluded it. The people of Bologna and Ferrara were still as enthusiastic for liberty, which they had received provisionally. The regency of Modena and the Duke of Parma were immoveable. Lombardy awaited with anxiety the result of the campaign. Urgent solicitations had been addressed to the senate of Venice, with the double view of inducing it to concur in the plan of a quadruple alliance and of securing a useful auxiliary to the army of Italy. Besides direct overtures, our ambassadors at Constantinople and Madrid had made indirect proposals, and had earnestly pressed the matter upon the legations of Venice, for the purpose of demonstrating to them the advantages of the plan; but all these efforts had proved fruitless. Venice, since she had the French in her territory, and had witnessed the rapid extension of her political ideas, had conceived a hatred for them. She no longer stopped at an unarmed neutrality. On the contrary, she armed with activity. She had given orders to the commandants of the islands to despatch the disposable ships and troops into the lagoons; and she had sent for the Slavonian regiments from Illyria.* The proveditore of Bergamo was secretly arming the superstitious but brave peasants of the Bergamasco. Funds were collected by the twofold way of taxes and voluntary donations.

Bonaparte thought that, for the moment, his course was to dissemble with all, to protract the negotiations, to suffer affairs to remain *in statu quo*, and to appear ignorant of all hostile proceedings, till fresh battles should have decided in Italy either our establishment or our expulsion. He deemed it prudent to desist from agitating the questions which were under discussion with Genoa, and to persuade her that the French were content with the satisfaction obtained, in order that they might find in her a friend in case of retreat. He conceived also that it was wrong to displease the Duke of Tuscany by the conduct that was pursued at Leghorn. He was no doubt of opinion that a brother of the emperor's ought not to be left in that duchy, but he wished to avoid alarming him yet. Garreau and Salicetti, the commissioners of the Directory, having issued an order for the departure of all the French emigrants from the environs of Leghorn, Bonaparte wrote a letter to them, in which, without any regard to their quality, he severely reprimanded them for having overstepped their powers, and affronted the Duke of Tuscany by usurping the sovereign authority in his dominions. With respect to Venice also, he was desirous of maintaining the *status quo*; though he complained loudly of some murders committed on the high-roads, and of the preparations which he saw making around him. His object in keeping the quarrel open was to continue to compel the republic to supply his wants, and to reserve a motive for fleecing it of a few millions, if he should conquer the Austrians. "If I am victorious," he wrote, "a mere express will be sufficient to put an end to all the difficulties that are raised up against me."

* "Venice had still fifty thousand men at her command, and those of a fierce and courageous description, chiefly consisting of Slavonians; the mistress of the Adriatic therefore was an enemy not to be lightly provoked."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

The citadel of Milan had fallen into his hands. The garrison had surrendered ; all the artillery had been sent off and added to the considerable train before Mantua. He would fain have brought the siege of that fortress to a conclusion before the new Austrian army should come to its relief, but this he had little hope of accomplishing. He employed in the blockade only just the number of troops that was indispensably necessary, on account of the fevers that raged in the environs. He had, nevertheless, pressed the place very closely, and was preparing to attempt one of those surprises which, according to his own expression, *depend on a goose or a dog* ; but the waters of the lake were too low to admit of the passage of the boats that were to carry his disguised troops. He then renounced, for the moment, the intention of making himself master of Mantua. Besides, Wurmser was coming, and it was requisite to attend to that which was most urgent.

The army, which had entered Italy with some thirty thousand men, had received but small reinforcements to repair its losses. Nine thousand men had been sent to it from the Alps. The divisions drafted from Hoche's army had not yet been able to traverse France. Owing to this reinforcement of nine thousand men, and to the sick who had left the depots of Provence and the Var, the army had retrieved its losses and even gained an accession of strength. It numbered nearly forty-five thousand men, distributed upon the Adige and around Mantua, at the moment when Bonaparte returned from his march into the Peninsula. The diseases which attacked the soldiers before Mantua reduced it to about forty or forty-two thousand men. This was its number in the middle of Thermidor (the end of July). Bonaparte had left merely depots at Milan, Tortona, and Leghorn. He had already driven out of the field two armies, one of Piedmontese and the other of Austrians, and now he had to fight a third, more formidable than the preceding.

Wurmser arrived at the head of sixty thousand men. Thirty thousand were drawn from the Rhine, and were composed of excellent troops. The remainder was formed of Beaulieu's wrecks, and of battalions from the interior of Austria. Upwards of ten thousand men were shut up in Mantua, exclusively of the sick. Thus the whole army comprehended more than seventy thousand men. Bonaparte had nearly ten thousand around Mantua, and had, therefore, no more than about thirty thousand to oppose to the sixty who were about to debouch from the Tyrol. With such an inequality of force, it required extraordinary bravery in the soldiers, and a most fertile genius in the general, to restore the balance.

The line of the Adige, to which Bonaparte attached such value, was about to become the theatre of the struggle. We have already stated the reasons for which Bonaparte preferred it to every other. The Adige was not so long as the Po, or as those rivers which, falling into the latter, blend their line with that of the Po ; after a course of small extent, it ran directly to the sea ; it was not fordable, neither could it be turned by the Tyrol, like the Brenta, the Piave, and the rivers higher up towards the extremity of Upper Italy. It has been the theatre of such magnificent events that we must describe its course with some care.

The rivers of the Tyrol form two lines, those of the Mincio and the Adige, nearly parallel, and supporting themselves upon one another. Part of these waters forms in the mountains an extensive and elongated lake, called the Lake of Garda ; issuing from it, they traverse the plain of the Mantuan to Peschiera, become the Mincio, form another lake around

Mantua, and, pursuing their course, at length fall into the Lower Po. The Adige, formed by the streams from the upper valleys of the Tyrol, runs beyond the preceding line. It descends through the mountains in a direction parallel to the Lake of Garda, debouches into the plain in the environs of Verona, then runs parallel to the Mincio, scoops out for itself a wide and deep bed as far as Legnago, and a few leagues beyond that town ceases to be cramped between banks, and can spread itself out into impassable inundations, which intercept the whole space comprised between that point and the Adriatic. Three routes presented themselves to the enemy. One, crossing the Adige as high as Roveredo, before the commencement of the Lake of Garda, turned round that lake, and led behind it to Salo, Gavardo, and Brescia. Two other routes, running from Roveredo, followed the two banks of the Adige, in its course along the Lake of Garda. The one on the right bank ran between the river and the lake, passed through the mountains, and entered the plain between the Mincio and the Adige. The other following the left bank, and running outside the Adige, debouched into the plain towards Verona, and thus led to the front of the defensive line. The first of the three, crossing the Adige before the origin of the Lake of Garda, afforded the advantage of turning at once the two lines of the Mincio and of the Adige, and leading to the rear of the army that was guarding them. But it was not very practicable; it was accessible to mountain artillery only, and therefore it might serve for a diversion, but not for a principal operation. The second, which descended from the mountains between the lake and the Adige, crossed the river at Rivalta or Dolce, a point where it was scarcely at all defended; but it ran into the mountains, through positions easily defended, those of La Corona and Rivoli. The third, running beyond the river to the middle of the plain, debouched outside, and led to the best defended part of its course, that from Verona to Legnago. Thus all three routes presented very great difficulties. The first could be occupied by a detachment only; the second, passing between the lake and the river, came upon the positions of La Corona and Rivoli; the third abutted upon the Adige, which has a wide, deep bed from Verona to Legnago, and is defended by two fortresses, eight leagues distant from one another.

Bonaparte had placed General Sauret, with three thousand men, at Salo, to guard the road which debouches on the rear of the Lake of Garda. Massena, with twelve thousand, intercepted the road which runs between the Lake of Garda and the Adige, and occupied the positions of La Corona and Rivoli. Despinis, with five thousand, was in the environs of Verona; Augereau, with eight thousand, at Legnago; Kilmaine, with two thousand horse and light artillery, as a reserve, in a central position at Castel Novo. There Bonaparte had fixed his head-quarters, to be at an equal distance from Salo, Rivoli, and Verona. As he attached great importance to Verona, which had three bridges over the Adige, and distrusted the intentions of Venice, he resolved to make the Sclavonian regiments quit that place. He pretended that they were in hostility with the French troops; and, upon pretext of preventing quarrels, he insisted on their leaving the city. The provveditore complied and the French garrison alone was left in Verona.

Wurmser had carried his head-quarters to Trent and Roveredo. He detached twenty thousand men, under Quasdanovich, to take the road that turns the Lake of Garda and debouches upon Salo. He took forty thousand with him, and distributed them upon the two roads that run along the

Adige. Some were to attack La Corona and Rivoli, others to debouch upon Verona. He thought in this manner to envelop the French army, which, being attacked on the Adige and on the rear of the Lake of Garda, would be in danger of being forced on its front, and of being cut off from its line of retreat. Rumour had anticipated the arrival of Wurmser. Throughout all Italy his coming was expected, and the party hostile to Italian freedom was full of joy and boldness. The Venetians manifested a satisfaction which they could no longer repress. The Sclavonian soldiers ran about the public places, holding out their hands to the passengers, and demanding the price of the French blood which they were going to spill. In Rome, the agents of France were insulted; the Pope, imboldened by the hope of speedy deliverance, ordered the carriages laden with the first instalment of the contribution imposed upon him to turn back; he even despatched his legate to Ferrara and Bologna. Lastly, the court of Naples, still as senseless as ever, trampling upon the conditions of the armistice, sent off troops to the frontiers of the Roman States. The most painful anxiety prevailed, on the contrary, in all the towns devoted to France and to independence. Tidings from the Adige were awaited with impatience. The Italian imagination, which magnifies everything, had exaggerated the disproportion of the forces. It was said that Wurmser was coming with two armies, one of sixty, the other of eighty thousand men. People asked one another how that handful of French could possibly withstand such a mass of foes;* and they repeated the famous proverb, that *Italy was the grave of the French*.

On the 11th of Thermidor (July 29) the Austrians found themselves in presence of our posts, and surprised them all. The corps which had turned the Lake of Garda debouched upon Salò, whence it repulsed General Sauret. General Guyeux was left alone there with a few hundred men, and shut himself up in an old building, which he refused to quit, though he had neither bread nor water, and scarcely any ammunition. Along the two roads which border the Adige the Austrians advanced with similar advantage; they forced the important position of La Corona, between the Adige and the Lake of Garda; they proceeded with equal facility by the third road, and debouched before Verona. Bonaparte, in his head-quarters at Castel Novo, received all these tidings. Couriers succeeded one another without intermission, and on the following day, the 12th of Thermidor (July 30), he was apprized that the Austrians were marching from Salò upon Brescia, and that thus his retreat upon Milan was intercepted; that the position of Rivoli was forced, as well as that of La Corona; and that the Austrians were about to cross the Adige at all points. In this alarming situation, having lost his defensive line and his line of retreat, he could scarcely escape being taken. It was his first taste of misfortune. Whether struck by the enormity of the danger, or, ready to adopt a daring determination, he was desirous of sharing the responsibility with his generals; he assembled a council of war, and for the first time asked their opinion. All recommended retreat. Without any point of support before them, having lost one of the two roads to France, there was not one who deemed it prudent to maintain their ground,

* "Nothing but the greatest ability on the part of the French general could have compensated for his inferiority in numbers, but the genius of Napoleon proved adequate to the task. His success was mainly owing to the vicious plan of attack adopted by the Austrians, which, like all the others framed by the Aulic Council, was exposed to defeat from the division of their forces."—*Jomini*. E.

excepting Augereau. He alone, to whom these days were the most glorious of his life, strongly insisted on trying the fortune of arms. He was young and ardent; he had learned in the fauxbourgs to speak with fluency the language of camps, and he declared that he had good grenadiers who would not retire without fighting. Without capacity for judging of the resources which the situation of the armies and the nature of the ground yet presented, he listened only to his courage,* and warmed by his military ardour the genius of Bonaparte. The latter dismissed his generals, without expressing his own opinion, but his plan was formed. Though the line of the Adige was forced, and that of the Mincio and the Lake of Garda turned, the ground was so favourable that it still offered resources to a resolute man of genius:

The Austrians, divided into two corps, were descending along the two shores of the Lake of Garda; their junction was to be effected at the point of the lake, and, on their arrival there, they would have sixty thousand men to overwhelm thirty thousand. But, by concentrating himself at the point of the lake, Bonaparte might prevent their junction. If, then, he were to form with sufficient rapidity a principal mass, he might overwhelm the twenty thousand who had turned the lake, and then return to the forty thousand who had filed between the lake and the Adige. But, in order to occupy the point of the lake, he must call away all the troops from the Lower Adige and the Lower Mincio towards the Lake of Garda; he must withdraw Augereau from Legnago, and Serrurier from Mantua, for it was impossible to guard so extended a line. It was a great sacrifice, for he had been besieging Mantua for two months, he had brought thither a great train, the place was about to surrender, and, by allowing it to revictual itself, he should lose the fruit of long toil and an almost certain prey. Bonaparte did not hesitate. He had the sagacity to seize the most important of two objects, and to sacrifice the other—a simple resolution, which indicates not the great captain, but the great man. It is not only in war, but also in politics and in all situations, that men meet with two objects; they wish to attain one as well as the other, and miss both. Bonaparte possessed that force, so great and so rare, which is requisite for making the choice and the sacrifice. Had he attempted to keep the whole course of the Mincio, from the point of the Lake of Garda to Mantua, he would have been broken; and if he had concentrated himself upon Mantua to cover it, he would have had to fight seventy thousand men at once, sixty thousand in front and ten thousand in rear. He sacrificed Mantua, and concentrated himself at the point of the Lake of Garda. Orders were immediately sent to Augereau to quit Legnago, and to Serrurier to leave Mantua, and to concentrate themselves towards Valleggio and Peschiera, on the Upper Mincio. During the night of the 13th of Thermidor (July 31), Serrurier burned his gun-carriages, spiked his cannon, buried his projectiles, and threw his powder into the water, before he started to join the active army.†

Bonaparte, without losing a single moment, resolved to march first upon

* "Augereau was a man very decided in action, and not very capable of reasoning—two qualities which rendered him an excellent instrument of despotism, provided the despotism assumed the name of revolution."—*Madame de Staël*. E.

† "Napoleon despatched Louis in the greatest haste to Paris, with an account of what had taken place. Louis left his brother with regret on the eve of the battle, to become the bearer of bad news. 'It must be so,' said Napoleon, 'but, before you return, you will have to present to the Directory the colours which we shall take to-morrow.'"—*Louis Bonaparte*. E.

that corps of the enemy which was most forward, and the most dangerous from the position which it had taken. This was the corps of Quasdanovich, who, with twenty thousand men, had debouched by Salo, Gavardo, and Brescia, on the rear of the Lake of Garda, and threatened the communication with Milan. On the same day that Serrurier left Mantua, the 13th (July 31), Bonaparte made a retrograde movement for the purpose of falling upon Quasdanovich, and recrossed the Mincio at Peschiera, with the greater part of his army. Augereau crossed at Borghetto, over the same bridge which had witnessed a glorious action at the time of the first conquest. Rear-guards were left to watch the march of the enemy who had passed the Adige. Bonaparte ordered General Sauret to go and release General Guyeux, who had shut himself up in an old building with seven-hundred men, without either bread or water, and who had been fighting most heroically for two days. He himself resolved to march upon Lonato, whither Quasdanovich had just pushed forward a division; and he ordered Augereau to march upon Brescia to reopen the communication with Milan. Sauret succeeded in extricating General Guyeux, and drove back the Austrians into the mountains, taking some hundred of them prisoners. Bonaparte, with the German brigade, was not in time to attack the Austrians at Lonato: he was anticipated. After a very brisk action, he repulsed the Austrians, entered Lonato, and took six hundred prisoners. Augereau was, meanwhile, marching upon Brescia. He entered it on the 14th (August 1), without striking a blow, released some prisoners who had been taken from us, and forced the Austrians to fall back into the mountains. Quasdanovich, who calculated on coming upon the rear of the French army and surprising it, was astonished to find imposing masses everywhere, making head with such vigour. He had lost only a few men either at Salo or at Lonato; but he thought it right to halt, and not to advance farther, till he knew what had become of Wurmser, with the principal Austrian mass. He therefore halted.

Bonaparte likewise halted. Time was precious. He was aware that there is a point beyond which an advantage ought not to be pushed. It was enough to have awed Quasdanovich. He now resolved to turn back to make head against Wurmser. He retrograded with Massena's and Augereau's divisions. On the 15th (August 2), he placed Massena's division at Pon San Marco, and Augereau's division at Monte Chiaro. The rear-guards which he had left on the Mincio became his advanced guards. He had not arrived a moment too soon, for Wurmser's forty thousand men had crossed not only the Adige but the Mincio also. The division of Bayalitsch had masked Peschiera by a detachment, and passed the Mincio; and it was advancing upon the road to Lonato. Liptai's division had crossed the Mincio at Borghetto, and driven General Valette from Castiglione. Wurmser had proceeded with two divisions of infantry and one of cavalry to raise the blockade of Mantua. On seeing our gun-carriages in ashes, our cannon spiked, and all the signs of extreme precipitation, he discovered in these objects not the calculation of genius but the effect of fear: overjoyed, he entered the place in triumph which he came to relieve. He entered it on the 15th (August 2).

Bonaparte, on returning to Pon San Marco and Monte Chiaro, did not stop for a moment. His troops had marched without ceasing; he had himself been constantly on horseback; he resolved to make them fight the very next morning. He had before him Bayalitsch at Lonato, and Liptai at Castiglione, presenting between them a front of twenty-five thousand

men. It was requisite that he should attack them before Wurmser returned from Mantua. Sauret had, for the second time, abandoned Salo; Bonaparte sent Gueux to recover the position, and to keep back Quasdanovich. After these precautions on his left and on his rear, he resolved to march forward to Lonato with Massena, and to throw Augereau upon the heights of Castiglione, which had been abandoned on the preceding day by General Valette. He broke that general at the head of his army, to impress upon all his lieutenants the necessity for firmness. On the following day, the 16th (August 3), the whole army was in motion; Gueux re-entered Salo, which rendered any communication between Quasdanovich and the Austrian army still more impossible. Bonaparte advanced upon Lonato; but his advanced guard was beaten back, some pieces of cannon were taken, and General Pigeon was made prisoner. Bayalitsch, proud of this success, advanced with confidence, and extended his wings around the French division. He had two objects in this manœuvre—in the first place to envelop Bonaparte, and, in the second, to extend himself on his right for the purpose of entering into communication with Quasdanovich, whose cannon he heard at Salo. Bonaparte, undismayed as regarded his rear, suffered himself to be enveloped with imperturbable coolness. Throwing some tirailleurs on his threatened wings, he took the 18th and 32d demi-brigades of infantry, ranged them in close column, gave them a regiment of dragoons to support them, and rushed headlong upon the enemy's centre, which had weakened, in order to extend itself. With this brave body of infantry he overturned all before him, and thus broke the line of the Austrians. The latter, divided into two corps, immediately lost their courage; one part of the division of Bayalitsch fell back in all haste towards the Mincio; but the other, which had extended itself, in order to communicate with Quasdanovich, was driven towards Salo, where Gueux was at the moment. Bonaparte caused it to be pursued without intermission, that he might place it between two fires. He sent Junot* in pursuit of it, with a regiment of cavalry. Junot dashed

* "Andoche Junot was born of humble parents in the year 1771. At a very early period he enlisted in the army; but of his military exploits nothing is known until the siege of Toulon, when he was a simple grenadier. Here he was fortunate enough to attract the notice of the young commandant of the artillery. During a heavy cannonade, Bonaparte, having occasion to dictate a despatch, inquired if any one near him could write. Junot stepped out of the ranks, and, while penning the despatch, a shot struck the ground close by his side, and covered both with dust. 'This is fortunate, sir,' observed the grenadier, laughing, 'I was in want of sand.'—'You are a brave fellow,' said Napoleon; 'how can I serve you?'—'Give me promotion; I will not disgrace it.' He was immediately made a sergeant; not long afterwards he obtained a commission; and, in 1796, was nominated aide-de-camp to his benefactor. In the campaign of Italy, Junot exhibited daring courage, and it is said, great rapacity. In Egypt he served with distinction as general of brigade, and soon after his return was placed over a division. Into the Légion d'Honneur he entered as a matter of course; but to the particular favour of Napoleon he owed the governorship of Paris, and the embassy to Lisbon, which was a most lucrative mission. He entered Portugal at the head of a powerful army in 1807, levied oppressive contributions, punished all who ventured to speak against his measures, and allayed partial revolts by bloody executions. About this time he was created Duke d'Abrantes, but being soon after defeated by Sir Arthur Wellesley at the battle of Vimeira, he was compelled to evacuate Portugal, and remained until 1812 in complete disgrace. In the Russian campaign he headed a division, but could not obtain the marshal's truncheon. On his return a protracted fever seized him, which ended in settled derangement. He died at his father's house in 1813. In his person, Junot was eminently handsome; in his manners, coarse; in his character, rapacious and cruel. He had, however, a considerable share of moral as well as physical energy."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

off at a gallop, killed six horsemen with his own hand, and fell, having received several sabre-wounds. The fugitive division, pressed between the corps at Salo, and that which was pursuing it from Lonato, was broken, routed, and lost at every step thousands of prisoners. During this successful pursuit, Bonaparte proceeded to Castiglione, on his right, where Augereau had been fighting ever since the morning with admirable bravery.* It was requisite to take the heights on which Liptai's division had placed itself. After an obstinate combat, several times renewed, he had, at length, accomplished his object, and Bonaparte, on his arrival, found the enemy retreating on all sides. Such was the combat called the battle of Lonato, fought on the 16th (August 3d).

Its results were considerable. The French had taken twenty pieces of cannon and three thousand prisoners from the division cut off and driven back upon Salo, and they were still pursuing the scattered remnant of it in the mountains. They had made a thousand or fifteen hundred prisoners at Castiglione, and killed or wounded three thousand men.† They had struck terror into Quasdanovich, who, finding the French army before him at Salo, and hearing it in the distance at Lonato, believed that it was everywhere. They had thus nearly disorganized the divisions of Bayalitsch and Liptai, which fell back upon Wurmser. That general actually arrived with fifteen thousand men to rally the two beaten divisions, and began to extend himself in the plains of Castiglione. Bonaparte saw him on the morning of the following day, the 17th (August 4th), put himself in line to receive battle. He resolved to attack him again, and to have another and a final engagement with him. This was to decide the fate of Italy; but for this purpose it was requisite that he should collect all his disposable troops at Castiglione. He therefore deferred this decisive battle till the 18th (August 5th). He started at full gallop for Lonato, to accelerate in

The following is the portrait given of Junot by his wife, the Duchess d'Abrantes. "Junot had a superior mind; he was a stranger to falsehood, and was endowed with a generosity which his enemies have endeavoured to represent as a vice. He possessed in an eminent degree the qualities of a good son, a warm friend, and an excellent father. I recollect Mr. Fox telling me one day how he was struck, the preceding evening, when leaving the Opera, on seeing Junot paying as much attention and respect to his mother, as he would have done to the first peeress in England. Having begun life with the Revolution, Junot was absolutely one of its children. He was scarcely twenty when the first roll of the drum was heard. A war-cry rang throughout the kingdom; the most sober panted for combat; all were tired of repose. Had not Junot been my husband, I should tell how, all at once, he became a young Achilles. During the whole of the campaigns in Italy, he accompanied Bonaparte in those fields of glory, and was not sparing of his blood. To a brilliant and creative imagination, Junot joined an acute understanding. He learned everything with inconceivable rapidity. He was ready at composing verses, was an excellent actor, and wrote wonderfully well. His temper was warm, sometimes passionate; but never was he coarse or brutal." E

"Of the considerable fortunes which the Emperor had bestowed, that of Junot, he said, was one of the most extravagant. The sums he had given him almost exceeded belief, and yet he was always in debt; he had squandered treasures without credit to himself, without discernment or taste, and too frequently, the Emperor added, in gross debauchery. The frequent incoherences which had been observed in Junot's behaviour, towards the close of his life, arose from the excesses in which he had indulged, and broke out at last into complete insanity. They were obliged to convey him to his father's house, where he died miserably, having mutilated his person with his own hands."—*Las Cases*. E.

* "That day was the most brilliant of Augereau's life; nor did Napoleon ever forget it."—*Montholon*. E.

† Bonaparte, in his despatch to the Directory, states the loss of the Austrians at from two to three thousand killed, and four thousand prisoners. Jomini says, "three thousand killed, wounded, or prisoners." E.

person the movement of his troops. In a few days he had killed five horses with fatigue. He would not intrust any one with the execution of his orders; he was determined to see everything, to verify everything, to animate all by his presence. It is thus that a superior mind communicates itself to a vast mass, and fills it with his own ardour. He arrived about mid-day at Lonato. His orders were already put in execution; part of the troops were marching upon Castiglione; the rest were proceeding towards Salo and Gavardo. There remained, at most, a thousand men at Lonato. Scarcely had Bonaparte entered the place, when an Austrian flag of truce presented itself; and the bearer summoned him to surrender. The general, surprised, could not comprehend at first how it was possible that he should be in presence of the Austrians. He was soon enabled to account for the circumstance. The division, separated on the preceding day in the battle of Lonato, and driven back upon Salo, had been partly taken; but a corps of nearly four thousand men had been wandering all night in the mountains, and seeing Lonato almost abandoned, wanted to enter the place, in order to open for itself an outlet to the Mincio. Bonaparte had but a thousand men to oppose to it, and besides, he had no time to fight a battle. He immediately made all the officers about him mount their horses. He ordered the bearer of the flag of truce to be brought before him, and his eyes to be uncovered. "Wretched man!" said Bonaparte to him, "you know not then that you are in the presence of the general-in-chief, and that he is here with his whole army. Go tell those who have sent you, that I give them five minutes to surrender, or I will put them to the sword to punish the insult which they have dared to offer me." He immediately ordered his artillery to be drawn up, and threatened to fire upon the advancing columns. The messengers went and carried back his answer; and the four thousand men laid down their arms before one thousand.* Bonaparte, saved by his presence of mind on this occasion, gave his orders for the conflict that was about to ensue. He added fresh troops to those which had already been despatched upon Salo. The division of Despinos was united with that of Sauret, and both, taking advantage of the ascendancy of victory, were to attack Quasdanovich, and throw him back definitively into the mountains. He led all the rest to Castiglione. In the night he arrived there, and, without taking a moment's rest, mounted a fresh horse, and hastened to the field of battle, to make his dispositions. The coming day was to decide the fate of Italy.

It was in the plain of Castiglione that this battle was to be fought. A series of heights, formed by the last range of hills belonging to the Alps, extends from Chiesa to the Mincio, by Lonato, Castiglione, and Solferino. At the foot of these heights lies the plain that was to serve for the field of battle. The two armies were there in presence of each other, perpendicularly to the line of the heights on which both supported one wing; Bonaparte his left, Wurmser his right. Bonaparte had, at most, twenty-two thousand men; Wurmser thirty thousand. The latter had another advantage: his wing, which was in the plain, was covered by a redoubt placed on the knoll of Medolano. Thus it was supported on both sides. To counterbalance these advantages of number and position, Bonaparte reckoned upon the ascendancy of victory, and upon his manœuvres. Wurmser would naturally

* This fact has been questioned by one historian, M. Botta, but it is confirmed by all the accounts; and I have received an attestation of its authenticity from M. Aubernon, quarter-master-general of the active army, who reviewed the four thousand prisoners.

strive to extend himself on his right, which was supported upon the line of the heights, in order to open a communication towards Lonato and Salo. This was what Bayalitsch had done two days before, and this was what would scarcely fail to be done by Wurmser, all whose wishes must tend to a junction with his great detachment. Bonaparte resolved to favour this movement, from which he hoped to derive important advantage. He had now at hand Serrurier's division, which, pursued by Wurmser ever since it had left Mantua, had not yet been able to enter into line. It was coming by way of Guirdizzolo. Bonaparte ordered it to debouch towards Cauriana, on Wurmser's rear. He waited for his fire to begin the combat.

By daybreak the two armies were in action. Wurmser, impatient to attack, moved his right along the heights; Bonaparte, to favour this movement, drew back his left, formed by Massena's division: he kept his centre immoveable in the plain. He soon heard Serrurier's fire. Then, while he continued to draw back his left, and Wurmser to prolong his right, he ordered the redoubt of Medolano to be attacked. At first he directed twenty pieces of light artillery upon that redoubt, and, after briskly cannonading it, he detached General Verdier, with three battalions of grenadiers, to storm it. That brave general advanced, supported by a regiment of cavalry, and took the redoubt. The left flank of the Austrians was thus uncovered, at the very moment when Serrurier, arriving at Cauriana, excited alarm upon their rear. Wurmser immediately moved part of his second line upon his right, deprived of support, and placed it *en potence* to make head against the French who were debouching from Medolano. The rest of his second line he moved back to cover Cauriana, and thus continued to make head against the enemy. But Bonaparte, seizing the moment with his wonted promptness, immediately ceased to refuse his left and his centre; he gave Massena and Augereau the signal which they were impatiently awaiting. Massena, with the left, Augereau with the centre, rushed upon the weakened line of the Austrians, and charged it with impetuosity. Attacked so briskly on its whole front, and threatened on its left and its rear, it began to give way. The ardour of the French redoubled. Wurmser, seeing his army compromised, gave the signal for retreat. He was pursued, and some prisoners were taken. To put him completely to the rout, it would have been necessary to make double haste, and to push him in disorder upon the Mincio. But, for six days,* the troops had been marching and fighting without intermission; they were unable to advance farther, and slept on the field of battle. Wurmser had on that day lost only two thousand men, but he had nevertheless lost Italy.

On the following day, Augereau proceeded to the bridge of Borghetto, and Massena before Peschiera. Augereau commenced a cannonade, which was followed by the retreat of the Austrians; and Massena fought a rear-guard action with the division which had masked Peschiera. The Mincio was abandoned by Wurmser; he again took the road to Rivoli between the Adige and the Lake of Garda, to regain the Tyrol. Massena followed him to Rivoli and to La Corona, and resumed his old positions. Augereau appeared before Verona. The Venetian provveditore, in order to give the Austrians time to evacuate the city and to save their baggage, demanded a respite of two hours before opening the gates; Bonaparte ordered them to be broken open with cannon-balls. The Veronese, who were devoted

* "It has been said that, during these extraordinary six days, Bonaparte never once took off his boots, nor lay down upon a bed."—*Bourrienne*. E.

to the cause of Austria, and who had openly manifested their sentiments at the moment of the retreat of the French, dreaded the wrath of the conqueror, but they experienced at his hands the utmost lenity.

Towards Salo and La Chiesa, Quasdanovich was effecting an arduous retreat behind the Lake of Garda. He halted and attempted to defend a defile called La Rocca d'Anfo; but he was beaten and lost twelve hundred men. The French had soon recovered all their old positions.

This campaign had lasted six days; and in that short space of time some thirty thousand men had put sixty thousand *hors de combat*.^{*} Wurmser had lost twenty thousand men, seven or eight thousand of whom were killed, and twelve or thirteen thousand prisoners. He was driven into the mountains, and it was utterly impossible for him to keep the field. Thus had this redoubtable expedition vanished before a handful of brave men. These extraordinary results, unexampled in history, were owing to the promptness and vigour of resolution of the young commander. While two formidable armies covered both shores of the Lake of Garda, and the courage of all was shaken, he had known how to reduce the whole campaign to a single question—the junction of the two armies at the extremity of the Lake of Garda. He had known how to make a great sacrifice, that of the blockade of Mantua, in order to concentrate his forces at the decisive point; and, dealing tremendous blows to each of the enemy's masses in turn, at Salo, at Lonato, and at Castiglione, he had successively disorganized them, and driven them back into the mountains from which they had issued.

The Austrians were struck with consternation; the French transported with admiration of their young chief. Their confidence in and devotion to him were at their height. One battalion could put three to flight. The old soldiers, who had made him corporal at Lodi, promoted him to sergeant at Castiglione. In Italy the sensation was profound. Milan, Bologna, Ferrara, the towns in the duchy of Modena, and all the friends of liberty, were transported with joy. Grief pervaded the convents and all the old aristocracies. Venice, Rome, and Naples, the governments which had committed imprudences, were terror-stricken.

Bonaparte, judging soundly of his position, did not consider the struggle as at an end, though he had deprived Wurmser of twenty thousand men. The old marshal was retiring into the Alps with forty thousand. He was going to rest, to rally, to recruit them, and it was to be presumed that he would pounce once more upon Italy. Bonaparte had lost a few thousand men, in prisoners, killed, and wounded; he had a great number in the hospitals: he thought it best to continue to temporize, to keep his eyes constantly upon the Tyrol, and his feet upon the Adige, and to content himself with overawing the Italian powers until he should have time to chastise them. He therefore merely took care to apprise the Venetians that he was informed of their armaments, and continued to make them furnish him with supplies at their own cost, still postponing the negotiations for an alliance. He had learned the arrival at Ferrara of a papal legate, who had come to resume possession of the legations. He summoned him to his head-quarters. This legate, who was Cardinal Mattei,† fell at his feet, saying, *Peccavi*. Bonaparte put him

^{*} "In the different engagements between the twenty-ninth of July and the twelfth of August, the French army took 15,000 prisoners, 70 pieces of cannon, and nine stand of colours; and killed or wounded 25,000 men. The loss of the French army was 7,000 men."—*Montholon*. E

† "Cardinal Mattei was born at Rome in 1744. Compelled, in the year 1810, to repair to France with his colleagues, he was banished by Napoleon to Rhétel, for refusing

under arrest in a seminary. He wrote to M. d'Azara, who was his go-between with the courts of Rome and Naples, complained to him of the imbecility and of the insincerity of the papal government, and declared his determination to turn back very soon upon it, if he were obliged to do so. With regard to the court of Naples, he assumed the most threatening language. "The English," said he to M. d'Azara, "have persuaded the King of Naples that he was something; I will soon prove to him that he is nothing. If he persists, in despite of the armistice, in arraying himself against us, I solemnly engage, before the face of Europe, to march against his pretended seventy thousand men with six thousand grenadiers, four thousand horse, and forty pieces of cannon."

He wrote a polite but firm letter to the Duke of Tuscany, who had suffered the English to occupy Porto Ferrajo, and told him that France had certainly had it in her power to punish him for this negligence by occupying his dominions, but that she forbore to do so for old friendship's sake. He changed the garrison of Leghorn, in order to awe Tuscany by a movement of troops. To Genoa he was silent. He wrote a strong letter to the King of Sardinia, who tolerated the Barbets in his territories, and despatched a column of twelve hundred men, with a roving military commission to seize and shoot all Barbets found on the roads. The people of Milan had shown the most amicable dispositions towards the French. He addressed to them a delicate and noble letter, expressing his thanks.* His recent victories gave him the strongest hopes of retaining Italy. He thought that he might proceed further with the Lombards; he granted them arms, and permitted them to raise a legion in their own pay, in which a great number of Italians and the Poles wandering over Europe since the last partition, enrolled themselves. Bonaparte testified his satisfaction to the people of Bologna and Ferrara. Those of Modena desired to be emancipated from the regency established by the duke; Bonaparte had already some motives for breaking the armistice, for the regency had transmitted supplies to the garrison of Mantua. He resolved, however, to wait awhile. He solicited reinforcements of the Directory to repair his losses, and remained at the entrance of the gorges of the Tyrol, ready to rush upon Wurmser and to destroy the remains of his army, as soon as he should learn that Moreau had crossed the Danube.

During these important events in Italy, others were in progress on the Danube. Moreau had pushed the archduke foot by foot, and had arrived in the middle of Thermidor (the first days of August) on the Danube. Jourdan was on the Naab, which falls into that river. The chain of the Alb, which separates the Neckar from the Danube, is composed of mountains of middling height, terminating in a plateau, crossed by defiles, narrow as fissures in rocks. It was by these defiles that Moreau had debouched upon the Danube, in an unequal country, intersected by ravines, and covered with wood. The archduke, who entertained the design of concentrating himself on the Danube, and recovering strength on that powerful line, suddenly formed a resolution which had well nigh compromised his judicious plans. He received intelligence that Wartensleben, instead of falling back

to be present at his marriage with Maria Louisa. The Cardinal died in 1820."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

* "After the victory of Castiglione, Bonaparte returned his thanks to the Milanese in the name of the republic. 'Your people,' he said, 'render themselves daily more worthy of liberty, and they will, no doubt, one day appear with glory on the stage of the world.'"—*Moniteur*. E.

upon him as near as possible to Donauwerth, was falling back towards Bohemia, under the foolish idea of covering it. He was apprehensive lest, profiting by this false movement, which uncovered the Danube, the army of the Sambre and Meuse should attempt to cross it. He resolved, therefore, to cross it himself, in order to file rapidly along the other shore, and to go and make head against Jourdan. But the river was encumbered by his magazines, and it would take him some time to clear them out. He had, besides, no intention to execute the passage before the face of Moreau, and within reach of his blows, and he conceived the idea of removing him, by giving him battle with the Danube at his back—a bad idea, for which he has since severely censured himself, since it rendered him liable to be thrown into the river, or at least not to reach it entire, an indispensable condition for the success of his ulterior designs.

On the 24th of Thermidor (August 11), he halted before Moreau's positions, to make a general attack upon him. Moreau was at Neresheim, occupying the positions of Dunstelkingen and Dischingen by his right and his centre, and that of Nordlingen by his left. The archduke, wishing in the first place to remove him farther from the Danube, in the next to cut him off, if possible, from the mountains by which he had debouched, and lastly, to prevent him from communicating with Jourdan, attacked him in order to attain all his ends on all the points at once. He succeeded in turning the right of Moreau and in dispersing all his flankers; he advanced to Heidenheim almost close to his rear, and excited such alarm that all his artillery fell back. At the centre he attempted a vigorous attack, but it was not sufficiently decisive. On the left, towards Nordlingen, he made threatening demonstrations. Moreau was not intimidated either by the demonstrations made upon his left, or by the excursion behind his right; and, judging very correctly that the essential point was at the centre, did the reverse of what is done by ordinary generals, who are always alarmed when their wings are threatened: he weakened his wings to strengthen the centre. His precaution was judicious, for the archduke, redoubling his efforts at the centre towards Dunstelkingen, was repulsed with loss. Both armies passed the night on the field of battle.

Next day Moreau found himself greatly embarrassed by the retrograde movement of his parks, which left him without ammunition. He nevertheless conceived that he ought to make amends by daring, and to affect an intention to attack. But the archduke, in a hurry to recross the Danube, had no mind to renew the combat; he retreated with great firmness to the Danube, repassed it unmolested by Moreau, and broke down the bridges as far as Donauwerth. There he learned what had passed between the two armies which had operated by the Mayn. Wartensleben had not thrown himself into Bohemia, as he feared, but had remained on the Naab, in presence of Jourdan. The young Austrian prince then formed an admirable resolution, which was the consequence of his long retreat, and which was calculated to decide the campaign. His aim, in falling back upon the Danube, had been to concentrate himself there, that he might have it in his power to act upon one or other of the two French armies with a superior mass of forces. The battle of Neresheim might have thwarted this plan, if, instead of being uncertain, it had been positively disastrous. But, having retreated unhurt to the Danube, he could now take advantage of the separation of the French armies, and fall upon one of the two. He consequently resolved to leave General Latour, with thirty-six thousand men, to occupy Moreau, and to proceed himself with twenty-five thousand towards War

tensleben, in order to overwhelm Jourdan by this junction of forces. Jourdan's army was the weaker of the two. At so great a distance from his base, he numbered little more than forty-five thousand men. It was evident that he could not resist, and that he was even likely to be exposed to great disasters. Jourdan being beaten and driven back to the Rhine, Moreau, on his part, could not remain in Bavaria, and the archduke might even proceed to the Neckar, and anticipate him on his line of retreat. This conception has been considered the most judicious of any that the Austrian generals have to boast during these long wars. Like those which at the same moment shed lustre on the genius of Bonaparte in Italy, it belonged to a young man.

The archduke set out from Ingoldstadt on the 29th of Thermidor, (August 16), five days after the battle of Neresheim. Jourdan, placed on the Naab, between Naaburg and Schwandorf, was not aware of the storm that was gathering over his head. He had detached General Bernadotte* to Neumarkt, on his right, with a view to put himself in communication with Moreau—an object which it was impossible to accomplish, and for which a detached corps was uselessly compromised. With this detachment, the archduke, coming from the Danube, must necessarily fall in. General Bernadotte, attacked by superior forces, made an honourable resistance, but was obliged rapidly to recross the mountains by which the army had debouched from the valley of the Mayn into that of the Danube. He retired to Nuremberg. The archduke, having despatched a corps in pursuit

* "Jean Baptiste Jules Bernadotte was born in 1764. His father was a lawyer. In 1780 the son entered the military profession, and was still a sergeant in 1789. When the Revolution broke out, he embraced its principles with enthusiasm, and obtained quick promotion in the army. In 1794 he was general of division at the battle of Fleurus; and in 1796 he served in Jourdan's army. He afterwards led reinforcements to the army of Italy; and shortly before the 18th of Fructidor, Bonaparte chose him to carry to the Directory the banners taken at the battle of Rivoli. After the treaty of Campo Formio, Bernadotte was appointed ambassador of the French republic to the court of Vienna. He was next placed in the ministry of war, but, being speedily removed from office, retired into private life till the 18th of Brumaire, when Napoleon called him to the council of state. Here he opposed the establishment of the order of the Legion of Honour, which gave great umbrage to the First Consul. In 1804, on the establishment of the Empire, Bernadotte was created a marshal, and soon afterwards received the grand decoration of the Legion of Honour. He greatly distinguished himself at the battle of Austerlitz, and, in the same year, the Emperor created him Prince of Ponte-Corvo. From the close of 1807 to 1809 he commanded the French army which remained in the north of Germany. At the battle of Wagram he led the Saxon allies who fought with great skill and bravery. In consequence, however, of an altercation with the Emperor, he quitted the service, and went to Paris. In 1810 he was appointed successor to the Swedish throne, by the name of Charles John. In 1813 he issued a formal declaration of war against Napoleon, placed himself at the head of the Swedish army in Germany, and contributed greatly to the victory of the allies at Leipsic. In the following year he obtained the cession of Norway to Sweden. In 1818 he succeeded to the throne by the title of Charles XIV.; and since his accession has done everything in his power to promote the welfare and happiness of his subjects, with whom he is deservedly popular. His son, Oscar, the crown prince, who was born in 1799, is said to be a young man every way worthy of his father. It is remarkable that Bernadotte is the only sovereign who has retained a throne acquired during the late wars in Europe."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

"Bernadotte," said Napoleon, "was ungrateful to me, as I was the author of his greatness; but I cannot say that he betrayed me; he in a manner became a Swede, and never promised that which he did not intend to perform. I can accuse him of ingratitude, but not of treachery. Neither Murat nor he would have declared against me, had they thought it would have lost me my throne. Their wish was, to diminish my power, but not to destroy me altogether. Bernadotte is a Gascon, a little inclined to boasting."—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

of him, proceeded with the rest of his forces against Jourdan. The latter, having received intelligence that a reinforcement was coming, and being apprized of the danger which Bernadotte had incurred, and of the retreat which he was obliged to make upon Nuremberg, resolved to recross the mountains himself. At the moment when he was commencing his march, he was attacked, at once, by the archduke and Wartensleben; he had a difficult combat to sustain at Amberg, and lost his direct route to Nuremberg. Thrown, with his artillery, his infantry, and his cavalry, into cross-roads, he incurred the greatest dangers, and was eight days in making a most difficult but a most honourable retreat, both for the troops and for himself. He found himself once more on the Mayn, at Schweinfurt, on the 12th of Fructidor (August 29), purposing to proceed to Wurtzburg, to halt there, to rally his corps, and to try the fortune of arms.

While the archduke was executing this admirable movement upon the army of the Sambre and Meuse, he afforded Moreau occasion to execute a similar one, equally masterly and equally decisive. An enemy never attempts any daring stroke without uncovering himself and opening favourable chances to his adversary. Moreau, having no more than thirty-eight thousand men opposed to him, might easily have overwhelmed them by acting with a little vigour. He might have done still more (in the opinion of Bonaparte and the Archduke Charles), he might have made a movement, the results of which would have been immense. He should himself have followed the march of the enemy, have fallen upon the archduke, as that prince was himself falling upon Jourdan, and have got unawares upon his rear. The archduke, caught between Jourdan and Moreau, would have incurred incalculable dangers. But for this purpose he must have executed a very extensive movement, suddenly changed his line of operation, and thrown himself from the Neckar upon the Mayn; he must, moreover, have disobeyed the instructions of the Directory, which ordered him to support himself upon the Tyrol, with a view to turn the enemy's flanks and to communicate with the army of Italy. The young conqueror of Castiglione would not have hesitated to take this bold step and to have committed such a disobedience, which would have decided the campaign in a victorious manner; but Moreau was incapable of such a determination. He remained several days on the banks of the Danube, ignorant of the departure of the archduke, and leisurely exploring a position that was then but little known. Being, at length, apprized of the movement which had taken place, he was alarmed for Jourdan; but, not daring to take any vigorous determination, he resolved to cross the Danube and to advance into Bavaria, to try to draw the archduke back upon him, while adhering to the plan prescribed by the Directory. It was, however, easy to judge that the archduke would not quit Jourdan till he had put him *hors de combat*, and that he would not suffer himself to be diverted from the execution of a vast plan by an incursion into Bavaria. Moreau, nevertheless, crossed the Danube after Latour and approached the Lech. Latour showed an intention to dispute the passage of the Lech; but, too much extended to support himself there, he was obliged to abandon it, after being worsted in an action at Friedberg. Moreau then approached Munich: on the 15th of Fructidor (September 1) he was at Dachau, Pfaffenhofen, and Geisenfeld.

Thus Fortune began to be less favourable to us in Germany, owing to a vicious plan, which, separating our armies, rendered them liable to be beaten singly. Other results were preparing in Italy also. We have seen that Bonaparte, after he had driven back the Austrians into the Tyrol, and

resumed his old positions on the Adige, meditated fresh designs against Wurmser. Not content with having destroyed twenty thousand of his men, he wished to ruin his army entirely. This operation was indispensable for the execution of all his plans in Italy. Wurmser destroyed, he could make a push as far as Trieste, ruin that port, so important for Austria, then return to the Adige, give law to Venice, Rome, and Naples, whose ill-will was still as manifest as ever, and at length throw out the signal of liberty in Italy, by constituting Lombardy, the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, and perhaps even the duchy of Modena, an independent republic. In order to accomplish these plans, he resolved to ascend into the Tyrol, certain of being now seconded by the presence of Moreau, on the other slope of the Alps.

While the French troops were taking about three weeks' rest, Wurmser had reorganized and reinforced his. New detachments from Austria, and the Tyrolese militia, enabled him to increase his army to nearly fifty thousand men. The Aulic Council sent him a new chief of the staff, General Lauer, of the engineers, with fresh instructions respecting the plan to be pursued for taking the line of the Adige. Wurmser was to leave eighteen or twenty thousand men under Davidovich, to guard the Tyrol, and to descend with the rest, by the valley of the Brenta, into the plains of the Vincentine and the Paduan. The Brenta rises not far from Trent, recedes from the Adige in the form of an arch, again becomes parallel to that river in the plain, and discharges itself into the Adriatic. A causeway, commencing at Trent, leads into the valley of the Brenta, and, running through Bassano, terminates in the plains of the Vincentine and the Paduan. Wurmser would have to pass through this valley, in order to debouch in the plain and to attempt the passage of the Adige between Verona and Legnago. This plan was not better conceived than the preceding, for it was still attended with the inconvenience of dividing him into two corps and placing Bonaparte between them.

Wurmser entered into action at the same moment as Bonaparte. The latter, ignorant of Wurmser's designs, but foreseeing, with rare sagacity, that, during his excursion to the extremity of the Tyrol, the enemy might possibly try the line of the Adige, from Verona to Legnago, left General Kilmaine at Verona, with a reserve of nearly three thousand men, and with all the means of resisting for two days at least. General Sahuguet remained, with a division of eight thousand men, before Mantua. Bonaparte set out with twenty-eight thousand, and ascended by all the three roads of the Tyrol, that which runs behind the Lake of Garda and the two which border the Adige. On the 17th of Fructidor (September 3), Sauret's division, now become Vaubois', after passing behind the Lake of Garda, and fighting several actions, arrived at Torbole, near the upper extremity of the lake. On the same day, Massena's and Augereau's divisions, which, at first, proceeded along both banks of the Adige, and afterwards formed a junction on one bank by means of the bridge of Golo, arrived before Seravalle. They fought an advanced-guard action, and took some prisoners from the enemy.

The French had now to ascend a narrow and deep valley. On their left they had the Adige, on their right lofty mountains. In places, the river, running close to the foot of the mountains, left only the breadth of the causeway, and thus formed frightful defiles to pass. In penetrating into the Tyrol, there was more than one of this kind to encounter. But the

French, daring and active, were as fit for this kind of warfare as for that which they had just been carrying on in the extensive plains of the Mantuan.

Davidovich had placed two divisions, one in the camp of Mori, on the right bank of the Adige, to make head against Vaubois' division, which was advancing along the causeway from Salo to Roveredo, behind the Lake of Garda; the other at San Marco, on the left bank, to guard the defile against Massena and Augereau. On the 18th of Fructidor (September 4th), the French and Austrians found themselves in presence of each other. It was Wukassovich's division that defended the defile of San Marco. Bonaparte, instantly adopting the kind of tactics suited to the situation, formed two corps of light infantry, and distributed them on the right and left on the surrounding heights. Then, after he had fatigued the Austrians for some time, he formed the 18th demi-brigade into close column by battalions, and ordered General Victor* to force the defile with it. A violent combat ensued; the Austrians, at first, kept their ground, but Bonaparte decided the action by directing General Dubois to charge at the head of the hussars. That brave general rushed upon the Austrian infantry, broke it, and fell pierced with three balls. He was borne away expiring. "Before I die," said he to Bonaparte, "let me know if we are conquerors." The Austrians fled on all sides and retired to Roveredo, a league distant from Marco. They were pursued at a run. Roveredo is at some distance from the Adige; Bonaparte directed Rampon, with the 32d, towards the space between the river and the town; and Victor, with the 18th, upon the town itself. The latter entered the main street of Roveredo at the charge step, swept the Austrians before him, and reached the other extremity of the town at the very moment when Rampon was completing the exterior circuit of it. While the principal army was thus carying San Marco and Roveredo, Vaubois' division arrived by the other bank of the Adige. The Austrian division of Reuss had disputed with it the camp of

* "Perrin Victor was born in 1766. In his fifteenth year he entered the army as a private soldier, and by his good conduct at Toulon obtained the rank of general of brigade. From the breaking out of the Revolution to the battle of Friedland he was almost constantly in the field, and his gallantry in that great action procured him his marshal's baton. On the peace of Tilsit, Victor was appointed governor of Berlin, but he had been only fifteen months there when he was sent to Spain, where he remained from 1808 to 1812, while his troops on more than one occasion disgraced themselves by shameful excesses. At the battle of Talavera, Victor was defeated by Sir Arthur Wellesley with the loss of about ten thousand men. After an unsuccessful, though tedious siege of Cadiz, the marshal, whom the Emperor had now created Duke of Belluno, was summoned to the Russian campaign. At the Beresina, Dresden, Leipsic, and Hanau, Victor fought nobly, and equally so on the invasion of France by the allies in 1814. After incredible efforts at Nangis and Villeneuve, and seeing his son-in-law killed before his face, he took a few hours' rest at Salins. This greatly enraged Napoleon, who had commanded him to pursue the allies to Montereau without intermission, and he told him that his command was given to another, and that he might go about his business. The tears streamed down the marshal's cheeks as he replied, 'No, sire, I will not leave the service. Victor was once a grenadier, and has not forgotten how to use the musket. I will take my place in the ranks with the soldiers of the guard.' The Emperor, affected by this proof of fidelity, stretched out his hand to the marshal, and said, 'I cannot return you your command, since another has it, but you may head two brigades of my guard.' The veteran did so, and throughout the remainder of the campaign, fought with the most determined bravery. On the return of Napoleon from Elba, Victor followed Louis to Ghent, and on the second restoration was made a French peer, and minister of war in 1821. At a subsequent period, he was sent as ambassador to Vienna."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

Mori, but Vaubois had just carried it, and all the divisions were now united about noon, on both banks of the river, near Roveredo. But the most difficult task was yet to be performed.

Davidovich had rallied his two divisions upon his reserve, in the defile of Calliano—a formidable defile, and dangerous in a very different way from that of Marco. At this point, the Adige, running close to the mountains, left but the width of the causeway between its bed and their foot. The entrance of the defile was closed by the castle of La Pietra, which connected the mountain with the river and was crowned with artillery.

Bonaparte, persisting in his tactics, distributed his light infantry on the right upon the declivities of the mountain, and on the left upon the banks of the river. His soldiers, born on the banks of the Rhone, the Seine, or the Loire, equalled the hunters of the Alps in boldness and agility. Some, climbing from rock to rock, attained the summit of the mountain, and poured down a perpendicular fire upon the enemy; others, not less intrepid, glided along the river, venturing wherever they could find a footing, and turned the castle of La Pietra. General Dommartin placed a battery of light artillery in a situation where it produced the best effect; the castle was taken. The army then passed through it, and advanced in close column upon the Austrian army, crowded together in the defile. Artillery, cavalry, infantry, were intermingled, and fled in frightful disorder. Young Lemarois, aide-de-camp of the general in chief, with a view to prevent the flight of the Austrians, dashed away at full gallop at the head of fifty hussars, passed through the whole length of the Austrian mass, then suddenly facing about, attempted to stop the van. He was struck from his horse, but he spread terror in the Austrian ranks, and gave the cavalry which hastened after him, time to pick up several thousand prisoners. Thus ended that series of actions which made the French army master of the defiles of the Tyrol, the town of Roveredo, the whole of the Austrian artillery, and four thousand prisoners, exclusively of killed and wounded. Bonaparte called this affair the battle of Roveredo.

On the following day, the 16th of Fructidor (September 5th), the French entered Trent, the capital of the Italian Tyrol. The bishop had fled. Bonaparte, in order to appease the Tyrolese, who were strongly attached to the house of Austria, addressed to them a proclamation, in which he exhorted them to lay down their arms and not to commit hostilities against his army, promising that, on this condition, their property and public establishments should be respected. Wurmser was no longer at Trent. Bonaparte had surprised him at the moment when he was marching to execute his plan. On seeing the French enter the Tyrol, for the purpose of communicating perhaps with Germany, Wurmser was only the more disposed to descend by the Brenta, in order to possess himself of the Adige during their absence. He even hoped, by means of this rapid circuit, which would bring him to Verona, to enclose the French in the upper valley of the Adige, and at once to envelop them and to cut them off from Mantua. He had set out two days before, and must already have reached Bassano. Bonaparte immediately formed one of the boldest of resolutions. He determined to leave Vaubois to guard the Tyrol, and to hasten himself through the gorges of the Brenta, after Wurmser. He could not take with him more than twenty thousand men, and Wurmser had thirty; he might be cooped up in those frightful gorges, if Wurmser should make head against him; he might also come too late to fall upon the rear of Wurmser, and the latter might have time to force the Adige. All this was possible,

but his twenty thousand men were as good as thirty; if Wurmser attempted to oppose him and to shut him up in the gorges, he would cut his way through his army; if he had twenty leagues to go, he would perform that distance in two days and reach the plain as soon as Wurmser. He would then drive him back either upon Trieste or upon the Adige. If he drove him upon Trieste, he would pursue him and burn that port before his face; if he drove him upon the Adige, he would hem him in between his army and the river, and thus envelop the enemy who thought to catch him in the gorges of the Tyrol.

This young man, whose conceptions and resolutions were prompt as lightning, ordered Vaubois, on the very day of his arrival at Trent, to proceed to the Lavis, and to take that position from the rear-guard of Davidovich. He made Vaubois execute this order before his face, pointed out to him the position which he was to occupy with his ten thousand men, and then set out with twenty thousand to dash through the gorges of the Brenta.

He started on the morning of the 20th (September 6th), and passed the night at Levico. Next morning, the 21st (September 7th), he resumed his march, and arrived before another defile, called the defile of Primolano, where Wurmser had placed a division. Bonaparte employed the same manœuvres as before, threw tirailleurs upon the heights and upon the bank of the Brenta, and then ordered a column to charge upon the road. The defile was taken. There was a small fort beyond it; this was surrounded and carried. A few intrepid soldiers, running forward along the road, outstripped the fugitives, stopped them, and gave the army time to come up and secure them. Three thousand prisoners were taken. Bonaparte arrived in the evening at Cismona, after marching twenty leagues in two days. He would have advanced farther, but the soldiers were unable to proceed; he was himself exhausted with fatigue. He had distanced his head-quarters, and had neither attendants nor victuals. He partook of the ammunition bread of one of the soldiers,* and lay down to wait with impatience for the morrow.

This daring and unexpected march filled Wurmser with astonishment. He could not conceive how his foe could have ventured into those gorges, at the risk of being shut up there. He was at Bassano, which closed the outlet, and he resolved to bar the passage with his whole army. If he succeeded in the attempt, Bonaparte would be taken in the bend of the Brenta. He had already sent the division of Mezaros to try Verona; but he recalled it that he might combat here with all his forces; it was not probable, however, that the order would arrive in time. The town of Bassano is seated on the left bank of the Brenta. It communicates with the right bank by a bridge. Wurmser placed the two divisions of Schlotterndorf and Quasdanovich on the two banks of the Brenta, in advance of the town, and six battalions as an advanced guard in the defiles which precede Bassano and close the valley.

On the morning of the 22d (September 8th), Bonaparte left Cismona and advanced towards Bassano. Massena marched on the right bank, Augereau on the left. The defiles were carried, and the French debouched in presence of the enemy's army, drawn up on both banks of the

* "Napoleon, in his eagerness to pursue the enemy, outrode all his suite, and passed the night alone, wrapped in his cloak, on the ground, in the midst of a regiment of infantry who bivouacked round the town. A private soldier shared with him his rations, and reminded him of it, after he became emperor, in the camp at Boulogne."—*Alison*. E.

Brenta. Wurmser's soldiers, disconcerted by their audacity, did not resist with the courage which they had shown on so many other occasions. They gave way, were broken, and entered Bassano.* Augereau appeared at the entrance of the town. Massena, on the opposite bank, resolved to penetrate by the bridge. He carried it in close column, like that of Lodi, and entered the place at the same time as Augereau. Wurmser, whose headquarters were still there, had only to escape, leaving us four thousand prisoners and an immense *matériel*. Bonaparte's plan was thus realized. He had reached the plain as soon as Wurmser, and it was now his business to envelop him by driving him backward upon the Adige.

Wurmser, in the disorder of so hurried an action, found himself separated from the remains of Quasdanovich's division. This division retired towards the Friule; and he, pressed by Massena's and Augereau's divisions, which cut him off from the road to the Friule, and drove him towards the Adige, formed the resolution of forcing a passage across that river and throwing himself into Mantua. He had been rejoined by the division of Mezaros, which had made vain efforts to take Verona. He now numbered no more than fourteen thousand men, eight of which were infantry, and six excellent cavalry. He proceeded along the Adige, seeking a passage everywhere. Luckily for him, the post which guarded Legnago had been removed to Verona, and a detachment which was to come and occupy the place had not yet arrived. Wurmser, profiting by this accident, took possession of Legnago. Certain of being now able to regain Mantua, he gave some rest to his troops, who were overwhelmed with fatigue.

Bonaparte followed him without intermission. He was deeply mortified on hearing of the negligence which had saved Wurmser; he did not, however, despair of still preventing him from reaching Mantua. He transferred Massena's division to the other bank of the Adige by means of the ferry of Ronco, and directed it upon Sanguinetto, to bar the road to Mantua. He directed Augereau towards Legnago itself. Massena's advanced guard, outstripping his division, entered Cerea on the 25th (September 11), at the moment when Wurmser was arriving there from Legnago with his whole *corps d'armée*. This advanced guard of cavalry and light infantry, commanded by Generals Murat and Pigeon, made a most heroic resistance, but was overthrown; Wurmser forced his way through it and continued his march. Bonaparte arrived alone at a gallop, at the moment of this action; he narrowly escaped being taken, and rode off in the utmost haste.†

* "Napoleon, the same night, visited the field of battle at Bassano, and he told this anecdote of it at St. Helena: 'In the deep silence of a beautiful moonlight night,' observed the Emperor, 'a dog, leaping suddenly from beneath the clothes of his dead master, rushed upon us, and then immediately returned to his hiding-place, howling piteously. He alternately licked his master's face, and again flew at us; thus at once soliciting aid, and threatening revenge. Whether owing to my own particular mood of mind at the moment, the time, the place, or the action itself, I know not, but certainly no incident on any field of battle ever produced so deep an impression on me. I involuntarily stopped to contemplate the scene. This man, thought I, must have had among his comrades friends; and yet here he lies, forsaken by all, except his dog! What a strange being is man, and how mysterious are his impressions! I had without emotion ordered battles which were to decide the fate of armies; I had beheld with tearless eyes the execution of those operations in the course of which numbers of my countrymen were sacrificed; and here my feelings were roused by the mournful howling of a dog! Certainly at that moment I should have been easily moved by a suppliant enemy, and I could very well imagine Achilles surrendering up the body of Hector at the sight of Priam's tears.'—*Las Cases*. E.

† "The Austrians fought with the courage of despair, and their cavalry, which was unbroken, and whose spirit had not suffered by disaster, proved irresistible to their

Wurmser passed through Sanguinetto; then, being informed that all the bridges over the Molenilla were broken down excepting that of Villimpenta, he descended to that bridge, crossed the Molenilla, and marched for Mantua. General Charton attempted to oppose him with three hundred men formed into a square. Those brave fellows were all killed or taken. Thus Wurmser arrived at Mantua on the 27th (September 13). These slight advantages served to soothe the old and brave marshal under his disasters. He spread himself over the environs of Mantua, and, for a moment, kept the field, owing to his numerous and excellent cavalry.

Bonaparte arrived breathless and enraged against the negligent officers, who had caused him to lose so important a prize. Augereau had re-entered Legnago, and had made the Austrian garrison prisoners. It consisted of sixteen hundred men. Bonaparte ordered Augereau to proceed to Governolo on the Lower Mincio. He then commenced a series of petty actions with Wurmser, to draw him out of the place, and in the night between the 28th and 29th (September 14 and 15) he took a backward position to induce Wurmser to show himself in the plain. The old general, enticed by his slight successes, actually deployed outside Mantua, between the citadel and the suburb of St. George. Bonaparte attacked him on the 3d, complementary day (September 19). Augereau, coming from Governolo, formed the left; Massena, starting from Due Castelli, formed the centre; and Sahuguet, with the blockading corps, formed the right. Wurmser still had twenty-one thousand men in line. He was forced back everywhere, and driven into the place with the loss of two thousand men. Some days afterwards he was entirely shut up in Mantua. The numerous cavalry which he had brought back with him was useless, and served only to increase the number of unprofitable mouths; he, therefore, ordered the horses to be killed and salted. He had some twenty thousand men in garrison, several thousand of whom were in the hospitals.

Thus, though Bonaparte had partly lost the fruit of his most daring march to the Brenta, and had not forced the marshal to lay down his arms, he had entirely ruined and dispersed his army. Some thousand men were driven back into the Tyrol under Davidovich; and some thousand were fleeing into the Friule under Quasdanovich. Wurmser, with twelve or fourteen thousand, had shut himself up in Mantua. Thirteen or fourteen thousand were prisoners, six or seven thousand slain or wounded. Thus this army had lost about twenty thousand men, besides a considerable *matériel*, in ten days. Bonaparte had lost seven or eight thousand, fifteen hundred of whom were prisoners, and the rest killed, wounded, or sick. Thus to the armies of Colli and Beaulieu, destroyed on entering Italy, was to be added that of Wurmser, destroyed twice over, in the plains of Castiglione and on the banks of the Brenta. To the trophies of Montenotte, Lodi, Borghetto, Lonato, and Castiglione, were to be added those of Roveredo, Bassano, and St. George. At what period of history had such great results been seen, so many enemies slain, so many prisoners, colours, and cannon, taken! These tidings diffused fresh joy in Lombardy, and terror in the

enemies. Napoleon himself, who had come up during the engagement, had great difficulty in saving himself by flight; and Wurmser, who arrived a few minutes after, deemed himself so secure of his antagonist that he recommended to his dragoons to take him alive. Having missed so brilliant a stroke, the old marshal continued his march, passed the Molenilla, cut to pieces a body of eight hundred infantry which endeavoured to interrupt his progress, and entered Mantua in a species of triumph which threw a ray of glory over his long series of disasters."—*Alison* E.

farthest extremities of the Peninsula. France was transported with admiration for the commander of the army of Italy.

Moreau had advanced upon the Lech, as we have seen, in the hope that his progress in Bavaria would bring back the archduke and extricate Jourdan. This hope was not well founded, and the archduke would have ill appreciated the importance of his movement had he relinquished its execution to return towards Moreau. The whole campaign depended on what was about to take place on the Mayn. If Jourdan were beaten and driven back upon the Rhine, the progress of Moreau would serve only to compromise him still more, and to expose him to the risk of losing his line of retreat. The archduke, therefore, contented himself with despatching General Nauendorf, with ten regiments of cavalry and some battalions, to reinforce Latour, and continued his pursuit of the army of the Sambre and Meuse.

That brave army retired with the deepest regret, retaining the entire consciousness of its strength. It was this army that had performed the greatest and the most brilliant exploits during the first years of the Revolution. It was this army that had conquered at Watignies, at Fleurus, on the banks of the Ourthe and of the Roer. It had a warm esteem for its general and a strong confidence in itself. This retreat had not disheartened it, and it was persuaded that it yielded solely to superior combinations and to the mass of the hostile forces. It ardently desired an occasion for measuring its strength with the Austrians, and re-establishing the honour of its flag. Jourdan desired it too. The Directory wrote to him that he must at all hazards maintain his ground in Franconia on the Upper Mayn, in order to take up his winter-quarters in Germany, and more particularly not to uncover Moreau, who had advanced to the very gates of Munich. Moreau, on his part, had acquainted Jourdan, by a despatch dated the 8th of Fructidor (August 25), with his march beyond the Lech, the advantages which he had gained there, and his intention of advancing still farther with a view to bring back the archduke. All these reasons induced Jourdan to try the fortune of arms, though he had before him a very superior force. He would have deemed it derogatory to his honour had he quitted Franconia without fighting, and left his colleague by himself in Bavaria. Misled, moreover, by the movement of General Nauendorf, Jourdan conceived that the archduke had set out again for the banks of the Danube. He halted, therefore, at Wurtzburg, a place which he judged it important to preserve, but of which the French retained the citadel alone. He there gave some rest to his troops, made some changes in the distribution and the command of his divisions, and declared his intention to fight. The army displayed the greatest ardour in carrying all the positions which Jourdan deemed it advisable to occupy before he gave battle. He had his right supported upon Wurtzburg, and the rest of his line upon a series of positions extending along the Mayn to Schweinfurth. The Mayn separated him from the enemy. Part of the Austrian army only had crossed that river, which confirmed him in the idea that the archduke had gone back to the Danube. He left at the extremity of his line Lefebvre's division at Schweinfurth, to secure his retreat upon the Saale and the Fulda, in case the result of the battle should cut him off from the road to Frankfurt. He thus deprived himself of a second line and of a corps of reserve; but he conceived that he owed this sacrifice to the duty of securing his retreat. He determined to attack on the morning of the 17th of Fructidor (September 3).

During the night between the 16th and 17th, the archduke, apprized of

the plan of his adversary, caused the rest of his army quickly to cross the Mayn and deployed a very superior force before Jourdan's face. The battle commenced, at first with advantage to us; but our cavalry being attacked in the plains extending along the Mayn by the powerful cavalry of the Austrians, was broken, rallied, was again broken, and sought shelter behind the lines and the steady fire of our infantry. Jourdan, if his reserve had not been at too great a distance from him, might have won the victory; he sent to Levebvre officers, who could not penetrate through the numerous squadrons of the enemy. He hoped, nevertheless, that Lefebvre, seeing that Schweinfurth was not threatened, would march to the place of danger; but he waited in vain, and made his army fall back in order to withdraw it from the formidable cavalry by which it was assailed. The retreat was made in good order upon Arnstein. Jourdan, the victim of the vicious plan of the Directory, and of his attachment to his colleague, was now under the necessity of retiring to the Lahn. He continued his march without intermission, ordered Marceau to retire from before Mayence, and arrived behind the Lahn on the 24th of Fructidor (September 10). His army, in its arduous march to the very frontiers of Bohemia, had not lost more than five or six thousand men. It sustained a sensible loss in the death of young Marceau, who was struck by the ball of a Tyrolese rifleman, and who could not be removed from the field of battle. The Archduke Charles caused every attention to be paid to him, but he soon expired. The young hero, regretted by the two armies, was buried under a discharge of the artillery of both.*

During these occurrences on the Mayn, Moreau, still beyond the Danube and the Lech, was waiting with impatience for tidings from Jourdan. None of the officers sent to bring him intelligence had arrived. He hesitated, without venturing to take any resolution. Meanwhile, his left, under the command of Desaix, had to sustain a most violent attack from the cavalry of Latour, which, united with Nauendorf's, debouched unawares by Langenbrück. Desaix made such judicious and such prompt dispositions, that he repulsed the numerous squadrons of the enemy, and dispersed them in the plain, after inflicting upon them a considerable loss. Moreau, still left in uncertainty, at length decided, after a delay of about three weeks, to attempt a movement for the purpose of gaining intelligence. He resolved to approach the Danube, in order to extend his left wing to Nuremberg, and to obtain tidings of Jourdan, or to afford him succour. On the 24th of Fructidor, he directed his left and his centre to recross the Danube, and left his right alone on the other side of the river, near Zell. The left, under Desaix, advanced as far as Aichstett. In this singular situation, he extended his left towards Jourdan, who at the moment was sixty leagues distant from him: he had his centre on the Danube, and his right beyond it, exposing one of those three corps to the risk of being destroyed, if Latour had been capable of taking advantage of their separation. All military men have censured Moreau for this movement, as one of those half means

* "During the night of the 16th, after an obstinate engagement, the republicans sounded a retreat under cover of a thick fog, which long concealed their movements from the Austrians; and when it cleared away on the following morning, they found all their positions abandoned. The pursuit was continued with vigour, and on the 19th a serious engagement took place with the rear-guard at Altenkirchen, where General Marceau was severely wounded, and fell into the hands of the Imperialists. The archduke, who admired his great military qualities paid him the most unremitting attention; but, in spite of all his care, he died a few days after, and was buried with military honours, amidst the tears of his generous enemies."—*Jomini*. E.

which have all the danger of grand measures without any of their advantages. Moreau having, in fact, missed the opportunity of briskly falling upon the archduke when the latter was falling upon Jourdan, could only expose himself to danger by thus placing himself *à cheval* upon the Danube.

At length, after waiting four days in this singular situation, he became aware of the danger, moved back beyond the Danube, and thought of ascending it in order to approach his base of operation. He then received intelligence of the forced retreat of Jourdan on the Lahn, and he had no doubt that the archduke, after forcing back the army of the Sambre and Meuse, would fly to the Neckar to cut off the retreat of the army of the Rhine. He was likewise informed of an attempt made by the garrison of Mannheim upon Kehl, with a view to destroy the bridge by which the French army had entered Germany. In this state of things, he hesitated no longer to march for the purpose of regaining France. His position was perilous. In the heart of Bavaria, having to recross the Black Mountains to return to the Rhine, having in front Latour with forty thousand men, and likely to find the Archduke Charles with thirty thousand on his rear, he could not help foreseeing incalculable dangers. But, if he had not that vast and ardent genius which his rival displayed in Italy, he was endowed with a resolute mind, inaccessible to those alarms with which impetuous dispositions are sometimes seized. He had a superb army, some sixty thousand strong, whose courage had not been shaken by any defeat, and which placed extreme confidence in its leader. Duly appreciating such a resource, he was not frightened at his position, and resolved quietly to regain his route. Thinking that the archduke, after forcing Jourdan to fall back, would probably return to the Neckar, he was apprehensive lest he should find that river already occupied; he therefore ascended the valley of the Danube, to proceed direct to that of the Rhine by way of the forest towns. These passes, being the most distant from the point where the archduke then was, appeared to him to be the safest.

He remained, therefore, beyond the Danube, and ascended it quietly, supporting one of his wings upon the river. His artillery and his baggage marched before him, without confusion; and every day his rear-guard bravely repulsed the enemy's advanced guards. Latour, instead of crossing the Danube, and striving to prevent Moreau from entering the defiles, was content to follow him step by step, without daring to attack him. On reaching the Lake of Federsee, Moreau thought fit to halt. Latour had divided his forces into three corps; he had given one to Nauendorf, and sent him to Tübingen on the Upper Neckar, through which Moreau did not mean to pass; he was himself with the second at Biberach; and the third was at a great distance, at Schussenried. Moreau, who was approaching the Höllenthal, by which he intended to retreat, who wished not to be too closely pressed in the passage of that defile, who saw Latour by himself before him, and who was aware that a victory must impart firmness to his troops during the rest of the retreat, halted on the 11th of Vendémiaire (October 2) in the environs of the Lake of Federsee, not far from Biberach. The country was hilly, wooded, and intersected by valleys. Latour was ranged on several heights, which it was possible to cut off from one another and to turn, and which, moreover, were backed by a deep ravine, that of the Riss. Moreau attacked him at all points, and cleverly contriving to penetrate through his positions, attacking some in front and turning others, he drove him back to the Riss, threw him into it,

and took from him four thousand prisoners. This important victory, called after the town of Biberach, drove back Latour to a great distance, and remarkably increased the courage of the French army. Moreau resumed his march and approached the defiles. He was already past the roads which run through the valley of the Neckar and lead into that of the Rhine. The road which passes through Tuttlingen and Rothweil was yet left to him, towards the very sources of the Neckar, follows the valley of the Kintzig, and terminates at Kehl, but this Nauendorf had already occupied. The detachments which had come from Mannheim had already joined the latter, and the archduke was approaching him. Moreau preferred to ascend a little higher, and to pass through the Höllenthal, which, running through the Black Forest, formed a longer elbow, but led to Breisach, much farther from the archduke. Accordingly, he placed Desaix and Ferino, with the left and the right, towards Tuttlingen and Rothweil, to cover himself on the side next to the outlets where the principal Austrian forces were; and he sent the centre, under St. Cyr,* to force the Höllenthal. At the same time, he made his heavy artillery file off for Huningen by way of the forest towns. The Austrians had surrounded him with a multitude of petty corps, as if they had hoped to envelop him, and had not left themselves strong enough anywhere to resist him. St. Cyr found scarcely a detachment in the Höllenthal, proceeded without difficulty to Neustadt, and arrived at Freiburg. The two wings immediately followed, and debouched through that frightful defile into the valley of the Rhine, rather with the attitude of a victorious army than with that of an army in retreat.

Moreau reached the valley of the Rhine on the 21st of Vendémiaire (October 12). Instead of recrossing the Rhine at the bridge of Breisach, and ascending along the French bank to Strasburg, he resolved to ascend the right bank to Kehl in the face of the whole hostile army. Whether he thought to give more *éclat* to his return, or hoped to maintain himself on the right bank to cover Kehl by proceeding directly thither, these reasons have been deemed insufficient for risking a battle. Had he recrossed the Rhine at Breisach, he might have ascended unmolested to Strasburg, and then debouched again by Kehl. That *tête de pont* was capable of maintaining a resistance long enough to give him time to arrive. To determine, on the contrary, to march in face of the hostile army, the whole of which

* "Gouvion St. Cyr was born in the year 1764. In his youth he was designed for a painter, and he even travelled through Italy to perfect himself in his art. But his predilection for the profession of arms was irresistible; so that when the Revolution broke out he entered into a company of volunteers, and was soon sent to join the French armies on the Rhine. In 1795 he commanded a division, and fought under Pichegru, Moreau, and Massena, by all of whom he was esteemed, not only for his extensive knowledge of tactics, but for his virtues. With Bonaparte, however, he was never a favourite. There was, in fact, a downright simplicity about him, and as for flattery, he knew not what it meant. The Legion of Honour was open to him, and he was appointed colonel-general of the cuirassiers, but, though one of the ablest officers in the army, he was not for many years made a marshal. He expected that dignity as a reward for reducing some fortresses in Spain, but he was soon afterwards superseded by Augereau, and punished with two years' exile from the imperial presence. At the close of the Russian campaign, St. Cyr, at length marshal, commanded the corps of Oudinot, who had been severely wounded. He fought at the battle of Dresden, and was left in that city when Napoleon fell back on Leipsic. On the restoration, Louis received him favourably, and raised him to the chamber of peers. During the Hundred Days he retired into the country, and on the King's return, was rewarded with the portfolio of war. In 1819 he quitted office, and went into retirement."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

was again assembled under the archduke, and thus to expose himself to a general engagement, with the Rhine at his back, was an inexcusable imprudence, now that he had no longer the motive either of taking the offensive or of protecting a retreat. On the 28th of Vendémiaire (October 19), both armies were in presence, on the banks of the Elz, from Walldkirch to Emmendingen. After a sanguinary and varied conflict, Moreau perceived the impossibility of proceeding to Kehl along the right bank, and resolved to cross over the bridge of Breisach. Conceiving, however, that he could not pass his whole army over this bridge without the risk of encumbering it, and being anxious to send a force as speedily as possible to Kehl, he ordered Desaix with the left wing to cross again at Breisach, and returned towards Huningen with the centre and the right. This determination has been deemed not less imprudent than that of fighting at Emmendingen; for Moreau, weakened by the separation of one-third of his army, was liable to be compromised. He reckoned, it is true, upon a position, that of Schliengen, which covers the débouché of Huningen, and upon which he could halt and fight, in order to render his passage quieter and safer. Accordingly, he fell back to it, halted there on the 3d of Brumaire (October 24), and fought an obstinate and drawn battle. Having, by means of this engagement, afforded time for his baggage to cross, he evacuated the position during the night, passed over to the left bank, and proceeded towards Strasburg.

Thus ended that celebrated campaign and that still more celebrated retreat. The result sufficiently indicates the faultiness of the plan. If, as Napoleon, the Archduke Charles, and General Jomini have demonstrated, the Directory, instead of forming two armies, advancing in separate columns, under different generals, in the petty view of attacking the enemy's flanks, had formed a single army of one hundred and sixty thousand men, a detachment of which, fifty thousand strong, should have besieged Mayence, while the other one hundred and ten thousand, united into a single corps, should have invaded Germany by the valley of the Rhine, the Höllenthal, and Upper Bavaria, the imperial armies would have been forced to keep retiring, without being able to concentrate themselves with advantage against a too superior mass. The admirable plan of the young archduke would have been rendered impossible, and the republican flag would have been carried to Vienna itself. With the plan prescribed, Jourdan was a compulsory victim. Thus his campaign, always disastrous, was entirely one of obedience, as well when he first crossed the Rhine to draw the forces of the archduke upon him, as when he advanced into Bohemia and fought at Wurtzburg. Moreau alone, with his fine army, had it in his power to repair in part the vices of the plan, either by hastening to crush all that was before him at the moment when he debouched by Kehl, or by falling upon the archduke when the latter was following Jourdan. He either dared not, or had not the capacity, to do anything of the kind; but if he displayed not a spark of genius, if he preferred a retreat to a decisive and victorious manœuvre, at least he displayed in that retreat a great character and extraordinary firmness.* It was certainly not so difficult as it has been represented, but still it was conducted in the most imposing manner.

* "Moreau, however consummate a commander, had not the fire or energy by which his younger rival, Bonaparte, was actuated; he trusted for success rather to skilful combinations or methodical arrangements, than to those master-strokes which are attended with peril, but frequently domineer over fortune by the intensity of the passions which they awaken among mankind."—*Alison*. E.

The young archduke was indebted to the vice of the French plan for a fine conception, which he executed with prudence; but, like Moreau, he lacked that ardour, that daring, which might have rendered the fault of the French government fatal to its armies. Only conceive what might have happened, had there been on either side that impetuous genius which had just destroyed three armies beyond the Alps! Had Moreau's sixty thousand men, at the moment when they debouched from Kehl, had the Imperialists, at the moment when they quitted the Danube to fall upon Jourdan, been led with the impetuosity displayed in Italy, most assuredly the war would have been terminated immediately in a disastrous manner for one of the two powers.

This campaign earned the young archduke a high reputation in Europe. In France, infinite obligation was felt to Moreau, for having brought back safe and sound the army compromised in Bavaria. Extreme anxiety had been felt on account of that army, especially after the moment when, Jourdan having fallen back, the bridge of Kehl being threatened, and a multitude of petty corps having intercepted the communications through Swabia, people knew not what had become or what was likely to become of it. But when, after these painful apprehensions, it was seen debouching into the valley of the Rhine with so firm an attitude, they were enchanted with the general who had so happily brought it back. His retreat was extolled as a prodigy of the art, and immediately compared with that of the Ten Thousand. People durst not, it is true, place anything beside those brilliant triumphs of the army of Italy; but as there are always numbers of men, whom superior genius and extraordinary fortune offend, and who are better pleased with less brilliant merit, all these ranged themselves on Moreau's side, expatiated on his prudence, his consummate ability, and ranked it above the ardent genius of the young Bonaparte. From that day Moreau had in his favour all who prefer second-rate faculties to superior faculties; and it must be confessed that, in a republic, we would almost forgive those enemies of genius when we observe what crimes genius is capable of committing against that liberty which has brought it forth, nourished, and raised it to the pinnacle of glory.

THE DIRECTORY.

STATE OF FRANCE AFTER THE RETURN OF THE ARMIES FROM GERMANY—COMBINATIONS OF PITT—OPENING OF A NEGOTIATION WITH THE DIRECTORY—ARRIVAL OF LORD MALMESBURY IN PARIS—PEACE WITH NAPLES AND GENOA—FRUITLESS NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE POPE—DEPOSITION OF THE DUKE OF MODENA—FOUNDATION OF THE CISPADANE REPUBLIC—MISSION OF CLARKE TO VIENNA—FRESH EFFORTS OF AUSTRIA IN ITALY—ARRIVAL OF ALVINZY—EXTREME DANGER OF THE FRENCH ARMY—BATTLE OF ARCOLE.

THE turn which the campaign in Germany had taken was prejudicial to the republic. Her enemies, who persisted in denying her victories, or in predicting severe reverses of fortune, saw their prognostics realized, and openly triumphed in consequence. Those rapid conquests in Germany had then no solidity. The Danube and the genius of a young prince had soon put an end to them. No doubt the rash army of Italy, which seemed so firmly established on the Adige, would be hurled from it in its turn and flung back upon the Alps, as the armies of Germany had been upon the Rhine. The conquests of General Bonaparte, it is true, seemed to rest upon a somewhat more solid foundation. He had not merely driven Colli and Beaulieu before him; he had destroyed them: he had not merely repulsed the new army of Wurmser; he had first disorganized it at Castiglione, and afterwards annihilated it on the Brenta. There was somewhat more hope, therefore, of remaining in Italy than of remaining in Germany; but people took delight in circulating alarming rumours. Numerous forces were coming, it was said, from Poland and Turkey, to proceed towards the Alps; the imperial armies of the Rhine would now be able to send away fresh detachments, and General Bonaparte, having continually new enemies to fight, would, with all his genius, find an end to his successes, were it only from the exhaustion of his army. It was natural that, in the existing state of things, people should form such conjectures; for the imagination, after exaggerating successes, is sure to exaggerate reverses also.

The armies of Germany had retired without great losses, and occupied the line of the Rhine. In this there was nothing particularly disastrous; but the army of Italy was without support, and that was a serious disadvantage. Moreover, our two principal armies, having returned to the French territory, would now be at the charge of our finances, which were still in a deplorable state: and this was the greatest calamity. The mandates having ceased to have the forced currency of money, had fallen to nothing; besides, they were expended, and there were scarcely any remaining at the disposal of the government. They were in Paris, in the hands of a few speculators, who sold them to the purchasers of national domains. The

amount due was still considerable, but it did not come in; the arrears of taxes and the forced loan were slowly collected; the national domains sold were partly paid for; the instalments still due were not demandable according to law; the sales that were still taking place were considerable enough to replenish the exchequer. For the rest, the government subsisted upon the produce of these sales, as well as upon the articles of consumption proceeding from the land-tax, and upon the promises of payment made by the ministers. The budget for the year V had just been made up. It was divided into ordinary and extraordinary expenses. The ordinary expenses amounted to four hundred and fifty millions, the others to five hundred and fifty. The land-tax, the customs, the stamp-duties, and all the annual proceeds, were expected to cover the ordinary expenditure. The five hundred and fifty millions of the extraordinary would be amply covered by the arrears of the taxes of the year IV and of the forced loan, and by the instalments yet to be paid for the domains sold. There was another resource still in the domains which the republic yet possessed; but all this required to be realized first, and therein lay the same difficulty as ever. The contractors, remaining unpaid, refused to continue their advances, and all the public services were aground at once. The public functionaries and the annuitants were not paid, and were perishing of hunger.

Thus the insulated state of the army of Italy and our finances were likely to give great hopes to our enemies. From the project of a quadruple alliance between France, Spain, the Porte, and Venice, formed by the Directory, nothing had resulted but the alliance with Spain. The latter, induced by our offers and our brilliant fortune in the middle of the summer, had decided, as we have seen, to renew the family compact with the republic, and she had just published her declaration of war against Great Britain. Venice, in spite of the solicitations of Spain and the invitations of the Porte, and in spite of Bonaparte's victories in Italy, had refused to ally herself with the republic. To no purpose it had been represented to her that Russia coveted her colonies in Greece, and Austria her Illyrian provinces; that her union with France and the Porte would secure her against these two ambitious enemies by associating her with powers who could not covet any of her possessions; that the reiterated victories of the French on the Adige must insure her against a return of the Austrian armies, and against the vengeance of the emperor; that the concurrence of her forces and of her navy would render that return still more impossible; that neutrality, on the contrary, would not gain her any friend, but leave her without protector, and perhaps even expose her to the danger of serving as a medium of accommodation between the belligerent powers. Venice, filled with hatred of the French, equipping armaments evidently destined against her, since she consulted the Austrian ministry on the choice of a general, refused a second time the alliance proposed to her. She clearly perceived the danger from the Austrian ambition; but the danger of French principles was greater, more urgent, in her estimation, and she replied that she should persist in the unarmed neutrality, which was false, for she was arming on all sides. The Porte, shaken by the refusal of Venice, by the suggestions of Vienna and of England, had not yet acceded to the project of alliance. There was left, therefore, only France and Spain, whose union could contrive to wrest the Mediterranean from the English, but might also compromise the Spanish colonies. Pitt had, in fact, conceived the idea of exciting them to insurrection against the mother country, and he already had intrigues on foot in Mexico. The negotiations with Genoa were not

concluded; for they involved at once the payment of a sum of money, the expulsion of certain families, and the recall of certain others. With Naples they were not finished, because the Directory demanded a contribution, and the queen, who negotiated with despair, refused to comply. Peace with Rome was not made, on account of a condition required by the Directory: it insisted that the Holy See should revoke all the briefs issued against France since the commencement of the Revolution, which severely hurt the pride of the aged pontiff. He summoned a council of cardinals, which decided that the revocation could not take place.* The negotiations were broken off. They were renewed at Florence; a congress was opened. The envoys of the Pope having repeated that the briefs issued could not be revoked, and the French commissioners having replied on their part, that the condition was a *sine qua non*, they separated in a few minutes. The hopes of succour from the King of Naples and from England supported the Pope in his refusals. He had just sent Cardinal Albani to Vienna, to implore the aid of Austria and to concert with her as to his resistance.

Such were the relations of France with Europe. Her enemies, on their part, were much exhausted. Austria was cheered, it is true, by the retreat of the armies which had advanced to the Danube; but she was very uneasy respecting Italy, and was making fresh preparations to recover it. England was reduced to an extremely deplorable situation: her footing in Corsica was precarious, and she saw herself likely soon to lose that island. The French wished to close all the ports of Italy against her, and one fresh victory gained by General Bonaparte would be sufficient to decide her entire expulsion from that country. War with Spain was about to close the Mediterranean against her and to threaten Portugal. The whole coast, as far as the Texel, was interdicted to her. The expedition which Hoche was preparing alarmed her for Ireland; her finances were in peril, the Bank was shaken, the people wished for peace; the Opposition had been strengthened by the recent elections. These were very urgent reasons for thinking of peace, and for taking advantage of the late reverses of France to induce her to accept it. But the royal family and the aristocracy had a strong dislike to treat with France, because, in their estimation, it was treating with the Revolution. Pitt, much less attached to aristocratic principles, and intent solely on the interests of the English power, would certainly have been glad of peace, but on one condition, indispensable with him, and inadmissible for the republic—the restitution of the Netherlands to Austria. Pitt, as we have already remarked, was wholly English in pride, ambition, and prejudices. The greatest crime of the Revolution was, according to his notions, not so much the giving birth to a colossal republic as the incorporation of the Netherlands with France.

The Netherlands were, in fact, an important acquisition for France. That acquisition gave her, in the first place, the possession of the most fertile and wealthy provinces of the continent, and, above all, of manufacturing provinces; it gave her the mouths of the rivers most important to the commerce of the North, the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the Rhine; it gave her a considerable increase of coast, and consequently of shipping;

* "The college of Cardinals having rejected the proposals of France, as containing articles contrary to conscience, the Pope declared his determination to abide by the utmost extremity, rather than accede to conditions destructive, degrading, and, in his opinion, impious. The Directory instantly determined on the total ruin of the Pope and of his power, both spiritual and temporal."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

it gave her seaports of high importance, especially Antwerp; it gave her lastly, a prolongation of our maritime frontier in a quarter the most dangerous to the English frontier, opposite to the defenceless coasts of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Yorkshire. Besides this positive acquisition, the Netherlands conferred on us another advantage: Holland must fall under the immediate influence of France when no longer separated from her by Austrian provinces. In this case, the French line would extend not only to Antwerp but to the Texel, and the English shores would be encompassed by a girdle of hostile shores. Add to this a family compact with Spain, then powerful and well organized, and we shall easily conceive that Pitt must have felt some uneasiness respecting the maritime power of England. It is, in fact, a principle with every Englishman thoroughly imbued with his national ideas, that England ought to have control at Naples, Lisbon, and Amsterdam, in order to have a footing on the continent and to break the long line of coast which might be opposed to her. This principle was as deep-rooted in 1796 as that which caused any injury done to France to be considered as a benefit done to England. In consequence, Pitt, in order to procure a moment of respite for his finances, would gladly have consented to a temporary peace, but upon condition that the Netherlands should be restored to Austria. He thought, therefore, of opening a negotiation on this basis. He could not hope that France would admit such a condition, for the Netherlands were the principal acquisition of the Revolution, and the constitution did not even allow the Directory to treat for their alienation. But Pitt knew little about the continent. He sincerely believed that France was ruined, and he was in good earnest when he came to proclaim every year the exhaustion and the fall of the republic. He thought that if France had ever been disposed to peace, it was at that moment, as well on account of the fall of the mandates, as on account of the retreat of the armies from Germany. At any rate, whether he considered the condition admissible or not, he had a stronger reason for opening a negotiation. This was the necessity of complying with the public opinion, which loudly demanded peace. In fact, in order to obtain the levy of sixty thousand militia and fifteen thousand seamen, it behoved him to prove, by a signal step, that he had done his utmost to treat. He had another motive not less important. In taking the initiative, and opening a solemn negotiation in Paris, he had the advantage of concentrating there the discussion of all the European interests and preventing the commencement of any separate negotiation with Austria. This latter power was, in fact, much less intent on recovering the Netherlands than England was on restoring them to her. To Austria the Netherlands were a distant province, which was detached from the centre of her empire, exposed to continual invasions from France, and deeply imbued with revolutionary ideas; a province which she had several times thought of exchanging for other possessions in Germany or Italy, and which she had kept solely because Prussia had always opposed her aggrandizement in Germany, and because combinations admitting of her aggrandizement in Italy had not presented themselves. Pitt thought that a solemn negotiation opened in Paris, on behalf of all the allies, would prevent individual combinations and any private arrangement relative to the Netherlands. Lastly, he wished to have an agent in France who could judge of her from actual observation, and to obtain authentic information respecting the expedition preparing at Brest. Such were the reasons which, even without any hope of obtaining peace, decided Pitt to make an overture to the Directory. He did not

confine himself, as in the preceding year, to an insignificant communication from Wickham to Barthelemy. He demanded passports for an envoy invested with the powers of Great Britain. In this emphatic procedure of the most implacable foe of our republic there was something glorious for her. The English aristocracy was thus forced to ask peace of the regicide republic. The passports were immediately granted. Pitt selected Lord Malmesbury, son of the author of "Hermes." This nobleman had not the character of being a friend to republics: he had contributed to the oppression of Holland in 1787. He arrived in Paris, with a numerous retinue, on the 2d of Brumaire (October 23, 1796).

The Directory appointed Delacroix, the minister, to represent it. The two negotiators met at the hotel of Foreign Affairs, on the 3d of Brumaire (October 24). The minister of France exhibited his powers. Lord Malmesbury declared himself to be sent by Great Britain and her allies, in order to treat for a general peace. He then exhibited his powers, which were signed by England alone. The French minister then asked if he was commissioned by the allies of Great Britain to treat in their name. Lord Malmesbury replied that, as soon as the negotiation was opened, and the principle on which it could be based was admitted, the King of Great Britain was sure of obtaining the concurrence and the powers of his allies. His lordship then delivered to Delacroix a note from his court, stating the principle upon which the negotiation was to be based. This principle was that of compensations for conquests between the powers. England, it was stated in this note, had made conquests in the colonies; France had made conquests on the continent from the allies of England; there was, therefore, restitution to be made on both sides. But it would be necessary to agree upon the principle of these compensations, before entering into explanations concerning the objects that were to be compensated. We see that the English cabinet forebore to speak out positively concerning the restitution of the Netherlands, and submitted a general principle, lest it should cause the negotiation to be broken off as soon as it was opened. Delacroix replied that he would refer the matter to the Directory.

The Directory could not give up the Netherlands. This was not in its power, and it ought not, if it had been able. France had engagements of honour towards those provinces, and could not expose them to the vengeance of Austria by restoring them to her. Besides, she had a right to indemnities for the unjust war that had been made upon her; she had a right to compensation for the aggrandizements which Austria, Prussia, and Russia, had gained in Poland by the perpetration of a political outrage; it was her duty to tend invariably to give herself her natural limit; and, for all these reasons, it behoved her never to part with the Netherlands and to uphold the dispositions of the constitution. The Directory, firmly resolved to perform its duty on this point, had it in its power to break off immediately a negotiation, the evident aim of which was to propose to us the cession of the Netherlands and to prevent an arrangement with Austria; but it would thus have given occasion to say that it was averse to peace; it would have fulfilled one of the principal intentions of Pitt, and furnished him with excellent reasons for demanding fresh sacrifices of the English nation. It replied on the very next day. France, it stated, had already treated with most of the powers of the coalition, without their having invoked the concurrence of all the allies; to render the negotiation general was to render it interminable; it was giving room to believe that the present negotiation was not more sincere than the overture made in the

preceding year through the medium of Mr. Wickham. Besides, the English minister had not the powers of the allies, in whose name he spoke. Lastly, the principle of compensations was mentioned in a manner too general and too vague for it to be possible either to admit or to reject it. The application of this principle always depended on the nature of the conquests, and on the strength left to the belligerent powers for retaining them. "Thus," added the Directory, "the French government might spare itself the trouble of replying; but, to prove its desire of peace, it declares that it will be ready to listen to all the propositions as soon as Lord Malmesbury shall be furnished with the powers of all the other potentates in whose name he pretends to treat."

The Directory, which, in this negotiation, had nothing to conceal, and could therefore act with the greatest frankness, resolved to make the negotiation public, and to insert in the newspapers the notes of the English minister and the replies of the French minister. Accordingly, it published immediately the memorial of Lord Malmesbury, and the answer which it had returned. This mode of proceeding was of such a nature as somewhat to disconcert the crooked policy of the English cabinet, but, though deviating from ordinary practice, it was not at all derogatory to decorum. Lord Malmesbury replied that he would refer to his government. A singular plenipotentiary this, who had only such insufficient powers, and who, at every difficulty, was obliged to refer to his court! The Directory might have considered this as shuffling, and as indicating an intention to gain time by assuming the air of negotiating. It might even have taken umbrage at the presence of a foreigner, whose intrigues might be dangerous, and who came to discover the secret of our armaments: it, nevertheless, manifested no dissatisfaction; it permitted Lord Malmesbury to wait for the answers of his court, and, while thus waiting, to see Paris, the parties, their strength, and that of the government. The Directory, indeed, could only gain by so doing.

Meanwhile our situation was becoming perilous in Italy, notwithstanding the recent triumphs of Roveredo, Bassano, and St. George. Austria redoubled her efforts to recover Lombardy. In consequence of the guarantees given by Catharine to the emperor, for the security of Galicia, the troops which were in Poland had been marched towards the Alps. Owing also to the hope of maintaining peace with the Porte, the frontiers of Turkey had been stripped, and all the reserves of the Austrian monarchy directed towards Italy. A numerous and devoted population, furnished, moreover, powerful means of recruiting the armies. The Austrian administration displayed extraordinary zeal and activity in enlisting fresh men, incorporating them with the old troops, and in arming and equipping them. A fine army was thus preparing in the Friule, with the wrecks of Wurmser, the troops from Poland and Turkey, the detachments from the Rhine, and the recruits. Marshal Alvinzy* was appointed to the command of it. It was hoped that this third army would be more fortunate than the two preceding, and that it would succeed in wresting Italy from the young conqueror.

During this interval, Bonaparte was perpetually demanding reinforcements, and recommending negotiations with the Italian powers who were

* "Marshal Alvinzi, an officer of high reputation, which was then thought merited was at this time seventy years of age. The marshal died in the year 1810." —*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

in his rear. He urged the Directory to treat with Naples, to renew the negotiations with Rome, to conclude with Genoa, and to negotiate an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the King of Sardinia, in order to procure succour in Italy if none could be sent to him from France. He desired to be permitted to proclaim the independence of Lombardy, and that of the states of the Duke of Modena, that he might gain himself partisans and auxiliaries strongly attached to his cause. His views were correct, and the distress of his army justified his urgent entreaties. The rupture of the negotiations with the Pope had stopped a second time the contribution imposed by the armistice of Bologna. Only one instalment of it had been paid. The contributions levied upon Parma, Modena, and Milan were exhausted, either by the expenses of the army or by the remittances made to the government. Venice supplied abundance of provisions, but the pay was in arrear. The amounts to be taken from foreign commerce at Leghorn were still in dispute. Amidst the richest countries in the world, the army began to suffer privations. But the greatest misfortune was the vacancy in its ranks, thinned by the Austrian cannon. It was not without great losses that it had destroyed so many enemies. It had been reinforced by nine or ten thousand men since the opening of the campaign, which made the number of the French who had entered Italy about fifty thousand; but, at this moment, it had at most thirty and some odd thousand; fighting and disease had reduced it to this small number. A dozen battalions from La Vendée had just joined, but they were singularly diminished by desertions; the other detachments which had been promised had not arrived. General Willot, who commanded in the South, and who was ordered to send several regiments to the Alps, detained them to quell the disturbances which his mismanagement and his bad spirit excited in the provinces under his command. Kellermann could not strip his line of troops, for he was still obliged to hold himself in readiness to curb Lyons and its environs, where the companies of Jesus were committing murders. Bonaparte asked for the 83d and the 40th, forming nearly six thousand good troops, and undertook to answer for the result if they should arrive in time.

He complained that he had not been commissioned to negotiate with Rome, because he should have expected the payment of the contribution before signifying the ultimatum. "So long," said he, "as your general shall not be the centre of everything in Italy, all will go wrong. It would be easy to accuse me of ambition, but I have only too much honour. I am ill; I can scarcely sit my horse; nothing is left me but courage, and that is insufficient for the post which I occupy. They can count us," added he; "the charm of our strength is dissolving. Troops, or Italy is lost!"

The Directory, feeling the necessity of depriving Rome of the support of Naples and of securing Bonaparte's rear, at length concluded a treaty with the court of the Two Sicilies. It desisted from any particular demand, and that court, which our recent victories on the Brenta had intimidated, which saw Spain making common cause with France, and was afraid of seeing the English driven from the Mediterranean, acceded, on its side, to the treaty. Peace was signed on the 19th of Vendémiaire (October 10). It was agreed that the King of Naples should withhold every kind of succour from the enemies of France, and that he should shut his ports against the armed vessels of the belligerent powers. The Directory then concluded its treaty with Genoa. One circumstance led to its conclusion. Nelson had taken a French ship within sight of the Genoese batteries. This violation of the neutrality deeply compromised the republic of Genoa; the

French party there became bolder, the party of the coalition more timid; and it was resolved to enter into an alliance with France. The ports of Genoa were closed against the English. Two millions were paid to us as an indemnity for the *Modeste* frigate, and two more were furnished by way of loan. The feudatory families were not exiled, but all the partisans of France, expelled from the territory and from the senate, were recalled and reinstated. Piedmont was anew solicited to conclude an alliance, offensive and defensive. The king was just dead; his young successor, Charles Emanuel, manifested very favourable dispositions towards France, but he was not content with the advantages offered to him as the price of his alliance. The Directory offered to guarantee his dominions, which nothing in that general convulsion, and amidst all the republics that were ready to start up, no other power could guarantee to him. But the new king, like his predecessor, insisted on having Lombardy given to him. This the Directory could not promise, being obliged to reserve equivalents in order to treat with Austria. The Directory then permitted Bonaparte to renew the negotiations with Rome, and gave him full powers for that purpose.

Rome had sent Cardinal Albani to Vienna. She had reckoned upon Naples, and in her eagerness she had offended the Spanish legation. Naples failing her, and Spain manifesting her dissatisfaction, she was alarmed, and the moment was favourable for treating with her. Bonaparte, in the first place, wanted his money: in the next, though he was not afraid of her temporal power, he dreaded her moral influence over the people. The two Italian parties, engendered by the French Revolution, and developed by the presence of our armies, became daily more and more exasperated against one another. If Milan, Modena, Reggio, Bologna, Ferrara, were the seat of the patriotic party, Rome was the seat of the monastic and aristocratic party. She had it in her power to excite fanatic fury, and to do us great mischief, especially at a moment when the question with the Austrian armies was not yet resolved. Bonaparte deemed it right to temporize a little longer. As a man of a free and independent mind, he despised all the fanaticism that restrains the human understanding; but, as a man of action, he dreaded those powers which are not to be controlled by force, and he chose rather to elude than to combat with them. Besides, though educated in France, he was born amidst Italian superstition. He did not share that dislike of the Catholic religion, so strong and so common among us, ever since the eighteenth century; and he had not the same repugnance to treat with the Holy See, as was felt in Paris. He purposed, therefore, to gain time, to spare himself a retrograde march through the Peninsula, to spare himself fanatical denunciations, and, if possible, to regain the sixteen millions carried back to Rome. He directed Cacault,* the minister, to disavow the demands made by the Directory in regard to matters of faith, and to insist on the purely material conditions alone. He selected Cardinal Mattei, whom he had confined in a convent, for the purpose of sending him to Rome: he set him at liberty, and commissioned him to go and speak to the Pope. "The court of Rome," he wrote to him, "desires war; it shall have war; but first I owe it to my nation and to humanity to make a final effort to bring back the Pope to reason. You are acquainted with the strength of the army which I command. To destroy the temporal power of the Pope, I need but to will it. Go to Rome, see his holiness, enlighten him

* "The French envoy, Cacault, was born at Nantes in the year 1742. During the consulate, he was chosen a member of the senate. He published a translation of *Lesung's Historical Sketch of the Drama*. He died in the year 1805." E.

on the subject of his true interests; rescue him from the intriguers by whom he is surrounded, who wish for his ruin and for that of the court of Rome. The French government permits me still to listen to words of peace. Everything may be arranged. War, so cruel for nations, has terrible results for the vanquished. Save the Pope from great calamities. You know how anxious I am to finish by peace a struggle which war would terminate for me without glory as without danger."

While he was employing these means to *cheat the old fox*, as he said, and to screen himself from the fury of fanaticism, he thought of kindling the spirit of liberty in Upper Italy, in order to oppose patriotism to superstition. All Upper Italy was in a state of great excitement. The Milanese, wrested from Austria; the provinces of Modena and Reggio, impatient of the yoke with which their old absent duke oppressed them, the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, withdrawn from the Pope; loudly demanded their independence and their organization into republics. Bonaparte could not proclaim the independence of Lombardy, for victory had not yet positively decided its fate; but he continued to give it hopes and encouragement. As for the provinces of Modena and Reggio, they were immediately contiguous to the rear of his army, and bordered on Mantua. He had a complaint to make against the regency, which had sent provisions to the garrison; he had recommended to the Directory not to give peace to the Duke of Modena, but to confine itself to the armistice, that it might be able to punish him if occasion required. As circumstances were daily becoming more difficult, he decided upon a vigorous stroke, without giving previous notice of it to the Directory. It was ascertained that the regency had again been in fault, and that it had violated the armistice by supplying Wurmser with provisions. He immediately declared the armistice broken, and, by virtue of the right of conquest, he expelled the regency, declared the Duke of Modena deposed, and the provinces of Reggio and Modena free. The enthusiasm of the Reggians and the Modenese was extraordinary. Bonaparte organized a municipal government to administer the country temporarily till it should be constituted. Bologna and Ferrara had already constituted themselves republics, and began to raise troops. Bonaparte resolved to unite those two legations with the states of the Duke of Modena, and to form with them a single republic, which, situated entirely on this side of the Po, should be called the *Cispadane Republic*. He thought that, if it were necessary at the peace to restore Lombardy to Austria, it might not be so to restore the Modenese and the legations to the Duke of Modena and the Pope; that there might thus be erected a republic, the daughter and friend of the French republic, which would be beyond the Alps the focus of French principles, and the asylum of the compromised patriots, whence liberty might some day spread over all Italy. He conceived that the enfranchisement of Italy was not to be accomplished at a single stroke; he considered the French government as too much exhausted to effect it at that moment, and he thought that it was requisite to sow, at least, the seeds of liberty in this first campaign. To this end, it was advisable to unite Bologna and Ferrara with Modena and Reggio. Local interests were adverse to this plan; but he hoped to conquer that opposition by his all-powerful influence. He repaired to those cities, was received with enthusiasm, and decided them to send to Modena one hundred deputies from all parts of their territory, to form a national assembly, which should be charged to constitute the *Cispadane Republic*. This assembly met on the 25th of Vendémiaire (October 16th), at Modena. It was composed of lawyers, landed proprietors, and

mercantile men. Restrained by the presence of Bonaparte, and directed by his counsels,* it showed the greatest discretion. It voted the incorporation of the two legations and of the duchy of Modena into a single republic; it abolished the feudal system, and decreed civil equality; it appointed a commissioner to organize a legion of four thousand men, and ordained the formation of a second assembly, which was to meet on the 5th of Nivose (December 25th), to deliberate upon a constitution. The Reggians displayed the greatest zeal. An Austrian detachment having quitted Mantua, they ran to arms, surrounded it, made it prisoner, and conducted it to Bonaparte. Two Reggians were killed in the action. They were the first martyrs of Italian independence.

Lombardy was jealous and alarmed at the favours conferred on the Cispadane Republic, and regarded them as a sinister omen for herself. She conceived that, as the French were constituting the legations and the duchy without constituting her, they intended to restore her to Austria. Bonaparte cheered the Lombards anew, represented to them the difficulties of his situation, and repeated that they must gain independence by seconding him in this arduous struggle. They resolved to increase to twelve thousand men the two Italian and Polish legions, the organization of which they had already commenced.

Bonaparte had thus surrounded himself with friendly governments, which were about to exert their utmost efforts to support him. Their troops, to be sure, were of no great account; but they were capable of undertaking the police of the conquered country, and in this manner they rendered disposable the detachments which he employed there. Supported by a few hundred French, they would be able to resist a first attempt of the Pope, if he were mad enough to make one. Bonaparte strove at the same time to cheer the Duke of Parma, whose states bordered on the new republic, whose friendship might be useful, and whose relationship with Spain commanded attention. He held out to him the possibility of gaining a few towns amidst the dismemberment of territories. He thus availed himself of all the resources of politics to make amends for the forces with which his government could not furnish him; and in this he did his duty to France and to Italy, and did it with all the skill of a veteran diplomatist.

Through his exertions, Corsica had just been emancipated. He had collected the principal refugees at Leghorn, given them arms and officers, and daringly thrown them upon the island to second the rebellion of the inhabitants against the English.† The expedition had been successful; his native country was delivered from the English yoke, and the Mediterranean was soon likely to be. There was ground to hope that the Spanish fleet, united with that of France, would in future close the Straits of Gibraltar against the English squadrons, and command the whole of the Mediterranean.

* "Never forget," said Bonaparte, in reply to the address of the Assembly, announcing its new form of government, "that laws are mere nullities without the force necessary to support them. Attend to your military organization, which you have the means of placing on a respectable footing; you will then be more fortunate than the people of France, for you will arrive at liberty, without passing through the ordeal of revolution." *Montholon*. E.

† "Gentili and all the refugees landed in October, 1796, in spite of the English cruisers. The republicans took possession of Bastia and all the fortresses. The English hastily embarked. The King of England wore the Corsican crown only two years. This whim cost the British treasury five millions sterling. John Bull's riches could not have been worse employed."—*Napoleon's Memoirs*. E.

He had therefore employed the time which had elapsed since the occurrences on the Brenta in improving his position in Italy; but if he had rather less to fear from the princes of that country, the danger from Austria was only augmented, and his strength was still inadequate to ward it off. The 83d and the 40th demi-brigade were still detained in the South. He had twelve thousand men in the Tyrol under Vaubois, drawn up in front of Trent, on the bank of the Lavis; about sixteen or seventeen thousand, under Massena and Augereau, on the Brenta and Adige; lastly, eight or nine thousand before Mantua; which made his army amount to about thirty-six or thirty-eight thousand. Davidovich, who had remained in the Tyrol after Wurmser's disaster, with a few thousand men, had now eighteen thousand. Alvinzy was advancing from the Friule upon the Piave, with about forty thousand. Bonaparte was, therefore, in a critical situation, for, to oppose sixty thousand men, he had only thirty-six thousand, worn out by a campaign which comprehended three; and daily thinned by the fevers which they contracted in the rice-grounds of Lombardy. He wrote with grief to the Directory, and told them that he was on the point of losing Italy.*

The Directory, observing Bonaparte's danger, and unable to come soon enough to his assistance, thought of suspending hostilities immediately by means of a negotiation. Malmesbury was in Paris, as we have seen. He was waiting for the answer of his government to the communications of the Directory, which insisted that he should have the powers of all the governments, and that he should express himself more clearly on the principle of compensation for conquests. The English ministry, after a lapse of nineteen days, at length answered, on the 24th of Brumaire (November 14th), that the pretensions of France were unusual; that it was common for an ally to apply to treat in the name of her allies, before she had their formal authority; that England was sure of obtaining it, but it was first requisite that France should speak out distinctly respecting the principle of the compensations, the only basis upon which the negotiation could be opened. The English cabinet added that the reply of the Directory was full of very indecorous insinuations respecting the intentions of his Britannic majesty, that it was beneath him to answer them, and he should take no notice of them, that he might not impede the negotiation. On the same day, the Directory, wishing to be prompt and categorical, replied to Lord Malmesbury that it admitted the principle of compensations, but that it expected him to state immediately the objects to which that principle was to be applied.

The Directory could give this answer, without proceeding too far, since, while refusing to cede Belgium and Luxemburg, it could cede Lombardy

* Napoleon's letter to the Directory was in these terms: "Mantua cannot be reduced before the middle of February; you will perceive from that, how critical our situation is, and our political system is, if possible, still worse. The emperor has thrice reformed his army since the commencement of the campaign. Everything is going wrong in Italy. The *prestige* of our forces is dissipated. The enemy now count our ranks. It is indispensable that you take into your instant consideration the critical situation of the army in Italy. The influence of Rome is incalculable. You did wrong in breaking with that power; I would have temporized with it, as we have done with Venice and Genoa. Whenever the general in Italy is not the centre of negotiation as well as military operations, the greatest risks will be incurred. You may ascribe this language to ambition; but I am satiated with honours, and my health is so broken, that I must implore you to give me a successor. I can no longer sit on horseback. My courage alone is unshaken." E

and some other small territories. But for the rest this negotiation was evidently illusory; the Directory could not promise itself any benefit from it, and it resolved to frustrate the tricks of England by sending direct to Vienna a negotiator commissioned to effect a separate arrangement with the emperor. The first proposal which the negotiator was to make was, that of an armistice in Germany and Italy which was to last for at least six months. The Rhine and the Adige were to separate the armies of the two powers. The sieges of Kehl and Mantua were to be suspended. The provisions requisite for the daily consumption were to be sent every day into Mantua, so that, at the conclusion of the armistice, the two parties might be replaced in the situation in which they then were. France would thus gain the retention of Kehl, and Austria that of Mantua. A negotiation was to be opened immediately to treat for peace. The conditions offered by France were the following: Austria was to cede Belgium and Luxemburg to France; France was to restore Lombardy to Austria, and the Palatinate to the Empire; she would thus renounce, on the latter point, the line of the Rhine; she would consent, moreover, to indemnify Austria for the loss of the Netherlands by the secularization of several bishoprics of the empire. The emperor was not to interfere in any way in the affairs of France with the Pope, and she was to employ her influence in Germany to procure indemnities for the stadtholder. This was an indispensable condition, to insure the quiet of Holland, and to satisfy the King of Prussia, whose sister was the wife of the stadtholder. These conditions were extremely moderate, and proved the desire of the Directory to put an end to the horrors of war, and for the alarm which it had felt for the army of Italy.

For the bearer of these proposals the Directory chose General Clarke,* who was employed in the war office under Carnot. His instructions were signed on the 26th of Brumaire (November 16th). But it took time before

* "The father of Henri-Jacques-Guillaume Clarke, who was born in 1765, was an Irish adventurer, and colonel in the French army. Young Clarke received his education at the military school of Paris. In 1793 he was made general of brigade, but was soon afterwards imprisoned as a noble. On his release he introduced himself to Carnot, advocated extreme revolutionary doctrines, and was placed over the board of Topography. On the establishment of the Directory, he was sent on a secret mission to Vienna, and ultimately to Italy, to act as a spy on Bonaparte, who, however, found means to attach him to his interests. After the 18th of Brumaire, Clarke became the tool of the Consuls, and was employed on several important missions. In 1805 he was governor of Vienna, and afterwards of Erfurth and Berlin. In the latter city his conduct is said to have been distinguished by rapacity. After the peace of Tilsit he was appointed minister of war, obtained the grand cordon of the Legion of Honour, and the ducal title of Feltre. On the restoration he attached himself to the Bourbons, and in return was ranked among the new peers, and received the portfolio of war, from which, however, he was dismissed in 1817. He died in 1818, leaving behind him a large fortune."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

"Clarke," said the Emperor, "is not a man of talent, but he is laborious and useful in the bureau. He is moreover incorruptible, and saving of the public money. He is not a soldier, nor do I believe that he ever saw a shot fired in his life. He is infatuated with his nobility. He pretends that he is descended from the ancient kings of Scotland or Ireland. I sent him to Florence as ambassador, where he employed himself in nothing but turning over the old musty records of the place, in search of proofs of the nobility of my family, for you must know that they come from Florence. He plagued me with letters on this subject, which caused me to tell him to attend to his business, and not trouble his head or mine with his nonsense about nobility; that I was the *first* of my family. When I returned from Elba he offered me his services, but I sent him word that I would not employ traitors, and ordered him to his estates."—*Voice from St Helena* E.

he could set out, arrive, be received, and heard; and during this interval events succeeded one another in Italy with extraordinary rapidity.

On the 11th of Brumaire (November 1st), Marshal Alvinzy had thrown bridges over the Piave, and advanced upon the Brenta. The plan of the Austrians, this time, was to attack at once by the mountains of the Tyrol and by the plain. Davidovich was to drive Vaubois from his positions, and to descend along both banks of the Adige to Verona. Alvinzy, on his part, was to cross the Piave and the Brenta, to advance upon the Adige, to enter Verona with the main body of the army, and there form a junction with Davidovich. The two Austrian armies were to start from this point, and to march in concert, to raise the blockade of Mantua and to deliver Wurmser.

Alvinzy, after crossing the Piave, advanced upon the Brenta, where Massena was posted with his division. The latter, having reconnoitred the enemy's force, fell back. Bonaparte marched to his support with Augereau's division. At the same time he directed Vaubois to make head against Davidovich in the valley of the Upper Adige, and to take from him, if possible, his position of the Lavis. He marched himself against Alvinzy, resolving, in spite of the disproportion of strength, to attack him impetuously, and to break him at the very outset of this new campaign. On the morning of the 16th of Brumaire (November 6th), he came in sight of the enemy. The Austrians had taken position in advance of the Brenta, from Carmignano to Bassano; their reserves had remained behind on the other side of the Brenta. Bonaparte directed his whole force against them. Massena attacked Liptai and Provera before Carmignano; Augereau attacked Quasdanovich before Bassanova. The action was hot and bloody; the troops displayed great bravery; Liptai and Provera were driven beyond the Brenta by Massena; Quasdanovich was repulsed upon Bassano by Augereau. Bonaparte intended to enter Bassano the same day, but was prevented by the arrival of the Austrian reserves. He was obliged to defer the attack till the following day. Unfortunately, he received intelligence in the night that Vaubois had just experienced a reverse on the Upper Adige. That general had gallantly attacked the positions of Davidovich, and had, at first, obtained some advantages, but a panic had seized his troops, notwithstanding their tried bravery, and they had fled in disorder. He had rallied them in the famous defile of Calliano, where the army had deployed so daringly in the invasion of the Tyrol: he hoped to maintain his ground there, when Davidovich, sending a corps to the other bank of the Adige, had fallen upon Calliano and turned the position. Vaubois added that he was retiring, in order to avoid being cut in two, and he expressed his fear that Davidovich would get before him to the important positions of La Corona and Rivoli, which cover the road to Tyrol, between the Adige and the Lake of Garda.

Bonaparte was aware of the danger of proceeding farther against Alvinzy, while Vaubois, who was with his left in the Tyrol, was liable to lose La Corona, Rivoli, and even Verona, and to be driven back into the plain. Bonaparte would then have been cut off from his principal wing, and placed with fifteen or sixteen thousand men between Davidovich and Alvinzy. He consequently resolved to fall back immediately. He ordered a trusty officer to fly to Verona, to collect there all the troops he could find, to hasten with them to Rivoli and La Corona, in order to anticipate Davidovich, and to give Vaubois time to retire thither.

On the next day, the 17th of Brumaire (November 7), he marched back

and passed through the city of Vicenza, which was astonished to see the French army retiring, after the success of the preceding day. He proceeded to Verona, where he left his whole army. He repaired alone to Rivoli and La Corona, where, very fortunately, he found Vaubois' troops rallied, and able to make head against a new attack of Davidovich. He resolved to give a lesson to the 39th and 85th demi-brigades, which had given way to a panic terror. He ordered the whole division to be assembled, and, addressing those two demi-brigades, he reproached them for their want of discipline and their flight. He then said to the chief of the staff, "Let it be inscribed on the colours that the 39th and the 85th no longer form part of the army of Italy." These expressions produced the keenest mortification in the soldiers of those two demi-brigades. They surrounded Bonaparte, told him that they had been fighting one against three, and asked to be sent to his advanced guard, to show whether they had ceased to belong to the army of Italy. Bonaparte compensated them for his severity by a few soothing words, which transported them, and left them in a disposition to avenge their honour by desperate bravery.*

Vaubois had only eight thousand men left out of the twelve thousand that he commanded before this rash enterprise. Bonaparte distributed them in the best manner that he could, in the positions of La Corona and Rivoli, and after he had made sure that Vaubois could maintain his ground for a few days, and cover our left and our rear, he returned to Verona to operate against Alvinzy. The causeway leading from Brenta to Verona, skirting the foot of the mountains, passes through Vicenza, Monte-Bello, Villa Nova, and Caldiero. Alvinzy, surprised to see Bonaparte fall back the day after he had gained an advantage, had followed him at a distance, doubting whether the progress of Davidovich could alone have induced him to retire. He hoped that his plan of a junction at Verona was about to be realized. He halted about three leagues from Verona, on the heights of Caldiero, which command the road to that city. These heights presented an excellent position for making head against an army leaving Verona. Alvinzy established himself there, placed batteries, and omitted nothing to render them impregnable. Bonaparte reconnoitred and resolved to attack them immediately; for the situation of Vaubois at Rivoli was very precarious, and left him not much time to act against Alvinzy. He marched against him on the evening of the 21st (November 11), repulsed his advanced guard, and bivouacked with Massena's and Augereau's divisions at the foot of Caldiero. At daybreak, he perceived that Alvinzy, deeply intrenched, meant to accept battle. The position was assailable on one side, that which abutted upon the mountains, and which had not been

* "The two brigades appeared before him with dejected countenances, and Napoleon upbraided them with their indifferent behaviour. 'You have displeased me,' he said; 'you have shown neither discipline, nor constancy, nor bravery. You have suffered yourselves to be driven from positions where a handful of brave men might have arrested the progress of a large army. You are no longer French soldiers. Let it be written on their colours—*They are not of the army of Italy!*' Tears and groans of sorrow and shame answered this harangue. The rules of discipline could not stifle their sense of mortifications; and several of the grenadiers, who had deserved and wore marks of distinction, called out from the ranks, 'General, we have been misrepresented; place us in the advance, and you may then judge whether we do not belong to the army of Italy.' Bonaparte, having produced the intended effect, spoke to them in a more conciliatory tone; and the regiments which had undergone so severe a rebuke, redeemed their character in the subsequent part of the campaign."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

defended with sufficient care by Alvinzy. Bonaparte sent Massena thither, and directed Augereau to attack the rest of the line. The action was brisk. But the rain fell in torrents, which gave a great advantage to the enemy, whose artillery was placed beforehand in good positions, while ours, obliged to move along roads rendered impassable, could not be brought to suitable points, and was wholly ineffective. Massena, nevertheless, succeeded in climbing the height neglected by Alvinzy. But the rain suddenly changed to a cold sleet, which a violent wind blew in the faces of our soldiers. At the same instant, Alvinzy ordered his reserve to march to the position which Massena had taken from him, and recovered all his advantages. In vain did Bonaparte persist in renewing his efforts. They were attended with no better success. The two armies passed the night in presence of each other. The rain never ceased falling, and our soldiers were in a miserable plight.* On the next day, the 23d of Brumaire (November 15), Bonaparte returned to Verona.

The situation of the army now became desperate. After having uselessly driven the enemy beyond the Brenta, and lost without benefit a great number of brave men, after having lost on the left the Tyrol and four thousand men, after having fought an unsuccessful battle at Caldiero to drive off Alvinzy from Verona, and again weakened him to no purpose, every resource seemed to fail. The left, now consisting of no more than eight thousand men, was liable every moment to be hurled from La Corona and Rivoli, and then Bonaparte would be enveloped at Verona. The two divisions of Massena and Augereau, which formed the active army opposed to Alvinzy, were reduced by two battles to fourteen or fifteen thousand men. What were fourteen or fifteen thousand men against nearly forty thousand? The artillery, which had always served to counterbalance the superiority of the enemy, could no longer move along through the mud. There was, therefore, no hope of fighting with any chance of success. The army was in consternation. Those brave soldiers, tried by so many hardships and dangers, began to murmur. Like all intelligent soldiers, they were subject to fits of ill-humour, because they were capable of judging "After destroying," said they, "two armies which were opposed to us, we are expected, forsooth, to destroy those too which are opposed to the troops of the Rhine. After Beaulieu came Wurmser, after Wurmser comes Alvinzy. The struggle is renewed every day. We cannot do the work of all. We have no business to fight Alvinzy, any more than we had to fight Wurmser. If every one had done his duty as well as we have, the war would be over. Well and good," they added, "if they had but sent us succours proportioned to our dangers! but here we are abandoned in the farthest corner of Italy, here we are left by ourselves to tackle two innumerable armies. And when, after spilling our blood in thousands of fights, we are led back to the Alps, we shall return without honour and without glory, like runaways who have not done their duty." Such was the talk of the soldiers in their bivouacs. Bonaparte, who shared their spleen and their mortification, wrote on the same day, the 24th of Brumaire (November 14), to the Directory. "All our superior officers, all our best generals, are *hors de combat*. The army of Italy, reduced to a handful of men, is exhausted. The heroes of Millesimo, of Lodi, of Castiglione, of Bas-

* "The rain fell in torrents; the ground was so completely soaked, that the French artillery could make no movement, while that of the Austrians, being in position, and advantageously placed, produced its full effect."—*Montholon*. E.

sano, have died for their country, or are in the hospital. Nothing is left to the corps but their reputation and their pride. Joubert, Lannes, Lamare, Victor, Murat, Charlot, Dupuis, Rampon, Pigeon, Ménard, Chabrand, are wounded. We are abandoned at the extremity of Italy. The brave men who are left me have no prospect but inevitable death, amidst chances so continual and with forces so inferior. Perhaps the hour of the brave Augereau, of the intrepid Massena, is near at hand. Then, what will become of these brave fellows! This idea makes me reserved. I dare no longer confront death, which would be a subject of discouragement to any one exposed to my anxieties. If I had received the 83d, numbering three thousand five hundred men known to the army, I would have answered for the result. Perhaps in a few days forty thousand may not be enough!—To-day,” added Bonaparte, “rest for the troops; to-morrow, according to the movements of the enemy, we shall act.”

While he was addressing these bitter complaints to the government, he affected the greatest security in the presence of his soldiers. He desired his officers to repeat to them that another effort must be made, and that that effort would be the last; that if Alvinzy were destroyed, the means of Austria would be exhausted forever, Italy conquered, peace secured, and the glory of the army immortal.* His presence, his words, roused the courage of the men. The sick, consumed by fever, on hearing that the army was in danger, left the hospitals in a throng, and hastened to take their places in the ranks. The keenest and the deepest emotion was in every heart. The Austrians had that very day approached Verona, and were showing the ladders which they had prepared to scale the walls. The Veronese manifested their joy at the idea of seeing, in a few hours, Alvinzy joined in their city with Davidovich, and the French destroyed. Some, who were compromised on account of their attachment to our cause, sauntered sorrowfully about, counting the small number of our brave fellows.

The army awaited with anxiety the orders of the general, and hoped every moment that he would order a movement. The day of the 24th had, nevertheless, passed off, and the order of the day had, contrary to custom, not intimated anything. But Bonaparte had not lost time; and, after meditating on the field of battle, he had taken one of those resolutions with which despair inspires genius.† Towards night, orders were issued for the whole army to get under arms; the strictest silence was recommended; the command to march was given, but, instead of moving forward, the army fell back, recrossed the Adige by the bridges of Verona, and left the city by the gate leading to Milan. The troops conceived that they were retreating, and that all idea of keeping Italy was relinquished. Sorrow pervaded the ranks. However, at some distance from Verona, it turned to the left; instead of continuing to recede from the Adige, it

* “We have but one more effort to make, (said Bonaparte to his soldiers,) and Italy is our own. The enemy is, no doubt, more numerous than we are, but half his troops are recruits; when he is beaten, Mantua must fall, and we shall remain masters of all. From the smiling, flowery bivouacs of Italy you cannot return to the Alpine snows. Succours are on the road. Only beat Alvinzi, and I will answer for your future welfare.”—*Montholon*. E.

† “Napoleon’s movements and tactics on this critical occasion were those of a consummate master of the art of war; and, among all those ordered by the most renowned captains, both of ancient and modern times, I can find none more worthy of praise and admiration. They were conceived and executed with the rapidity of lightning, nor had the Austrians any notion of what he was doing, until Bonaparte had chosen his own ground, and entirely changed the state of the campaign.”—*Carlo Botta*. E.

began to descend close to the river, and followed its course for four leagues. At length, after a march of some hours, it arrived at Ronco, where a bridge of boats had been thrown across by direction of the general. The troops recrossed the river, and at daybreak found themselves beyond the Adige, which they imagined that they had quitted for ever. The plan of the general was extraordinary. He was about to astonish both armies. The Adige, on issuing from Verona, ceases for a short distance to run perpendicularly from the mountains to the sea, and turns obliquely towards the east. In this oblique movement it approaches the road from Verona to the Brenta, on which Alvinzy was encamped. Bonaparte, on reaching Ronco, consequently found himself on the flanks, and nearly on the rear, of the Austrians. By means of this point, he was placed amidst extensive marshes. These marshes were traversed by two causeways, one of which, on the left, running along the Adige, through Porcil and Gombione, was continued to Verona; the other, on the right, passing over a small stream, called the Alpon, at the village of Arcole, rejoined the Verona road near Villa Nova, in the rear of Caldiero.

Bonaparte was, therefore, master at Ronco of two causeways, both of which ran to the high-road occupied by the Austrians, the one between Caldiero and Verona, the other between Caldiero and Villa Nova. His calculation was as follows: Amidst these marshes the advantage of number was absolutely annulled; it was impossible to deploy unless upon the causeways, and on the causeways the courage of the heads of columns must decide everything. By the causeway on the left, he could fall upon the Austrians if they attempted to scale Verona. By that on the right, which crossed the Alpon, at the bridge of Arcole, and terminated at Villa Nova, he might debouch upon the rear of Alvinzy, take his artillery and baggage, and intercept his retreat. He was, therefore, unassailable at Ronco, and he clasped his two arms about the enemy. He had ordered the gates of Verona to be closed, and had left Kilmaine* there, with fifteen hundred men, to withstand a first assault. This combination, so daring and so profound, struck the army, which immediately guessed the intention of it, and was filled with hope.

Bonaparte placed Massena on the left-hand dike, with directions to proceed to Gombione and Porcil, and take the enemy in the rear, if he should march upon Verona. He sent Augereau to the right, to debouch upon Villa Nova. It was just daybreak. Massena placed himself in observation on the left-hand dike. Augereau, in advancing along that on the right, had to cross the Alpon by the bridge of Arcole. Some battalions of Croats had been detached thither to watch the country. They bordered the river, and had their cannon pointed at the bridge. They received Augereau's advanced guard with a brisk fire of musketry, and forced it to fall back. Augereau hastened up, and led his troops forward again; but the fire from the bridge and the opposite bank again stopped them. He was obliged to yield to this obstacle, and to order a halt.

Meanwhile Alvinzy, who had his eyes fixed upon Verona, and who conceived that the French army was still there, had been surprised on hearing a very brisk fire amidst the marshes. He did not suppose that General

* Kilmaine was born at Dublin in the year 1754. He distinguished himself at Jemappes and in La Vendée, and was selected to command the army of England, but died in Paris in 1799. E.

Bonaparte could choose such a field, and imagined that it was a detached corps of light troops. But his cavalry soon returned, to inform him that the action was serious, and that reports of musketry proceeded from all quarters. Still his eyes were not opened. He despatched two divisions: one, under Provera, followed the left-hand dike, the other, under Mitrowski, took that on the right, and advanced upon Arcole. Massena, seeing the Austrians approaching, suffered them to advance upon a narrow dike, and when he judged them to be far enough, he dashed upon them at a run, drove them back, threw them into the marsh, and killed and drowned a great number. Mitrowski's division arrived at Arcole, debouched by the bridge, and followed the dike, as Provera's had done. Augereau rushed upon it, broke it, and threw part of it into the marsh. He pursued, and attempted to cross the bridge at its heels, but the bridge was still more strongly guarded than in the morning. A numerous artillery defended the approach to it, and all the rest of the Austrian line was deployed on the bank of the Alpon, firing on the dike, and taking it crosswise. Augereau seized a pair of colours, and carried them upon the bridge. His men followed, but a tremendous fire drove them back. Generals Lannes, Verne, Bon, and Verdier, were severely wounded. The column fell back, and the men descended to the side of the dike, to shelter themselves from the fire.

Bonaparte saw from Ronco the whole hostile army set itself in motion. Apprized, at length, of its danger, it hastened to quit Caldiero, that it might not be taken in the rear at Villa Nova. He saw, with vexation, great results slipping from his grasp. He had, indeed, sent Gueux with a brigade to attempt to cross the Alpon below Arcole; but the execution of that attempt would take several hours; and it was of the utmost importance to cross the Arcole immediately, in order to arrive in time on the rear of Alvinzy, and to obtain a complete triumph. The fate of Italy depended upon it. He hesitated no longer. Starting off at a gallop, he rode to the bridge, sprang from his horse, went to the soldiers who were lying on the borders of the dike, asked them if they were still the conquerors of Lodi, revived their courage by his words, and, seizing a pair of colours, cried, "Follow your general!" At this command, a number of soldiers went up to the causeway and followed him. Unfortunately, the movement could not be communicated to the whole column, the rest of which remained behind the dike. Bonaparte advanced, carrying the colours, amidst a shower of balls and grape-shot. All his generals surrounded him. Lannes, who had already received two wounds from musket-shots during the battle, was struck by a third. Young Muiron, the general's aide-de-camp, striving to cover him with his body, fell dead at his feet.* The column was, nevertheless, on the point of clearing the bridge, when a last discharge stopped it and threw it back. The rear abandoned the head. The soldiers who still remained with the general then laid hold of him, carried him away amidst the fire and smoke, and insisted on his remounting his horse. An Austrian column debouching upon them, threw them in disorder into the marsh. Bonaparte fell in, and sunk up to the waist. As soon as the soldiers perceived his danger, "Forward," cried they, "to save the general."

* "This was the day of military devotedness. Lannes, who had been wounded at Governolo, had hastened from Milan; he was still suffering; he threw himself between the enemy and Napoleon, and received three wounds. Muiron, Bonaparte's aide-de-camp, was killed in covering the general with his own body. Heroic and affecting death!"—*Napoleon's Memoirs*. E

They ran after Belliard and Vignolles to extricate him. He was pulled out of the mud, set upon his horse, and returned to Ronco.*

At this moment, Guxeux had succeeded in crossing below Arcole, and in taking the village by the other bank. But he was too late. Alvinzi had already made his artillery and his baggage file away; he had deployed in the plain, and was enabled to frustrate the intentions of Bonaparte. All his heroism and genius were thus rendered useless. Bonaparte might, indeed, have avoided the obstacle of Arcole by throwing his bridge over the Adige, a little below Ronco, that is, at Albanedo, the point where the Alpon falls into the Adige. But then he would have debouched in the

* We subjoin Napoleon's own account of the battle at the bridge of Arcole, as dictated by him to Las Cases at St. Helena.

"It was five o'clock in the morning, and the enemy knew nothing of our proceedings. The first shots were fired on the bridge of Arcole, where two battalions of Croats, with two pieces of cannon, were in bivouac as a corps of observation, to guard the rear of the army, where were all the parks, and to watch the parties which the garrison of Legnago might detach into the plain. That place was only three leagues off; the enemy had been so negligent as not to advance any posts to the Adige; they looked on this space as impracticable marshes. The interval between Arcole and the Adige was not guarded; the enemy had contented themselves with sending some patrols of hussars, who thrice a day rode over the dikes, and reconnoitred the Adige. The road from Ronco to Arcole meets the Alpon two miles from Ronco, and then reascends the right bank of that little stream for a mile, up to the bridge, which turns perpendicularly to the right, and enters the village of Arcole. Some Croats were bivouacked, with their right supported on the village, and their left towards the mouth of the rivulet. This bivouac had in front the dike, from which it was separated only by the rivulet; by firing in front they took the column, the head of which was advancing on Arcole, in flank. It was necessary to fall back hastily to that point of the road, the side of which was no longer exposed to the left bank. Alvinzi was informed that some firing had taken place at the bridge of Arcole, but he paid little attention to the circumstance. However, at daybreak, the movement of the French could be distinguished from Caldiero and the neighbouring steeples. Already the reconnoitring parties of hussars, which every morning rode along the banks of the Adige, to ascertain the events of the night, were received with a fire of musketry on all the dikes, and pursued by the French cavalry. Alvinzi then received from all quarters certain intelligence that the French had passed the Adige, and were in force on all the dikes. It seemed to him folly to suppose that a whole army could thus have been thrown into impracticable morasses. He rather thought it must be a detachment placed there to harass him, whilst he should be attacked in force from the side of Verona. But his reconnoitring parties on the Verona side having brought him intelligence that all was quiet there, Alvinzi thought it necessary to repulse these French troops beyond the Adige, for the security of his rear. He ordered one division to advance by the dike of Arcole, and another towards the dike which runs parallel with the Adige, with orders to fall furiously on all they should meet, and drive them all into the river. Accordingly, towards nine o'clock, these two divisions made a brisk attack. Massena, who was intrusted with the left dike, having allowed the enemy to advance, charged them furiously, broke them, caused them considerable loss, and took a great number of prisoners. The same thing was done on the dike of Arcole; they waited until the Austrians had turned the elbow of the bridge; they then charged and routed them, and took many prisoners. It became of the utmost importance to gain possession of Arcole, because that was the point from whence to debouch on the rear of the enemy, before they could be formed. But this bridge of Arcole, by its situation, resisted all our attacks. Napoleon, in his person, tried a last effort; he seized a standard, rushed towards the bridge, and fixed it there. The column he led had half cleared the bridge, when the flank fire caused their attack to fail. The grenadiers of the head of the column, abandoned by the rear, hesitated; they were disposed to retire, but they would not forsake their general; they seized him by his arms, his hair, and his clothes, and dragged him along with them, in their flight, amidst the dead, the dying, the fire, and the smoke. The general-in-chief was thrown into a marsh, where he sunk up to the middle; he was in the midst of the enemy; but the French perceived that their general was not amongst them. A cry was heard of 'Soldiers! forward, to rescue the general!' These brave men instantly turned, and rushed upon the enemy; they drove them beyond the bridge, and Napoleon was saved." E.

plain, which it behoved him to avoid doing; and he would not have had it in his power to fly by the left-hand dike to the relief of Verona.* He was, therefore, right in doing what he had done; and, though the success was not complete, important results had been obtained. Alvinzy had quitted the formidable position of Caldiero; he had descended again into the plain; he no longer threatened Verona; he had lost a great number of men in the marshes. The two dikes had become the only field of battle between the two armies, which insured the advantage to bravery and took it away from number. Lastly, the French soldiers, animated by the conflict, had recovered all their confidence.

Bonaparte, who had to think of all dangers at once, had to attend to his left, which was at La Corona and Rivoli. As it was liable every moment to be overthrown, he wished to have it in his power to fly to its assistance. He thought it best, therefore, to fall back from Gombione and Arcole, to recross the Adige to Ronco, and to bivouac on this side of the river, in order to be at hand to succour Vaubois, in case he should hear in the night of his defeat. Such was this first battle, on the 25th of Brumaire (November 15).

The night passed without any bad news. It was known that Vaubois still maintained his ground at Rivoli. The exploits of Castiglione covered Bonaparte on that side. Davidovich, who commanded a corps at the battle of Castiglione, had retained such an impression of that event, that he durst not advance to gain certain intelligence of Alvinzy. Thus the spell of Bonaparte's genius was where he was not himself. The fight of the 26th (November 16) commenced. The combatants met on the two dikes. The French charged with the bayonet, broke the Austrians, threw a great number of them into the marsh, and made many prisoners. They took colours and cannon. Bonaparte ordered a fire of musketry to be kept up on the bank of the Alpon, but he made no decisive effort to cross it. When night came on, he again drew back his columns, took them above the dikes, and rallied them on the other bank of the Adige, satisfied with having harassed the enemy the whole day, while awaiting more certain intelligence of Vaubois. The second night was passed like the preceding. The tidings from Vaubois were cheering. A third day might now be devoted to a definitive conflict with Alvinzy. At length, the sun rose for the third time on this frightful theatre of carnage. It was the 27th (November 17). Bonaparte calculated that the enemy must have lost, at least, one third of his army, in killed, wounded, drowned, and prisoners. He judged him to be harassed and disheartened; and he saw his own soldiers full of enthusiasm. He then resolved to quit those dikes, and to transfer the field of battle to the plain beyond the Alpon. As on the preceding days, the French, debouching from Ronco, met the Austrians on the dikes. Massena still occupied the left dike. On that upon the right, General Robert was directed to attack, while Augereau proceeded to cross the Alpon near its influx into the Adige. Massena at first encountered an obstinate resistance, but, putting his hat on the point of his sword, he marched in that manner at the head of his soldiers. As on the former days, many of the enemy were killed, drowned, or taken. On the right-hand dike, General Robert advanced at first with success; but he was killed, and his column repulsed nearly to the bridge of Ronco.

* I here repeat a remark often made to Bonaparte on this celebrated battle, and the answer which he has himself given to it in his "Memoirs."

Bonaparte, who saw the danger, placed the 32d in a wood of willows which borders the dike. While the enemy's column, victorious over Robert, was advancing, the 32d suddenly sallied from its ambuscade, took it in flank, and threw it into frightful disorder. It consisted of three thousand Croats. The greater part of them were slain or made prisoners. The dikes thus swept, Bonaparte determined to cross the Alpon. Augereau had passed it on the extreme right. Bonaparte brought back Massena from he left to the right-hand dike, despatched him upon Arcole, which was evacuated, and thus brought his whole army into the plain before that of Alvinzy. Before he ordered the charge, he resorted to a stratagem to frighten the enemy. A marsh, overgrown with reeds, covered the left wing of the Austrians: he ordered Hercule, *chef de bataillon*, to take with him twenty-five of his guides, to file away through the reeds, and to charge unawares with a great blast of trumpets. These twenty-five brave fellows started to execute the order. Bonaparte then gave the signal to Massena and to Augereau. These latter made a vigorous charge upon the Austrian line, which resisted; but all at once a loud sound of trumpets was heard. The Austrians, conceiving that they were charged by a whole division of cavalry, gave way. At that moment, the garrison of Legnago, which Bonaparte had ordered to move upon their rear, appeared at a distance, and increased their alarm. They then retreated, and, after a tremendous conflict of seventy-two hours, disheartened and worn out with fatigue, they yielded the victory to the heroism of a few thousand brave men and to the genius of a great commander.*

The two armies, exhausted by their efforts, passed the night in the plain. Next morning, Bonaparte renewed the pursuit upon Vicenza. On arriving at the causeway leading from the Brenta to Verona, through Villa Nova, he left his cavalry alone to pursue the enemy, and resolved to return to Verona, by way of Villa Nova and Caldiero, in order to relieve Vaubois. Bonaparte received intelligence on the road that Vaubois had been obliged to abandon La Corona and Rivoli, and to fall back to Castel Novo. He redoubled his speed, and arrived the same evening at Verona, passing over the field of battle which had been occupied by Alvinzy. He entered the city at the gate opposite to that by which he had left it. When the Veronese saw this handful of men, who had gone forth as fugitives by the Milan gate, re-entering as conquerors by the Venice gate, they were filled with astonishment.† Neither friends nor foes could repress their admiration of the general and the soldiers who had so gloriously changed the fortune of the war. It was no longer feared or hoped by any one that the French might be driven out of Italy. Bonaparte immediately ordered Massena to march to Castel Novo, and Augereau upon Dolce, along the right bank of the Adige. Davidovich, attacked on all sides, was quickly driven back into the Tyrol, with the loss of a great number of prisoners. Bonaparte con-

* "It was so apparent to all the Austrian army, that this last retreat was the result of a secret understanding with the French general, and with a view to the negotiation which was now pending, that they loudly expressed their indignation. One colonel broke his sword in pieces, and declared he would no longer serve under a commander whose conduct brought disgrace on his troops. Certain it is that Alvinzi during this dreadful strife at Arcole, had neither evinced the capacity nor the spirit of a general worthy to combat with Napoleon."—*Alison*. E.

† "The French army re-entered Verona in triumph by the Venice gate, three days after having quitted that city almost clandestinely by the Milan gate. It would be difficult to conceive the astonishment and enthusiasm of the inhabitants."—*Monthon*. E.

tented himself with re-occupying the positions of La Corona and Rivoli, without attempting to ascend again to Trent and to recover possession of the Tyrol. The French army was exceedingly reduced by this last conflict. The Austrian army had lost five thousand prisoners, and eight or ten thousand in killed and wounded, but it was still upwards of forty thousand strong, including the corps of Davidovich. It retired into the Tyrol and upon the Brenta, to rest itself: it was far from having suffered so severely as the armies of Wurmser and Beaulieu. The French, exhausted, had been able only to repulse, not to destroy it. Their general was, therefore, obliged to relinquish all idea of pursuing it, until the promised reinforcements should arrive; and merely occupied the Adige from Dolce to the sea.

This new victory produced extreme joy both in Italy and in France. People everywhere admired that persevering genius, which, with fourteen or fifteen thousand men against forty thousand, had never thought of retreating; that inventive and profound genius, which had the sagacity to discover in the dikes of Ronco a new field of battle, that rendered numbers of no avail and exposed the flanks of the enemy. They extolled, in particular, the heroism displayed at the bridge of Arcole, and the young general was everywhere represented with the colours in his hand, amidst fire and smoke.* The two councils, when declaring, according to custom, that the army of Italy had deserved well of the country, resolved, moreover, that the colours which the two generals, Bonaparte and Augereau, had borne upon the bridge of Arcole should be given to them to be kept as heir-looms—an appropriate and a noble reward, worthy of an heroic age, and much more glorious than the diadem subsequently decreed by weakness to all-powerful genius.

* “By the battle of Arcole, where the loss on both sides was immense, the French gained every advantage proposed by their wonderful leader, who remained for two months the undisturbed possessor of Lombardy; while he had struck the Austrians with an idea of his invincibility from which they did not recover for years. This was the hardest fought battle in all the war, and the one in which Bonaparte showed most personal courage. Lodi was nothing to Arcole!”—*Bourrienne*. E.

THE DIRECTORY.

CLARKE AT HEAD-QUARTERS—RUPTURE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ENGLISH CABINET; DEPARTURE OF MALMESBURY—EXPEDITION TO IRELAND—RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE OF THE YEAR V—CAPITULATION OF KEHL—LAST EFFORT OF AUSTRIA IN ITALY—VICTORY OF RIVOLI AND LA FAVORITA; REDUCTION OF MANTUA—CONCLUSION OF THE MEMORABLE CAMPAIGN OF 1796.

GENERAL CLARKE arrived at the head-quarters of the army of Italy, whence he was to proceed to Vienna. His mission had lost its essential object since the battle of Arcole had rendered an armistice useless. Bonaparte, whom General Clarke was ordered to consult, totally disapproved the armistice and its conditions. The reasons which he assigned were excellent. The armistice could now have but one object, that of saving the fortress of Kehl, on the Rhine, which the archduke was besieging with great vigour; and for this very subordinate object, it sacrificed Mantua. Kehl was merely a *tête de pont*, which was not indispensable for debouching in Germany. The taking of Mantua would lead to the definitive conquest of Italy, and justify the demand in return of Mayence and the whole line of the Rhine. The armistice evidently compromised this conquest; for Mantua, full of sick, and reduced to half rations, could not defer opening its gates longer than a month. The provisions that would be introduced would restore health and strength to the garrison. Their quantity could not be accurately fixed. Wurmser might, by means of savings, lay up a store for renewing his resistance, in case of the resumption of hostilities. The effects of the battles fought to cover the blockade of Mantua would thus be done away with, and it would be necessary to begin again at a fresh cost. Nor was this all. The Pope could not fail to be included in the armistice by Austria, and then the French would be deprived of the means of punishing him, and wringing from him twenty or thirty millions, which the army much needed, and which would serve to carry on a new campaign. Lastly, Bonaparte, penetrating into futurity, advised that, instead of suspending hostilities, they should be continued with vigour, but that the war should be transferred to its true theatre, and that a reinforcement of thirty thousand men should be sent to Italy. He promised, on this condition, to march upon Vienna and to have in two months peace, the line of the Rhine, and a republic in Italy. This combination, indeed, would place in his hands all the military and political operations of the war; but, whether it was interested or not, it was just and profound, and the result proved its wisdom.

Nevertheless, in obedience to the Directory, letters were addressed to the Austrian generals on the Rhine and the Adige, to propose an armistice and to obtain passports for Clarke. The Archduke Charles answered Moreau that he could not listen to any proposal for an armistice, that his

powers did not permit him to do so, and that he must refer the matter to the Aulic Council. Alvinzy returned the same answer, and sent off a courier to Vienna. The Austrian minister, secretly devoted to England, was not disposed to comply with the proposals of France. The cabinet of London had communicated to him the mission of Lord Malmesbury, and had taken pains to persuade him that the emperor would gain many more advantages by joining in the negotiation opened in Paris than by making separate conditions, since the English conquests in the two Indies would be sacrificed to procure for him the restitution of the Netherlands. Besides the insinuations of England, the cabinet of Vienna had other reasons for rejecting the proposals of the Directory. It flattered itself with the expectation of taking the fortress of Kehl in a very short time; the French, hemmed in along the Rhine, would then no longer be able to cross that river; it might then, without danger, withdraw new detachments and send them to the Adige. These detachments, joined to the new levies that were being raised throughout all Austria with wonderful activity, would admit of one more attempt being made upon Italy. Perhaps that terrible army, which had annihilated so many Austrian battalions, might itself succumb at last under reiterated efforts.

In this case, then, German perseverance was true to itself, and, in spite of so many reverses, it did not yet renounce the possession of fair Italy. It was, in consequence, resolved not to allow Clarke to come to Vienna. Besides, the Austrian cabinet was shy of admitting an observer into the capital, and it wished not for any direct negotiation. As for the armistice, it would have consented to it on the Adige, but not on the Rhine. Clarke was answered that, if he would repair to Vicenza, he would there find the Baron de Vincent, with whom he might confer. A meeting accordingly took place at Vicenza. The Austrian minister alleged that the emperor could not receive an envoy of the republic, because that would be equivalent to acknowledging it; and, as for the armistice, he declared that it was admissible in regard to Italy alone. This proposal was ridiculous, and it is inconceivable how the Austrian minister could make it, for it would save Mantua without saving Kehl, and the French could scarcely have been supposed stupid enough to accept it. Nevertheless, the Austrian ministry, desirous of reserving to itself the means of a separate negotiation in case of emergency, directed its envoy to declare that, if the French commissioner had proposals to make relative to peace, he had only to proceed to Turin, and to communicate them to the Austrian ambassador at the court of Sardinia. Thus, owing to the suggestions of England and to the silly hopes of the cabinet of Vienna, the dangerous project of an armistice, was foiled. Clarke went to Turin, in order to avail himself, in case of need, of the channel of communication offered to him at the court of Sardinia. But he had another mission—that was, to watch General Bonaparte. The genius of that young man had appeared so extraordinary,* his charac-

* The following was the opinion entertained of Bonaparte's extraordinary genius by one of his most inveterate adversaries—M. Bertrand de Moleville, a stanch royalist, and formerly minister of the marine under Louis XVI. The observations were addressed to the Count Las Cases:—

“Your Bonaparte, your Napoleon, was a very extraordinary man, it must be confessed. How little did we know of him on the other side the water! We could not, it is true, but yield to the conviction of his victories and his invasions; but Genseric, Attila, and Alaric were as victorious as he. Thus he produced on me an impression of terror rather than of admiration. But since I have been here, I have taken the trouble to look over the debates on the civil code, and I have ever since been imbued with pro-

ter so absolute and so energetic, that, without any precise motive, he was supposed to have ambition. He had insisted on conducting the war as he pleased, and had tendered his resignation when a plan that was not his own had been marked out for him; he had acted like a sovereign in Italy, granting to princes peace or war under the name of armistices; he had loudly complained because the negotiations with the Pope were not conducted by him alone, and had required that they should be left to his management; he had treated Garen and Salicetti, the commissioners, very harshly, when they ventured upon measures of which he disapproved, and had obliged them to leave the head-quarters; he had taken the liberty to transmit funds to the different armies, without any authority from the government, and without having recourse to the indispensable channel of the treasury. All these circumstances indicated a man who liked to do himself all that he thought himself alone capable of doing properly. It was as yet only the impatience of genius, which cannot bear to be thwarted in its operations; but it is in this impatience that a despotic will begins to manifest itself. On seeing him excite Upper Italy against its old masters, and create or destroy states, people would have supposed that he meant to make himself Duke of Milan. They had a foreboding of his ambition, and he had himself a presentiment of the reproach. He complained of being accused, and then justified himself, though not a single word of the Directory furnished him occasion to do so.

Clarke, then, was sent, not only to negotiate, but also to watch him. Bonaparte was aware of his errand, and, acting in this instance with his habitual haughtiness and address, he suffered him to perceive that he was acquainted with the object of his mission, subdued him in a short time by his ascendancy and his fascinating manner, not less overpowering, it is said, than his genius, and converted him into a devoted adherent. Clarke possessed ability, but he had too much vanity to be a clever and supple spy. He remained in Italy, sometimes at Turin, sometimes at head-quarters, and soon belonged more to Bonaparte than the Directory.

The negotiation opened in Paris had been protracted by the English cabinet as much as possible, but the French cabinet, by returning prompt and explicit answers, had, at last, obliged Lord Malmesbury to speak out. That minister had, as we have seen, insisted, at the outset, on the principle of a general negotiation, and that of a compensation for conquests; the Directory, on its part, had demanded the powers of all the allies, and a clearer explanation of the principle of compensations. The English minister had taken nineteen days to reply; he had at length answered that application was made for the powers; but before they were produced it was requisite that the French government should positively admit the principle of compensations. The Directory had then required an immediate declaration of the objects to which the compensations related. At this point the negotiation had arrived. Lord Malmesbury again wrote to London, and after a lapse of twelve days, replied, on the 6th of Frimaire (November 26th) that his court had nothing to add to what it had already said, and that it could not enter into any further explanation, so long as the French government did not formally admit the proposed principle. This was a quibble; for in demanding a statement of the objects which were to be compensated for, France had evidently admitted the principle of com-

found veneration for him. But where in the world did he collect all his knowledge I discover something new every day. Ah, sir, what a man you had at the head of your government! Really, he was nothing short of a prodigy." E.

pensation. To write to London and to take up twelve days more for this quibble was trifling with the Directory. It replied, as it always did, on the following day, and in a note of four lines it stated that its former note necessarily implied the admission of the principle of compensation, but, at any rate, it formally admitted that principle, and demanded immediately a statement of the objects to which it was to be applied. The Directory, also, asked if, upon every question, Lord Malmesbury would be obliged to write to London. Lord Malmesbury vaguely replied, that he should be obliged to write whenever the question required fresh instructions. He again wrote, and twenty days elapsed before he replied. It was evident, this time, that he must lay aside the vagueness in which he had enveloped himself, and, at length, grapple with the formidable question of the Netherlands. To come to an explanation on that point, was to break off the negotiation, and it is obvious that the English cabinet put off the rupture as long as possible. At last, on the 28th of Frimaire (December 18th), Lord Malmesbury had an interview with Delacroix, the minister, and delivered to him a note, in which the pretensions of the English cabinet were stated. It insisted that France should restore to the powers of the continent all that she had taken from them; that she should give up to Austria, Belgium and Luxemburg, and to the empire, the German states on the right bank of the Rhine; that she should evacuate all Italy and replace it in the *status quo ante bellum*; that she should restore to Holland certain portions of territory, such as maritime Flanders, for example, in order to render her independent; and lastly, that changes should be made in her existing constitution. The English cabinet promised to restore the Dutch colonies, but only on condition of the reinstatement of the stadtholder; and even in this case, it proposed not to give up all; some it meant to keep, as an indemnity for the war, among others, the Cape. For all these sacrifices it offered to return to us two or three islands which we had lost during the war in the West Indies, Martinique, St. Lucia, and Tobago, and again, upon condition that we should not retain the whole of St. Domingo. Thus, France, after an iniquitous war, in which she had all the justice on her side, in which she had expended enormous sums, and from which she had come off victorious—France was not to gain a single province, while the northern powers had just divided a kingdom among them, and England had recently made immense acquisitions in India! France, who still occupied the line of the Rhine, and who was mistress of Italy, was to evacuate the Rhine and Italy, at the bare summons of England! Such conditions were absurd and inadmissible. The very proposal of them was an insult, and they could not be listened to. Delacroix, nevertheless, did listen to them with a politeness which struck the English minister, and which even led him to hope that the negotiation might be continued.

Delacroix adduced a reason, which was a bad one, namely, that the Netherlands were declared national territory by the constitution; and the English minister replied, by a reason which was no better, that the treaty of Utrecht gave them to Austria. The constitution might be obligatory for the French nation, but it neither concerned nor was obligatory for foreign nations. The treaty of Utrecht was, like all other treaties in the world, an arrangement of force, which force was liable to change. The only reason which the French minister ought to have given was, that the incorporation of the Netherlands with France was just, that it was founded on all the natural and political expedencies, and that it was justified by victory. After a long discussion on all the subordinate points of the negotiation,

the two ministers parted. Delacroix went to refer the matter to the Directory, which, justly incensed, resolved to reply to the English minister as he deserved. The note of the English minister was not signed; it was merely enclosed in a signed letter. The Directory required, the very same day, that it should be clothed with the necessary forms, and demanded his *ultimatum* within twenty-four hours. Lord Malmesbury, embarrassed, replied that the note was sufficiently authentic, since it was enclosed in a signed letter, and, as to an *ultimatum*, it was contrary to all custom to demand one at so short a notice. Next day, the 29th of Frimaire (December 19), the Directory caused it to be intimated that it never would listen to any proposal contrary to the laws and treaties which bound the republic, adding that, as Lord Malmesbury had to refer every moment to his government, and performed a purely passive part in the negotiation, his presence in Paris was useless; that, in consequence, he was ordered to depart, himself and his suite, within forty-eight hours; and that couriers would be sufficient for negotiating, if the English government adopted the basis laid down by the French republic.

Thus ended this negotiation, in which the French Directory, so far from violating forms, as it has been alleged, set a real example of frankness in its relations with hostile powers. In this case, there was no violation of established usage. The communications of powers are stamped, like all the relations between individuals, with the character of the time, of the situation, of the persons who govern. A strong and victorious government talks differently from a weak and vanquished government; and it befitted a republic, supported by justice and victory, to express itself in language prompt, terse, and public.

During this interval, Hoche's grand attempt upon Ireland was carried into effect. This was what England dreaded, and what was liable, in fact, to place her in great jeopardy. Notwithstanding the reports adroitly circulated of an expedition against Portugal or America, England had rightly guessed the object of the preparations making at Brest. Pitt had caused the militia to be called out, and the coasts to be armed, and had given orders to evacuate everything in the interior, if the French should effect a landing.

Ireland, whither the expedition was bound, was in such a state as to cause serious apprehension. The partisans of parliamentary reform and the Catholics formed in that island a mass sufficient to produce an insurrection. They would gladly have adopted a republican government under the guarantee of France, and they had sent secret agents to Paris to concert plans with the Directory.* Thus everything led to the inference that an

* "The Catholics of Ireland are 3,150,000, all trained from their infancy in an hereditary hatred and abhorrence of the English name. For these five years they have fixed their eyes most earnestly on France, whom they look upon with great justice as fighting their battles, as well as those of all mankind who are oppressed. Of this class I will stake my head there are five hundred thousand men who would fly to the standard of the republic, if they saw it once displayed in the cause of liberty and their country. The republic may also rely with confidence on the support of the Dissenters, actuated by reason and reflection, as well as the Catholics, impelled by misery and inflamed by detestation of the English name. It would be just as easy in a month's time to have an army in Ireland of 200,000 men as 10,000. The peasantry would flock to the republican standard in such numbers as to embarrass the general-in-chief. A proclamation should instantly be issued, containing an invitation to the people to join the republican standard, organize themselves, and form a National Convention, for the purpose of framing a government, and administering the affairs of Ireland, till it was put into activity. The first act of the Convention thus constituted should be to declare themselves

expedition would throw England into cruel embarrassment, and force her to accept a very different sort of peace from that which she had just offered. Hoche, who had wasted the two best years of his life in La Vendée, and who saw the great theatres of war occupied by Bonaparte, Moreau, and Jourdan, burned with impatience to open one for himself in Ireland. England was as noble an adversary as Austria, and there was not less honour in fighting and conquering her. A new republic had sprung up in Italy; and was about to become the focus of liberty there. Hoche deemed it possible and desirable to erect such another in Ireland, by the side of the English aristocracy. He was very intimate with Admiral Truguet, minister of the marine, and a man of comprehensive views. Both promised themselves to give high importance to the navy, and to achieve great things; for at that time all heads were at work, all meditating prodigies for the glory and happiness of their country. The offensive and defensive alliance concluded with Spain, at St. Ildefonso, offered great resources, and admitted of vast projects. By uniting the Toulon squadron with the Spanish fleet, and concentrating them in the Channel with that which France had in the Atlantic Ocean, a very formidable force might be collected, and attempt to deliver the seas by a decisive engagement. It might, at least, set Ireland in flames, and then proceed to interrupt the successes of England in India. Admiral Truguet, sensible of the importance of sending speedy succours to India, proposed that the Brest squadron, without waiting for the junction of the French and Spanish fleets in the Channel, should start immediately, land Hoche's army in Ireland, keep a few thousand men on board, then sail for the Isle of France, take on board the battalions of negroes which were being organized there, and proceed to India with these succours for Tippoo Saib. This grand expedition had one inconvenience, that of carrying to Ireland only part of the army destined for that island, and leaving it exposed to great risks, till the very precarious junction of Admiral Villeneuve's* squadron, which was to sail from Toulon, of the Spanish squadron, which was dispersed in the parts of Spain, and of Richery's squadron, which was returning from America. This expedition was not carried into effect. Admiral Richery's arrival from America was waited for, and, notwithstanding the state of the finances, extraordinary efforts were made to complete the equipment of the Brest squadron. In Frimaire (December), it was in a condition to sail. It

the representatives of the Irish people, free and independent. The Convention should next publish a proclamation, notifying their independence and their alliance with the French republic, and forbidding all adherence to the British government, under the penalty of high treason."—*Wolfe Tone's Memorial to the French Directory.* E.

* Villeneuve was a brave but unfortunate French admiral, who, in consequence of his total defeat by Nelson at Trafalgar, was supposed to have committed suicide. Napoleon in the *Voice* from St. Helena gives the following details of the catastrophe: "Villeneuve, when taken prisoner and brought to England, was so much grieved at his defeat, that he studied anatomy on purpose to destroy himself. With this view he bought some anatomical plates of the heart, and compared them with his own body, in order to ascertain the exact situation of that organ. On his arrival in France, I ordered that he should remain at Rennes, and not proceed to Paris. Villeneuve, afraid of being tried by a court martial for a disobedience of orders, and consequently losing the fleet—for I had ordered him not to sail, or engage the English—determined to destroy himself, and accordingly took his plates of the heart, and compared them with his breast. Exactly in the centre of the plate, he made a mark with a large pin, then fixed the pin, as nearly as he could judge, in the same spot in his own breast, shoved it in to the head, penetrated his heart, and expired. When the room was opened he was found dead, the pin in his breast, and a mark in the plate corresponding with the wound. He need not have done it, as he was a brave man, though possessed of no talent." E

consisted of fifteen sail of the line, twenty frigates, six luggers, and fifty transports. Hoche could not agree with Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse. Morad de Galles was appointed to supersede the latter. The expedition was to land in Bantry Bay. Each of the captains of the ships of the line was furnished with sealed orders, specifying the direction which he was to follow, and the port for which he was to steer in case of accident.

The expedition sailed on the 26th of Frimaire (December 16). Hoche and Morad de Galles were on board a frigate. Owing to a thick fog, the French squadron escaped the English cruisers, and crossed the sea unperceived. But in the night between the 26th and 27th it was dispersed by a violent storm. One ship foundered. Rear-admiral Bouvet, however, manœuvred for the purpose of rallying the squadron, and succeeded in two days in collecting the whole of it, excepting one ship of the line and three frigates. Unfortunately, the frigate which had Hoche and Morad de Galles on board was one of the latter. The squadron doubled Cape Clear, and manœuvred there several days, waiting for the two commanders. At length, on the 4th of Nivose (December 24), it entered Bantry Bay. A council of war decided on landing, but this was rendered impossible by the bad weather. The squadron was again blown from the coasts of Ireland. Rear-admiral Bouvet, daunted by so many obstacles, apprehensive lest he should run short of provisions, and separated from the two commanders-in-chief, deemed it advisable to regain the coast of France. Hoche and Morad de Galles at length arrived in Bantry Bay, and were informed of the return of the French squadron. They followed it, amidst unparalleled dangers. Tossed by the sea, pursued by the English, they reached the French shores only by a sort of miracle. The *Droits de l'Homme*, Captain La Crosse, was separated from the squadron, and performed prodigies. Attacked by two English vessels, she destroyed one, and escaped the other; but, being much damaged, and having lost masts and sails, she could not withstand the violence of the sea. One part of the crew went to the bottom with her, another part was saved.

Thus ended that expedition, which excited great alarm in England and revealed her vulnerable point.* The Directory did not relinquish the idea of reviving this plan, but, for the moment, turned its whole attention towards the continent, with a view to force Austria to lay down her arms as speedily as possible. The troops of the expedition had suffered little; they were disembarked; a sufficient force was left on the coast to perform the police duty of the country, and the greater part of the army which had been called the Army of the Ocean, was marched towards the Rhine. The two Vendées and Bretagne were, for the rest, perfectly quiet, through the vigilance and the continual presence of Hoche. An important command was provided for that general, to reward him for his arduous and ungrateful toils. The resignation of Jourdan, whom the unsuccessful issue of the campaign had disgusted, and who had been temporarily succeeded by Beurnonville, af-

* "It is a curious subject for speculation what might have been the result, had Hoche succeeded in landing with sixteen thousand of his best troops on the Irish shores. To those who consider indeed the patriotic spirit, indomitable valour, and persevering character of the English people, and the complete command they had of the sea, the final issue of such a conquest cannot appear doubtful; but it is equally evident that the addition of such a force and so able a commander to the numerous bodies of Irish malcontents would have engendered a dreadful domestic war, and that the whole energies of the empire might for a very long period have been employed in saving itself from dismemberment."—*Atison*. E.

forded an opportunity for offering Hoche a compensation which had long been due to his patriotism and to his talents.

The winter, already far advanced (it was now Nivose), had not interrupted this memorable campaign. On the Rhine, the Archduke Charles was besieging Kehl and the *tête-de-pont* of Huningen: on the Adige, Alvinzy was preparing for a new and last effort against Bonaparte. The interior of the republic was tolerably quiet. The parties had their eyes fixed on the different theatres of the war. The credit and the strength of the government increased or diminished according to the chances of the campaign. The late victory of Arcole had shed a great lustre, and counteracted the bad effect produced by the retreat of the armies of the Rhine. Still this effort of desperate bravery had not made people's minds quite easy respecting the possession of Italy. It was well known that Alvinzy was reinforcing himself, and that the Pope was equipping troops. The evil-disposed asserted that the army of Italy was exhausted; that its general, worn out by the toils of an unexampled campaign and consumed by an extraordinary disease, was unable to sit on horseback. Mantua was not yet taken, and great apprehensions were to be entertained for the month of Nivose (January).

The journals of the two parties, taking unbounded advantage of the liberty of the press, continued to launch out. Those of the counter-revolution, seeing spring, the period for the elections, approaching, strove to agitate opinion and to influence it in their favour. Ever since the disasters of the royalists in La Vendée, it was evident that their last expedient was to make use of liberty to destroy itself, and to obtain the control of the republic by carrying the elections. The Directory, witnessing their animosity, was seized with those movements of impatience, which even the most enlightened government cannot always repress. Though accustomed to liberty, it was alarmed at the language assumed in some of the journals; it did not yet thoroughly comprehend, that it is right to allow perfect freedom of discussion; that falsehood is never to be feared whatever publicity it may gain; that it expends itself by its violence; and that a government perishes by truth alone, and especially by truth repressed. It applied to the two councils for laws respecting the abuses of the press. An outcry was raised. It was alleged that, as the elections were at hand, the Directory wished to cramp the freedom of them. The laws which it solicited were refused: two propositions only were adopted: one relative to the repression of private slander, the other to the hawkers of newspapers in the streets, who, instead of crying them by their titles, announced them by detached and frequently very indecorous sentences. The hawkers of a particular pamphlet, for instance, cried about the streets, "Give us back our myriagrammes, and d—n the camp if you cannot make the people happy." It was decided that, to obviate this scandal, the journals and other publications should be cried in future by their title only. The Directory recommended the establishment of an official journal of the government. The Five Hundred assented to this suggestion. The Ancients opposed it. The law of the 3d of Brumaire, brought a second time under discussion in Vendémiaire, and made the pretext for the ridiculous attack of the patriots on the camp of Grenelle, had been maintained after a solemn debate. It was, as it were, the post around which the two parties were incessantly running against one another. It was that clause, in particular, which excluded the relatives of emigrants from public offices, that the right side wished to rescind, and it was that which the republicans were anxious to retain. After a third

attack, it was decided that this clause should be maintained. Only one modification was made in this law. It excluded from the general amnesty, granted for revolutionary misdemeanors, offences connected with the 13th of Vendémiaire; that event was of too old a date not to extend the amnesty to those who might have taken part in it, and who, besides, had in fact all gone unpunished: the amnesty was therefore applied to the offences of Vendémiaire as to all the other purely revolutionary acts.

Thus the Directory, and all those who were in favour of the directorial republic, retained a majority in the Councils, in spite of the outcries of certain hotheaded patriots and of some intriguers sold to the counter-revolution.

The state of the finances produced the usual effect of poverty in families—it disturbed the domestic union of the Directory with the legislative body. The Directory complained that its measures were not always favourably received by the Councils; it addressed to them an alarming message, and published it, as if to throw the blame of the public misfortunes upon them, if they did not cheerfully adopt these suggestions. This message, of the 25th of Frimaire, was couched in these terms: "All departments of the service are distressed. The pay of the troops is in arrear; the defenders of the country are exposed to the horrors of nakedness; their courage is enervated by the painful feeling of their wants; the disgust, which is the consequence of it, leads to desertion. The hospitals are destitute of furniture, of fire, of drugs. The charitable institutions, a prey to the same penury, repel the poor and the infirm, whose sole resource they were. The creditors of the state, the contractors, who every day contribute to supply the wants of the armies, with difficulty obtain but small portions of the sums that are due to them; distress keeps aloof men who could perform the same services with more punctuality or for a less profit. The roads are cut up, the communications interrupted. The public functionaries are without salary: from one end of the republic to the other judges and administrators may be seen reduced to the horrible alternative either of dragging on with their families a miserable existence, or of being dishonoured by selling themselves to intrigue. The evil-disposed are everywhere busy; in many places murder is being organized, and the police, without activity, without energy, because it is without pecuniary means, cannot put a stop to these disorders."

The Councils were irritated at the publication of this message, which seemed to throw the blame of the disastrous condition of the state upon them, and warmly censured the indiscretion of the Directory. They, nevertheless, immediately set about examining its propositions. Specie abounded everywhere, excepting in the coffers of the state. The taxes, which might now be collected in specie or in paper at the current value, came in but slowly. The national domains disposed of were partly paid for; the remaining instalments were not yet due. The government lived by expedients. The contractors received orders of the ministers, called *bordereaux de liquidation*, a sort of promissory notes, which were taken only for a very inferior value, and which caused a considerable rise in the price of the markets. It was, therefore, precisely the same situation that we have already so frequently described.

Great improvements were introduced into the finances for the year V. The budget was divided, as we have already seen, into two parts; the ordinary expenses of four hundred and fifty millions, and the extraordinary expenses of five hundred and fifty. The land-tax, estimated at two hundred

and fifty millions, the sumptuary and personal contribution at fifty, the customs, the stamp and registration duties, at one hundred and fifty, were expected to furnish the four hundred and fifty millions for the ordinary expenditure. The extraordinary expenditure was to be covered by the arrears of the taxes and by the produce of the national domains. The taxes were now to be levied entirely in specie. There were still left some mandats and some assignats, which were immediately annulled, and taken at the current value for the payment of arrears. In this manner a final stop was put to the disorders of the paper-money.* The forced loan was definitively closed. It had produced scarcely four hundred millions, effective value. The arrears of taxes were to be paid up before the 15th of Frimaire (December 5) of the current year. The expedient of putting persons in possession was adopted to accelerate the collection. Lists were ordered to be made out, for the purpose of levying immediately one-fourth of the taxes for the year V. It yet remained to be decided how the value of the national domains was to be made available, as there was no longer any paper-money for putting it beforehand into circulation. The last sixth of the national domains disposed of was still to be received. It was decided that, in order to anticipate this last payment, there should be required of the purchasers obligations payable in specie, falling due at the same time that the law obliged them to acquit themselves, and entailing, in case of protest, the forfeiture of the domains sold. This measure was likely to bring in some eighty millions in obligations, which the contractors declared their willingness to discount. People had no longer any confidence in the state, but they had in private individuals; and the eighty millions of this personal paper had a value which a paper issued and guaranteed by the republic would never have had. It was resolved that the domains sold in future should be paid for as follows: One-tenth down in cash, five-fifths down in orders of ministers, or in *borderaux de liquidation* delivered to contractors, and the other four-tenths in bills payable one per year.

Thus, having no longer any public credit, the government availed itself of private credit; being no longer able to issue paper-money upon mortgage of the domains, it required of the purchasers of those domains a kind of paper, which, bearing their signature, had an individual value; and lastly, it allowed the contractors to pay themselves for their services out of the domains.

These arrangements induced a hope of a little order and some returns. To supply the urgent wants of the ministry of war, there was assigned to it immediately, for the months of Nivose, Pluviose, Ventose, and Germinal, months devoted to preparations for the new campaign, the sum of one hundred and twenty millions, thirty-three of which were to be taken from the ordinary and eighty-seven from the extraordinary. The registration, the posts, the customs, the patents, the land-tax, were to furnish these thirty-three millions: the eighty-seven of the extraordinary were to be composed of the produce of the woods, the arrears of the military contributions, and the obligations of the purchasers of national domains. These amounts were sure, and they would be paid up forthwith. All the public functionaries

* "Such was the end of the system of paper credit, six years after it had been originally commenced, and after it had effected a greater change in the fortunes of individuals than had perhaps ever been accomplished in the same time by any measure of government. It did more to overthrow the existing wealth, and to transfer moveable fortunes from one hand to another than even the confiscation of the emigrant and church estates."—*Alison*. E

were paid in cash. It was decided that the annuitants should be paid in the same manner; but as there was not yet money to give them, the government gave them notes to bearer, receivable in payment for national domains, like the orders of ministers and the *bordereaux de liquidation* delivered to the contractors.

Such were the administrative operations of the Directory during the winter of the year V (1796-1797), and the means which it prepared, in order to provide for the ensuing campaign. The campaign of 1796 was not yet over, and everything indicated that, notwithstanding ten months' hard fighting, notwithstanding ice and snow, there would still be fresh battles. The Archduke Charles was bent on taking the *têtes de pont* of Kehl and Huningen, as if, in possessing himself of them, he should for ever prevent the return of the French to the right bank. The Directory had an excellent reason for occupying him there, namely, to prevent him from proceeding to Italy. He spent nearly three months before the fortress of Kehl. The troops on both sides signalized themselves by heroic courage, and the generals of division displayed an extraordinary ability. Desaix, in particular, immortalized himself by his intrepidity, his coolness, and his skilful dispositions around that miserably intrenched fort. The conduct of the two commanders-in-chief was far from being so highly approved of as that of their lieutenants. Moreau was censured for not knowing how to profit by the strength of his army, and for not having debouched on the right bank to fall upon the besieging army. The archduke was blamed for having expended such efforts on a *tête de pont*. Moreau surrendered Kehl on the 20th of Nivose, year V (January 9th, 1797); it was a slight loss. Our long resistance proved the solidity of the line of the Rhine. The troops had suffered little; Moreau had employed the time in improving their organization; his army presented a superb aspect. That of the Sambre and Meuse, the command of which had devolved on Beurnonville, had not been usefully employed during these latter months; but it had rested and was reinforced with fresh detachments from La Vendée; it had received an illustrious leader, Hoche, who was, at length, called to conduct a war worthy of his talents. Thus the Directory, though not yet in possession of Mayence, and though it had lost Kehl, might still consider itself as powerful upon the Rhine. The Austrians, for their part, were proud of having taken Kehl, and now directed all their efforts against the *tête de pont* of Huningen. But the chief attention of the emperor and of his ministers was turned to Italy. The exertions of the administration for reinforcing Alvinzy's army, and in preparing for a final struggle, had been extraordinary. The troops had been sent off by post. The whole garrison of Vienna had been despatched towards the Tyrol. The inhabitants of the capital, devotedly attached to the imperial house, had furnished four thousand volunteers, who were formed into regiments and called Vienna volunteers. The empress had presented them with colours, embroidered with her own hands. A new levy had been made in Hungary, and some thousand of the best troops of the Empire had been drawn from the Rhine. Owing to this activity, worthy of the highest praise, Alvinzy's army had been reinforced by about twenty thousand men, so that it now amounted to upwards of sixty thousand. It had rested and reorganized itself, and, though it contained some recruits, it was chiefly composed of troops inured to war. The battalion of Vienna volunteers was formed of young men, strangers, it is true, to war, but filled with elevated sentiments,

thoroughly devoted to the imperial house, and ready to display the greatest bravery.*

The Austrian ministers had made arrangements with the Pope, and prevailed upon him to resist the threats of Bonaparte. They had sent him Colli and some other officers to command his army, and had recommended to him to push it forward as near as possible to Bologna and Mantua. They had given Wurmser notice of speedy succours; they had instructed him not to surrender, but, if he should be reduced to extremity, to leave Mantua with all the troops, and especially all the officers, to throw himself across the Bolognese and the Ferrarese into the Roman states, to join the papal army, and to organize and carry it upon the rear of Bonaparte. This well-conceived plan had a chance of succeeding, with so brave a general as Wurmser. This old marshal still held out in Mantua, with great firmness, though his garrison had nothing to eat but salted horseflesh and polenta.

Bonaparte anticipated this last struggle which was to decide for ever the fate of Italy, and he prepared for it. It was reported in Paris by the malicious, who wished for the humiliation of our armies, that he was afflicted with psora, which had been improperly treated, and which he had caught at Toulon, in charging a cannon with his own hands. This disease, misconceived, together with the excessive fatigues of this campaign, had weakened him extremely. He could scarcely sit on horseback; his cheeks were hollow and livid. His whole appearance was deplorable. His eyes alone, still bright and piercing as ever, indicated that the fire of his soul was not extinguished.† His physical proportions formed a singular contrast with his genius and his renown—a contrast amusing to soldiers at once jovial and enthusiastic. Notwithstanding the decline of his strength, his extraordinary energy supported him, and imparted an activity which was applied to all objects at once. He had begun what he called *the war against robbers*. Intriguers of all kinds had thronged to Italy, for the purpose of introducing themselves into the administration of the armies, and profiting by the wealth of that fine country. While simplicity and indigence prevailed in the armies of the Rhine, luxury pervaded that of Italy—

* "The citizens of Austria, though living under a despotic government, are little sensible of its severities, and are sincerely attached to their emperor. The nobility were as ready, as in former times, to bring out their vassals; and Hungary possessed still the high-spirited race of barons and cavaliers, who, in their great convocation in 1740, rose at once, and drawing their sabres, joined in the celebrated exclamation, 'Moriatur pro rege nostro, Maria Teresa!' "—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† We subjoin a characteristic letter addressed by Napoleon to Josephine at this period, as it conveys a vivid idea of his impassioned and energetic temperament, which fatigue and indisposition had no power to subdue.

"At length, my adored Josephine, I live again. Death is no longer before me, and glory and honour are still in my breast. The enemy is beaten at Areole. To-morrow we will repair the blunders of Vaubois, who abandoned Rivoli. In a week Mantua will be ours, and then thy husband will fold thee in his arms, and give thee a thousand proofs of his ardent affection. I shall proceed to Milan as soon as I can. I am a little fatigued. I have received letters from Eugene and Hortense. I am delighted with the children. I will send you their letters as soon as I am joined by my household, which is now somewhat dispersed. We have made five thousand prisoners, and killed at least six thousand of the enemy. Adieu, my adorable Josephine! Think of me often. When you cease to love your Achilles—when your heart grows cold towards him—you will be very cruel, very unjust. But I am sure you will always continue my faithful mistress, as I shall ever remain your fond lover. Death alone can break the union which sentiment, love, and sympathy have formed. Let me have news of your health. A thousand and a thousand kisses."—*Josephine's Correspondence*. E.

luxury as great as its glory. The soldiers, well clothed and well fed, were everywhere cordially received, and lived in pleasures and abundance. The officers, the generals, participated in the general opulence, and laid the foundation of their fortunes. As for the contractors, they displayed a scandalous profusion, and purchased with the produce of their extortions the favours of the most beautiful actresses of Italy. Bonaparte, who had within him all the passions, but who, at that moment, was wholly engrossed by one passion, that of glory, lived in a simple and austere manner, seeking relaxation only in the society of his wife, to whom he was tenderly attached, and who had come, at his desire, to his head-quarters. Indignant at the disorders of the administration, he strictly scrutinized the minutest details, verified by personal inspection the accounts of the companies, denounced the dishonest administrators without mercy, and caused them to be prosecuted. He reproached them, in particular, with want of courage, and with leaving the army in days of danger. He recommended to the Directory to select men of tried energy; he proposed the institution of a syndicate, which, trying like a jury, should have power, on its mere conviction, to punish offences of which material proofs were never to be obtained. He willingly forgave his soldiers and his generals enjoyments which were not to prove for them the delights of Capua; but he bore an implacable hatred to all those who enriched themselves at the expense of the army, without serving it by their exploits or by their attention to its wants.

In his relations with the Italian powers he displayed the same attention and the same activity. Continuing to dissemble with Venice, whose armaments he saw preparing in the lagoons and in the mountains of the Bergamasco, he deferred all explanation till after the surrender of Mantua. He sent troops to occupy temporarily the citadel of Bergamo, which had a Venetian garrison, and assigned as a reason that he did not think it sufficiently guarded to resist a *coup-de-main* of the Austrians. He thus secured himself against treachery, and overawed the numerous enemies whom he had in Bergamo. In Lombardy and the Cispadane, he continued to favour the spirit of liberty, repressing the Austrian and papal party, and moderating the democratic party, which needs restraining in every country. He kept himself in amity with the King of Sardinia and the Duke of Parma. He went in person to Bologna, to terminate a negotiation with the Duke of Tuscany, and to awe the court of Rome. The Duke of Tuscany was annoyed at the presence of the French in Leghorn. Warm discussions had arisen with the merchants of Leghorn, respecting the commodities belonging to traders, enemies of France. These disputes produced violent animosity; besides, the commodities rescued with such difficulty, were sold to great disadvantage, and by a company which had robbed the army of five or six millions. Bonaparte preferred an arrangement with the grand-duke. It was agreed that he should be paid the sum of two millions and evacuate Leghorn. This arrangement afforded the additional advantage of rendering the garrison which he had placed in that city disposable. His intention was to take the two legions formed by the Cispadane, to unite them with the garrison of Leghorn, to add to them three thousand of his troops, and to despatch this little army towards the Romagna and the March of Ancona. He meant to take possession of two more provinces of the Roman state, to seize the property of the Pope there, and the produce of the taxes, to pay himself by these means for the contribution which had not been discharged, to take hostages selected from the party inimical to France, and thus to establish a barrier between the states of the Church

and Mantua. He would thereby render the plan of a junction between Wurmser and the papal army impracticable; he would overawe the Pope, and oblige him, at last, to submit to the conditions of the republic. In his spleen against the Holy See, he even thought of not pardoning it, and contemplated an entirely new division of Italy. His plan was to restore Lombardy to Austria, to form a powerful republic, by adding the Romagna, the March of Ancona, and the duchy of Parma to the Modenese, the Bolognese, and the Ferrarese, and to assign Rome to the Duke of Parma, which would have given great pleasure to Spain, and have compromised the most Catholic of all the powers. He had already set about executing his project. He had proceeded to Bologna with three thousand men, and thence threatened the Holy See, which had already formed the nucleus of an army. But the Pope, now certain of a new Austrian expedition, hoping to communicate by the Lower Po with Wurmser, defied the threats of the French general, and even manifested a wish to see him advance still farther into his dominions. His Holiness, it was said at the Vatican, will quit Rome, if he is obliged to do so, and take refuge at the extremity of his territories. The farther Bonaparte advances, the farther he removes from the Adige, the more dangerous will be his situation, and the more favourable will be the chances for the holy cause. Bonaparte, who was quite as sharp-sighted as the Vatican, had no intention of marching to Rome; he meant only to threaten, and he kept his eye constantly upon the Adige, expecting every moment a new attack. On the 19th of Nivose (January 8th, 1797) he actually received intelligence that an action had taken place on all his advanced posts; he immediately recrossed the Po with two thousand men, and hastened in person to Verona.

Since the affair of Arcole, his army had received the reinforcements which it ought to have received before that battle. With the winter, his sick had left the hospitals; he had about forty-five thousand men present under arms.* Their distribution was still the same. Nearly ten thousand men were blockading Mantua, under Serrurier; thirty thousand were in observation on the Adige. Augereau occupied Legnago; Massena, Verona; Joubert, who had succeeded Vaubois, guarded Rivoli and La Corona. Rey, with a division of reserve, was at Desenzano, on the border of the Lake of Garda. The other four or five thousand men were either in the citadels of Bergamo and Milan, or in the Cispadane. The Austrians were advancing with sixty and some odd thousand men, and had twenty thousand in Mantua, at least twelve thousand of whom were under arms. Thus, in this struggle, as in those which had preceded, the proportion of the enemy was as two to one. The Austrians had this time a new plan. They had tried all the routes for attacking the double line of the Mincio and of the Adige. At the time of the battle of Castiglione they had descended along both shores of the Lake of Garda, by the two valleys of the Chiese and of the Adige. Subsequently, they had debouched by the valley of the Adige and by that of the Brenta, attacking by Rivoli and Verona. They had now modified their plan agreeably to their arrangements with the Pope. The principal attack was to be made by the Upper Adige, with forty-five thousand men under the command of Alvinzy. An accessory attack, and independent of the former, was to be made with nearly twenty thousand

* "After the battle of Arcole, the active French army amounted to thirty-six thousand three hundred and eighty; while ten thousand two hundred and thirty formed the blockade of Mantua."—*Jomini*. E.

men, under the command of Provera, by the Lower Adige, with a view to communicate with Mantua, La Romagna, and the army of the Pope.

Alvinzy's attack was to be the principal one; it would be strong enough to induce a hope of success on this point, and it was to be pushed without any consideration of what might happen to Provera. We have described the three routes which issue from the mountains of the Tyrol. That which turned behind the Lake of Garda had been neglected ever since the affair at Castiglione. The two others were now followed. The one, running between the Adige and the Lake of Garda, passed through the mountains which separate the lake from the river, and there came upon the position of Rivoli; the other, bordering the river exteriorly, debouched in the plain of Verona outside the French line. It was the one which passed between the river and the lake, and which penetrated into the French line, that Alvinzy chose. It was at Rivoli, therefore, that the blow would be aimed. The situation of that ever-celebrated position is this. The chain of Monte Baldo separates the Lake of Garda and the Adige. The high-road runs between the Adige and the foot of the mountains, for some leagues. At Incanale the river washes the very foot of the mountains, and leaves no space whatever for proceeding along its bank. The road then leaves the banks of the river, rises by a kind of spiral stairs in the sides of the mountain, and debouches in an extensive plateau, which is that of Rivoli. It looks down upon the Adige on one side, and is encompassed on the other by the amphitheatre of Monte Baldo. An army in position on this plateau threatens the winding road which ascends to it, and sweeps by its fire both banks of the Adige to a great distance. This plateau is difficult of attack in front, since the narrow spiral ascent must be climbed in order to reach it. Accordingly, an enemy would not strive to attack it by that single way. Before arriving at Incanale, other roads lead to Monte Baldo, and ascending its steep acclivities terminate at the plateau of Rivoli. They are not practicable either for cavalry or for artillery, but they afford easy access to foot soldiers, and may be employed for directing a considerable force in infantry upon the flanks and rear of the corps defending the plateau. Alvinzy's plan was to attack the position by all the avenues at once.

On the 23d of Nivose (January 12) he attacked Joubert, who held all the advanced positions, and forced him back upon Rivoli. The same day, Provera pushed two advanced guards, the one upon Verona, the other upon Legnago, by Caldiero and Bevilacqua. Massena, who was at Verona, went out to meet the advanced guard coming in that direction, overthrew it, and took nine hundred prisoners. At that very moment, Bonaparte arrived upon the spot from Bologna. He directed the whole division to return to Verona, to keep it in readiness for marching. In the night, he received intelligence that Joubert was attacked and forced at Rivoli, and that Augereau, before Legnago, had observed considerable forces. He could not yet judge upon what point the enemy was directing his principal mass. He still kept Massena's division ready to march, and ordered Rey's division, which was at Desenzano, and which had not seen any enemy debouching behind the Lake of Garda, to proceed to Castel Novo, the most central point between the Upper and the Lower Adige. Next day, the 24th (January 13), couriers rapidly succeeded one another. Bonaparte was informed that Joubert, attacked by immense forces, was likely to be surrounded, and that it was owing only to the obstinacy and the success of his resistance that he still retained the plateau of Rivoli

Augereau sent him word from the Lower Adige that a fire of musketry was kept up along both banks, but that nothing of importance had occurred. Bonaparte had not more than about two thousand Austrians before him at Verona. From that moment he guessed the plan of the enemy, and saw clearly that the principal attack was directed against Rivoli. He conceived that Augereau would be sufficient to defend the Lower Adige; he reinforced him with a corps of cavalry, detached from Massena's division. He ordered Serrurier, who was blockading Mantua, to send his reserve to Villa Franca, that it might be placed intermediately with regard to all the points. He left a regiment of infantry and one of cavalry at Verona, and set out in the night between the 24th and 25th (January 13 and 14), with the 18th, 32d, and 75th demi-brigades of Massena's division, and two squadrons of cavalry. He sent word to Rey not to stop at Castel Novo, but to proceed immediately to Rivoli. He himself, pushing on before his divisions, arrived at Rivoli at two in the morning.* The weather, which had been rainy for some days, had now cleared up. The sky was serene, the moon shone brightly, and the cold was intense. On his arrival, Bonaparte beheld the whole horizon in a blaze with the enemy's fires. He reckoned him to have forty-five thousand men; Joubert had ten thousand at most: it was high time that succours should arrive. The enemy had divided his force into three corps. The principal, composed of a strong column of grenadiers, the whole of the cavalry, the whole of the artillery, and the baggage, under Quasdanovich, followed the high-road between the river and Monte Baldo, and was to debouch by the spiral ascent of Incanale. Three other corps, under the command of Ocskay, Koblos, and Liptai, composed of infantry only, had climbed the sides of the mountains, and were to descend to the field of battle by the steps of the amphitheatre formed by Monte Baldo about the plateau of Rivoli. A fourth corps, under the command of Lusignan, ascending the side of the plateau, was to place itself on the rear of the French army, to cut it off from the road to Verona. Lastly, Alvinzy had detached a sixth corps, which, from its position, was totally excluded from the operation. It marched on the other side of the Adige, and followed the road which runs along the river exteriorly through Roveredo, Dolce, and Verona. This corps, commanded by Vukassovich, could at most send a few balls upon the field of battle by firing from one bank upon the other.

Bonaparte instantly perceived that it behoved him to keep the plateau at any rate. He had in front the Austrian infantry descending the amphitheatre, without a single piece of cannon. On his right he had the grenadiers, the artillery, the cavalry, advancing along the road by the river, and ready to debouch by the spiral ascent of Incanale on his right flank. On his left, Lusignan was turning Rivoli. The balls of Vukassovich, fired on the other side of the river, reached his head. Placed on the plateau, he prevented the junction of the different arms. He played with his artillery upon the infantry deprived of its cannon, and drove back

* "Napoleon was especially desirous to secure the elevated and commanding position of Rivoli, before the enemy had time to receive his cavalry and cannon, as he hoped to bring on an engagement ere he was united with those important parts of his army. Accordingly, by forced marches he arrived at Rivoli at two o'clock in the morning, and from that elevated situation, by the assistance of a clear moonlight, he was able to discover that the bivouac of the enemy was divided into five distinct and separate bodies, from which he inferred that their attack the next day would be made in the same number of columns."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

the cavalry and artillery, crowded together in a narrow, winding road. The attempt which was making by Lusignan to turn him, and the balls which Vukassovich was throwing at him, gave him then but little concern.

His plan being formed with his accustomed promptness, he commenced the operation before daylight. Joubert had been obliged to keep his troops close together, that he might occupy only a space proportionate to his strength; and it was to be feared that the infantry, descending the declivity of Monte Baldo, would form a junction with the head of the column climbing up by Incanale. Bonaparte, long before daylight, ordered Joubert's troops, which, after forty-eight hours' fighting, were taking a little rest, to be roused. He directed them to attack the advanced posts of the Austrian infantry, drove them back, and extended himself more widely upon the plateau.

The action became extremely brisk. The Austrian infantry, without cannon, gave way before that of the French, armed with its formidable artillery, and fell back in semicircle upon the amphitheatre of Monte Baldo. But, at this moment, an unfortunate event happened on our left. Liptai's corps, which formed the extremity of the enemy's semicircle, fell upon Joubert's left, composed of the 89th and 25th demi-brigades, surprised them, broke them, and obliged them to retire in disorder. The 14th, coming immediately after these two demi-brigades, formed *en crochet* to cover the rest of the line, and resisted with admirable courage. The Austrians united their efforts against it, and were ready to overwhelm it. They strove particularly to take its cannon, the horses attached to which had been killed. They had already reached the pieces, when an officer exclaimed, "Grenadiers of the 14th, will you let your guns be taken?" Fifty men immediately rushed forward after the brave officer, repulsed the Austrians, harnessed themselves to the pieces, and drew them off.

Bonaparte, perceiving the danger, left Berthier on the threatened point, and set out at a gallop for Rivoli to fetch succours. Massena's first troops had only just arrived there, after marching all night. Bonaparte took the 32d, which had become celebrated for its exploits during the campaign, and directed it upon the left, in order to rally the two demi-brigades which had given way. The intrepid Massena* advanced at the head of the 32d, rallied behind him the broken troops, and overthrew all before him. He repulsed the Austrians, and placed himself by the side of the 14th, which had not ceased to perform prodigies of valour. The combat was thus re-established on this point, and the army occupied the semicircle of the plateau. But the momentary check of the left wing had obliged Joubert to fall back with the right. He gave up ground, and already the Austrian infantry was a second time approaching the point which Bonaparte had been so anxious to compel it to relinquish to him, and had nearly reached the outlet of the winding road of Incanale, leading upon the plateau. At this moment, the column composed of artillery and cavalry, and preceded by several battalions of grenadiers, ascended the winding road, and, with incredible efforts of bravery, repulsed the 39th. Vukassovich poured a shower of balls from the other bank of the Adige, to protect this kind of escalade. The grenadiers had already climbed the summit of that defile, and the cavalry was debouching after them upon the plateau. Nor was

* "It was after the battle of Rivoli that Massena received from Bonaparte and the army the title of 'Enfant cheri de la victoire.'"—*Thibaudeau*. E.

this all. Lusignan's column, whose fires had been seen at a distance, and who had been perceived on the left, turning the position of the French, had moved upon their rear, in order to intercept the Verona road, and to stop the advance of Rey, who was coming from Castel Novo with the division of reserve. Lusignan's soldiers, finding themselves on the rear of the French army, already clapped their hands, and considered it as taken. Thus, on this plateau, closely pressed in front by a semicircle of infantry, turned on the left by a strong column, scaled on the right by the main body of the Austrian army, and harassed by the fire from the opposite bank of the Adige—on this plateau Bonaparte was pent up with Joubert's and Massena's divisions alone, amidst a host of enemies.* He, with sixteen thousand men, was surrounded by at least forty thousand.

In this extremely trying moment Bonaparte was not shaken. He retained all the fire and all the promptness of inspiration. On seeing Lusignan's Austrians, he said, *These are ours!* and he allowed them to advance without giving himself any concern about their movement. The soldiers, guessing the meaning of their general, shared his confidence, and also repeated to one another, *They are ours!*

Bonaparte, at this instant, was attending only to what was passing before him. His left was covered by the heroism of the 14th and the 32d. His right was threatened at once by the infantry which had resumed the offensive, and by the column that was scaling the plateau. He immediately arranged decisive movements. A battery of light artillery and two squadrons, under two brave officers, Leclerc† and Lasalle, were directed upon the outlet by which the enemy were debouching. Joubert, who, with the extreme right, had this outlet at his back, suddenly faced about with a corps of light infantry. All charged at once. The artillery first poured a discharge upon all that had debouched; the cavalry and the light infantry then charged with vigour. Joubert's horse was killed under him. He sprang up more terrible than ever, and rushed upon the enemy with a musket in his hand. All that had debouched, grenadiers, cavalry, artillery, were hurled headlong down the winding road of Incanale, in the utmost disorder. Some pieces of cannon, firing down into the defile, augmented the terror and the confusion. At every step, the French killed and made prisoners. Having cleared the plateau of the assailants who had scaled it, Bonaparte again directed his blows at the infantry which was ranged in a semicircle before him, and threw upon it Joubert with the light infantry, and Lasalle with two hundred hussars. On this new attack, consternation seized that infantry, now deprived of all hope of junction. It fled in disorder. Our whole semicircular line then moved from right to left, drove back the Austrians against the amphitheatre of Monte Baldo,

* "This day the general-in-chief was several times surrounded by the enemy; he had several horses killed under him."—*Montholon*. E.

† "Charles Emanuel Leclerc, a French general, entered the army while yet very young, and soon proved successful. Intrepid in the field and judicious in the council, he was employed in 1793 as adjutant-general in the army which besieged Toulon. In the armies of the North and the Rhine he increased his reputation; and in the campaign of Italy, in 1796, he reaped fresh laurels. He next accompanied the expedition to Egypt, returned to France in 1799, and greatly contributed to the revolution of the 18th Brumaire. Leclerc was afterwards commissioned to reunite St. Domingo to the French government, but in 1802 he fell a victim to the plague, which had carried off many of his men. Napoleon held his character in such esteem that he gave him his own sister in marriage."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

and closely pursued them into the mountains. Bonaparte then turned back, and proceeded to realize his prediction respecting Lusignan's corps. That corps, on witnessing the disasters of the Austrian army, soon perceived what would be its own fate. Bonaparte, after playing upon it with his artillery, ordered the 18th and the 75th demi-brigades to charge it. These brave demi-brigades moved off singing the song of departure, and pushed Lusignan along the Verona road, by which Rey was coming with the division of reserve. The Austrian corps at first resisted, then retired, and encountered the head of Rey's division. Terrified at this sight, it invoked the clemency of the conqueror, and laid down its arms, to the number of four thousand men. Two thousand had been taken in the defile of the Adige.

It was now five o'clock, and it may be said that the Austrian army was annihilated. Lusignan was taken; the infantry that had advanced from the mountains was fleeing across tremendous rocks; the principal column was pent up on the bank of the river; while the accessory corps of Vukassovich was a useless spectator of the disaster, separated by the Adige from the field of battle.

This admirable victory did not stun the mind of Bonaparte. He thought of the Lower Adige, which he had left menaced; he judged that Joubert, with his brave division, and Rey, with the division of reserve, would be sufficient to give the last stroke to the enemy, and to take from him thousands of prisoners. He rallied Massena's division, which had fought the preceding day at Verona, which had then marched all night, and again fought the whole of the 26th (14th), and set out with it, to march the whole of the following night and to hasten to new combats. These brave soldiers, with joyful faces, and reckoning upon fresh victories, seemed not to feel fatigue. They flew, rather than marched, to cover Mantua.* They were fourteen leagues from that city.

Bonaparte received intelligence by the way, of what was passing on the Lower Adige. Provera, slipping away from Augereau, had thrown a bridge at Anghiari, a little above Legnago; he had left Hohenzollern beyond the Adige, and marched upon Mantua with nine or ten thousand men. Augereau, apprized too late, had nevertheless followed him, taken him in rear, and made two thousand prisoners. But Provera himself, with seven or eight thousand men, was continuing his march towards Mantua, in order to join the garrison. Bonaparte learned these particulars at Castel Novo. He was apprehensive lest the garrison, apprized of the circumstance, might sally forth to give the hand to the corps which was coming, and that the blockading corps might thus be placed between two fires. He had marched the whole night between the 25th and 26th (14th

* "Were I to name all those who have been distinguished by acts of personal bravery, I must send the muster-roll of all the grenadiers and carabiniers of the advanced guard. They jest with danger and laugh at death; and if anything can equal their intrepidity, it is the gaiety with which, singing alternately songs of love and patriotism, they accomplish the most severe forced marches. When they arrive at their bivouac, it is not to take their repose, as might be expected, but to tell each his story of the battle of the day, and produce his plan for that of to-morrow; and many of them think with great correctness on military subjects. The other day I was inspecting a demi-brigade, and, as it filed past me, a common chasseur approached my horse, and said, 'General, you ought to do so and so.'—'Hold your peace, you rogue!' I replied. He disappeared immediately, nor have I since been able to find him out. But the manœuvre which he recommended, was the very same which I had privately resolved to carry into execution."—*Napoleon's Letter to the Directory.*—*Moniteur.* E

and 15th) with Massena's division, and he made it march again the whole of the 26th (15th), that it might arrive in the evening before Mantua. He likewise directed thither the reserves, which he had left in the intermediate distance to Villa Franca, and flew thither himself to arrange his dispositions.

On the very same day, the 26th, Provera, who had arrived before Mantua, presented himself before the suburbs of St. George, in which Miollis with at most fifteen hundred men was placed. Provera summoned him to surrender. The brave Miollis replied by a discharge of his artillery. Provera, repulsed, moved to the side nearest to the citadel, hoping for a sortie by Wurmser; but he found Serrurier before him. He halted at the palace of La Favorita, between St. George and the citadel, and sent a boat across the lake to desire Wurmser to debouch from the place on the following morning. Bonaparte arrived in the evening, placed Augereau on the rear of Provera, and Victor and Massena on his flanks, so as to separate him entirely from the citadel, by which Wurmser must attempt to debouch. He opposed Serrurier to Wurmser. Next morning, the 27th (January 16th), at daybreak, the battle commenced. Wurmser debouched from the place and attacked Serrurier with fury. The latter resisted with equal bravery, and kept him back along the lines of circumvallation. Victor, at the head of the 57th, which, on that day, received the name of *the Terrible*, rushed upon Provera, and overthrew all before him. After an obstinate conflict Wurmser was driven back into Mantua. Provera, hunted like a deer, inclosed by Victor, Massena, and Augereau, annoyed by a sortie of Miollis, laid down his arms, with six thousand men. The young Vienna volunteers formed part of them. After an honourable defence, they surrendered their arms, and the colours embroidered by the empress herself.

Such was the last act of that splendid operation, which is considered by military men as one of the most extraordinary recorded in history. News arrived that Joubert, pursuing Alvinzy, had taken from him seven thousand more prisoners; and six had been taken on the day of the battle of Rivoli, which made thirteen. Augereau had taken two thousand; Provera had surrendered six thousand; one thousand had been picked up before Verona, and several hundred in other places; * which made the total number in three days amount to twenty-two or twenty-three thousand men. Massena's division had marched and fought without intermission for four days, marching all night and fighting all day. Thus Bonaparte wrote with pride that his soldiers had surpassed the so much vaunted rapidity of Cæsar's

* "The following is a striking instance of the utter consternation and dispersion of the Austrians after this dreadful defeat. René, a young officer, was in possession of the village of Garda, and, while visiting his advanced posts, he perceived some Austrians approaching whom he caused his escort to surround and take prisoners. Advancing to the front to reconnoitre, he found himself close to the head of an imperial column of eighteen hundred men, which a turning in the road had concealed, till he was within twenty yards of them. 'Down with your arms!' said the Austrian commander, to which René answered with ready boldness, 'Do you lay down your arms! I have destroyed your advanced guard, as witness these prisoners—so ground your arms, or no quarter!' and the French soldiers, catching the hint of their leader, joined in the cry of 'Ground your arms.' The Austrian officer hesitated, and proposed to enter into capitulation; but the French would admit of no terms but instant surrender. The dispirited Imperialist yielded up his sword, and commanded his soldiers to imitate his example. But the Austrian soldiers began to suspect the truth; they became refractory, and refused to obey their leader, whom René addressed with the utmost apparent composure. 'You are an officer, sir, and a man of honour—you know

legions.* It is obvious why, at a later period, he attached the title of Rivoli to the name of Massena. The action of the 27th (January 14th) was called the battle of Rivoli, that of the 25th (16th), before Mantua, the battle of La Favorita.

Thus, in three days again, Bonaparte had taken or destroyed half of the enemy's army, and, as it were, stricken it with a thunderbolt. Austria had made her last effort, and now Italy was ours. Wurmser, driven back into Mantua, was without hope. He had eaten all his horses; disease and famine were destroying the garrison. A longer resistance would have been useless, and contrary to humanity. The old marshal had given proof of a noble courage and a rare perseverance; he was justified in thinking of surrender. He sent one of his officers to Serrurier to parley. It was Klenau. Serrurier referred to the general-in-chief, who repaired to the conference. Bonaparte, wrapped in his cloak, without making himself known, listened to the conversation between Klenau and Serrurier. The Austrian officer expatiated at length on the resources which his general still had left, and declared that he had yet provisions for three months. Bonaparte, muffled up as before, approached the table, near which the conference was held, took the paper containing Wurmser's propositions, and, without saying a word, began writing on the margin, to the great astonishment of Klenau, who could not conceive what he was about. Then rising and throwing off his cloak, Bonaparte stepped up to Klenau. "There," said he, "are the conditions which I grant to your marshal. If he had but a fortnight's provisions and could talk of surrender, he would not deserve an honourable capitulation. As he sends you, he must be reduced to extremity. I respect his age, his valour, and his misfortunes. Carry to him the conditions which I grant. Whether he leaves the place to-morrow, in a month, or in six months, he shall have neither better nor worse conditions. He can stay as long as it befits his honour."

By this language and this tone, Klenau recognised the illustrious commander, and hastened back to Wurmser with the conditions which he offered. The old marshal was full of gratitude on seeing the generosity with which he was treated by his young adversary. He gave him permission to march freely out of the place with all his staff; he even granted him two hundred horse, five hundred men, chosen by himself, and six pieces of cannon, to render his departure the less humiliating. The garrison was to be conducted to Trieste and there exchanged for French prisoners. Wurmser hastened to accept these conditions; and, to show his gratitude to the French general, he informed him of a plan laid in the papal dominions for poisoning him. He was to leave Mantua on the 14th of Pluiose (February 2, 1797). His consolation was that, on leaving Mantua, he should deliver up his sword to the conqueror himself; but he found only the brave Serrurier, before whom he was obliged to file off with his

the rules of war—you have surrendered—you are therefore my prisoner—but I rely on your parole; here, I return your sword; compel your men to submission, otherwise I direct against you the division of six thousand men who are under my command.' The Austrian was utterly confounded. He assured René he might rely on his punctilious compliance with the parole he had given him; and, speaking in German to his soldiers, he persuaded them to lay down their arms—a submission which he had soon afterwards the satisfaction to see had been made to one-twelfth part of their number."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

* "The Roman legions are reported to have marched twenty-four miles a day; but the French brigades, though fighting at intervals, marched thirty."—*Bonaparte's Letter to the Directory*. E.

whole staff. Bonaparte had already set out for the Romagna, to chastise the Pope and to punish the Vatican. His vanity, as profound as his genius, had calculated differently from the vanity of vulgar minds. He chose rather to be absent, than present at the place of triumph.*

Mantua having surrendered, Italy was definitively conquered, and this campaign at an end.

When we take a general view of it, the imagination is struck by the multitude of the battles, the fecundity of the conceptions, of the consequence and the immensity of the results. Bonaparte, entering Italy with some thirty thousand men, first separates the Piedmontese from the Austrians at Montenotte and Millesimo, completes the destruction of the former at Mondovi, then hastens after the latter, crosses before their face the Po at Placentia, the Adda at Lodi, possesses himself of Lombardy, stops there for a moment, again marches, finds the Austrians reinforced on the Mincio, and finishes their destruction at the battle of Borghetto. There, he seizes at a glance the plan of his future operations. It is on the Adige that he must establish himself to make head against the Austrians. As for the princes on his rear, he would content himself by curbing them with negotiations and threats. A second army is sent against him under Wurmser; he cannot beat it unless by rapidly concentrating himself, and alternately striking each of his separate masses. Like a resolute man, he sacrifices the blockade of Mantua, crushes Wurmser at Lonato and Castiglione, and drives him into the Tyrol. Wurmser is again reinforced, as Beaulieu had been. Bonaparte anticipates him in the Tyrol; ascends the Adige, overturns all before him at Roveredo, throws himself across the valley of the Brenta; cuts off Wurmser, who hoped to cut him off, beats him at Bassano, and shuts him up in Mantua. This is the second Austrian army destroyed after being reinforced.

Bonaparte, still negotiating and threatening the banks of the Adige, awaits the third army. It is formidable. It arrives before he has received reinforcements; he is obliged to give way before it; he is reduced to despair; he is ready to succumb; when, amidst an impassable morass, he discovers two dikes debouching upon the enemy's flanks, and throws himself upon them with incredible audacity. He is again conqueror at Arcole. But the enemy is only checked—not destroyed. He returns, for the last time, stronger than ever. On the one hand, he descends from the mountains; on the other, he advances along the Lower Adige. Bonaparte discovers the only point where the Austrian columns, traversing a mountainous country, can form a junction, pounces upon the celebrated plateau of Rivoli, and from that plateau crushes the main army of Alvinzy; then resuming his flight towards the Lower Adige, surrounds the whole column that had crossed it. His last operation is the most brilliant, for here success is united with genius.

Thus, in ten months, besides the Piedmontese army, three formidable armies, thrice reinforced, had been destroyed by one, which, only thirty and a few odd thousand strong on taking the field, had received only about twenty thousand to repair its losses. Thus fifty-five thousand French had beaten more than two hundred thousand Austrians, taken more than eighty

* "Napoleon had too much grandeur of mind to insult the vanquished veteran by his own presence on this occasion; his delicacy was observed by all Europe, and, like the statues of Brutus and Cassius at the funeral of Junia, was the more present to the mind because he was withdrawn from the sight."—*Alison*. E.

thousand,* killed and wounded more than twenty thousand. They had fought twelve pitched battles and more than sixty actions, and crossed several rivers, in defiance of the waves and the enemy's fire. When war is a purely mechanical routine, consisting only in driving and slaughtering the enemy whom you have before you, it is scarcely worthy of history ; but when you meet with one of those conflicts in which you see a mass of men moved by a single vast conception, which develops itself amid the din of battle with as much precision as that of a Newton or a Descartes in the silence of the closet, then the sight is worthy of the philosopher, as well as of the statesman and the soldier : and if this identification of the multitude with a single individual, who produces force at its highest degree, serves to protect, to defend, a noble cause, that of liberty, in this case the scene becomes as moral as it is grand.

Bonaparte now hastened to new plans. He hurried to Rome, to put an end to the shuffling at that court of priests, and to march, not for the Adige again, but for Vienna. He had by his successes brought back the war to its proper theatre, that of Italy, whence he could dash upon the emperor's hereditary dominions. The government, enlightened by his exploits, sent him reinforcements, to enable him to proceed to Vienna and to dictate a glorious peace in the name of the French republic. The conclusion of the campaign had realized all the hopes which its commencement had excited.

The triumph of Rivoli had raised the joy of the patriots to the highest pitch. Everybody talked of those twenty-two thousand prisoners, and quoted the testimony of the authorities of Milan, who had reviewed them and certified their number, in order to silence all the doubts of malevolence. The surrender of Mantua soon followed to crown the general satisfaction. From that moment the conquest of Italy was regarded as definitive. The courier who brought these tidings arrived in the evening in Paris. The garrison was immediately assembled, and the intelligence published by torchlight, to the sound of trumpets, amid shouts of joy from all the French attached to their country. O days ever celebrated and ever to be regretted by us ! At what period was our country ever greater and more glorious ! The storms of the Revolution seemed to have subsided. The murmurs of parties sounded like the last moans of the expiring tempest. These remains of agitation were considered as the very life of a free state. Commerce and the finances were emerging from a tremendous crisis : the entire soil, restored to industrious hands, was about to be rendered productive. A government composed of citizens, our equals, ruled the republic with moderation. The best were selected to succeed them. All votes were free. France, at the height of power, was mistress of the whole extent of country from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, and from the sea to the Alps. Holland and Spain were about to unite their fleets with hers, and to attack maritime despotism in concert. She was resplendent with immortal glory. Admirable armies waved her tricoloured banners in the face of kings, who had leagued to annihilate her. Twenty heroes, differing in character and talent, alike only in age and courage, led her soldiers to victory.† Hoche,

* "The trophies acquired in the course of January were 25,000 prisoners, twenty-four colours and standards, and sixty pieces of cannon. On the whole, the enemy's loss was at least 35,000 men. Bessières carried the colours to Paris. The prisoners were so numerous that they created some difficulty."—*Montholon*. E.

† "Bonaparte's lieutenants, in particular, were themselves qualified to command, and had sufficient confidence in their own talents to take upon themselves the respon-

Kleber, Desaix, Moreau, Joubert, Massena, Bonaparte, and a great number of others advanced together. People weighed their different merits, but no eye, how piercing soever it might be, could distinguish in this generation of heroes the unfortunate or the guilty. No eye could distinguish him who should so soon expire in the flower of his age from the attack of an unknown disease, the man who should fall by the dagger of the Mussulman, or the fire of the enemy, who should crush liberty, or who should betray his country. All appeared great, pure, happy, destined to future glory. This was for a moment only; but there are only moments in the life of nations, as in the life of individuals. We were about to recover wealth with repose; liberty and glory we already possessed! "The country," said one of the Ancients, "ought to be not only prosperous, but sufficiently glorious." This wish was accomplished. Frenchmen, let us, who have since seen our liberty strangled, our country invaded, our heroes shot or unfaithful to their glory—let us never forget those resplendent days of liberty, greatness, and hope!

sibility of a movement or a battle; and his army was composed of citizens, even of noble and cultivated minds, who were ambitious of performing memorable deeds, and passionately attached to the Revolution. With men like these a man of genius might do anything. The remembrance of his earlier days, when he called liberty and intelligence around him, was calculated to make Bonaparte regret, at a later period of his life, that he had substituted mechanical armies in their place, and generals who knew nothing but how to obey."—*Mignet*. E.

THE DIRECTORY.

SITUATION OF THE GOVERNMENT IN THE WINTER OF THE YEAR V (1797)—CHARACTERS AND DIVISIONS OF THE FIVE DIRECTORS—STATE OF PUBLIC OPINION—INTRIGUES OF THE ROYALIST FACTION—PLOT OF BROTTIER, LAVILLE-HEURNOIS, AND DUVERNE DE PRESLE, DISCOVERED—ELECTIONS OF THE YEAR V.

THE recent victories of Rivoli and La Favorita, and the taking of Mantua, had restored to France all her superiority. The Directory, as grossly abused as ever, struck the greatest terror into the foreign powers. "Half Europe," wrote Mallet Dupan,* "is at the knees of this divan, vying for the honour of becoming its tributary." These fifteen months' firm and brilliant reign had consolidated the power of the five directors, but had also developed their passions and their characters. Men cannot live long together without soon taking a liking or a dislike to one another, and without grouping themselves into parties according to their inclinations. Carnot, Barras, Rewbel, Lareveillère-Lepeaux, Letourneur, already formed different groups. Carnot was systematic, obstinate, and proud. He was totally destitute of that quality which imparts enlarged views and precision to the mind and suppleness to the character. He was shrewd, and could readily fathom any subject which he was examining; but, when once involved in an error, he could never extricate himself from it. He was upright,† persevering, very attentive to business, but never forgave either a wrong or an affront offered to his self-love; he was witty and original, which is frequently the case with men who are wrapped up in themselves. He had formerly quarrelled with the members of the committee of public welfare, for it was impossible that his pride should sympathize with that of Robespierre and St. Just, and that his great courage should flinch before their despotism. Now, he could not fail to be in the same predicament in regard to the Directory. Besides the occasions which he had to jostle against his colleagues, while engaged with them in a task so difficult as that of government, and which so naturally provokes a diversity of opinions, he cherished old resentments, particularly against Barras. All his dispositions, as a strict, upright, laborious man, kept him aloof from this prodigal, debauched, and indolent colleague; but he especially detested in him the chief of those Thermidorians, friends and avengers of Danton, and persecutors of the old Mountain. Carnot, who was one of the prin-

* Secret Correspondence with the government of Venice.

† "Faction, in the most violent paroxysms of its fury, had the prudence not to attack Carnot's private life; its impure breath never attempted to taint his virtues as a son, a husband, or a father. His disinterestedness, especially, was always acknowledged by friends and enemies.—Carnot was the great citizen, who by his genius preserved France from foreign domination. His life was an eventful, a varied, and a stormy one." *Arago*. E.

cipal authors of Danton's death, and who had well nigh fallen a victim to the persecutions directed against the Mountain, could not forgive the Thermidorians : he therefore entertained a profound hatred against Barras.

Barras had formerly served in India, and had there displayed the courage of a soldier. He was a fit man to mount his horse on occasion of disturbances; and it was in this manner, as we have seen, that he had earned his place in the Directory. Hence, on all difficult occasions, he would still talk of mounting his horse and putting to the sword the enemies of the republic. In person he was tall and handsome; but in his countenance there was something dark and sinister, that harmonized little with his disposition, which was rather passionate than wicked. Though he belonged, by birth, to the higher ranks, his manners indicated no superiority of breeding. They were blunt, bold, and vulgar. He was endowed with a soundness and a penetration of mind, which, with study and application, might have become highly distinguished faculties; but, indolent and ignorant, he knew at most only what is learned in a stormy life; and, in those matters upon which he was daily called to give his opinion, he manifested good sense enough to induce regret that he should not have had a more careful education. In other respects, dissolute and rough, violent and false, like the Southerners, who are apt to conceal duplicity under the guise of bluntness, republican by sentiment and by position, but a man without faith, admitting to his house the most violent revolutionists of the faubourgs and all the emigrants who had returned to France, pleasing the one by his trivial vehemence, and the other by his spirit of intrigue, he was in reality a warm patriot, and in secret he held out hopes to all parties. In himself alone he was the entire Danton party, excepting the genius of its chief, which had not devolved on his successors.*

Rewbel, formerly an advocate at Colmar, had acquired at the bar, and in our different assemblies, great experience in the management of affairs. With the most extraordinary penetration and discernment he combined extensive information, a prodigious memory, and persevering application to business. These qualities made him a most useful man at the head of the state. He discussed matters ably, though somewhat disposed to cavil, owing to a relic of the habits of the bar. To a handsome person he joined the manners of good society; but he was rough and affronting by the warmth and keenness of his language. Notwithstanding the calumnies of counter-revolutionists and rogues, he was a man of strict integrity. Unluckily, he was not wholly free from avarice. He was fond of employing his private fortune in a profitable manner, which caused him to have intercourse with men of business, and this furnished calumny with plausible pretexts. He paid particular attention to the department of foreign affairs, and so strong was his attachment to the interest of France, that he would not have cared to be unjust towards foreign nations. A warm, sincere, and stanch republican, he belonged originally to the moderate part of the Convention, and equally disliked Carnot and Barras, the one as a Mountaineer, the other as a Dantonist. Thus Carnot, Barras, and Rewbel, all three sprung from adverse parties, all three hated one another; thus these animosities, kindled during a long and terrible struggle, were not extinguished under the con-

* "Barras was pliant, insinuating, and without attachment to any particular sect; and while his birth brought him in contact with the aristocracy, his conduct had obtained him revolutionary connexions. He took upon himself the character of representative of the Directory, and established at the Luxembourg a sort of republican regency."—*Mignet*. E

stitutional system; thus hearts had mingled, like rivers which unite without blending their waters. These three men, however, though detesting one another, curbed their resentments and laboured together at the general work.

There remained Lareveillère-Lepeaux and Letourneur, who hated nobody. Letourneur, a good-natured man, having vanity, but an easy and not importunate vanity, who was satisfied with the domestic marks of power and the homage of sentinels, felt a respectful submission for Carnot. He was prompt in giving his opinion, but equally prompt in retracting it as soon as any one proved to him that he was wrong, or as soon as Carnot had spoken. He voted on all occasions with Carnot.

Lareveillère, the most honest and the best of men, united with a great variety of knowledge a just and observant mind. He possessed application; he was capable of giving sound advice on all subjects, and he did give it on important occasions. But he was frequently led away by illusions, or stopped by the scruples of an upright mind. He would sometimes fain have willed what was impossible, and he dared not will what was necessary; for it requires a great mind to calculate how much is due to circumstances without detriment to principles. Speaking well, and possessing extraordinary firmness, he was of great service when support was needed for good opinions, and he was very useful to the Directory from his personal consideration.

The part which he acted among colleagues who detested each other was extremely useful. Among the four directors, he entertained a decided preference in favour of the most honest and the most capable, namely, Rewbel. Yet, from independence and prudence, he had avoided any close connexion, which he would have preferred, but which would have estranged him from his other colleagues. He was not without a leaning towards Barras, and would have cultivated his acquaintance, if he had found him more sincere and less depraved. He acquired a certain ascendancy over his colleague, from his high character, his penetration, and his firmness. The dissolute take pleasure in scoffing at virtue, but they dread it when, with the penetration which fathoms them, it combines the courage that is above being afraid of them. Lareveillère used his influence over Rewbel and Barras to keep them in harmony with one another and with Carnot. Owing to this mediator, and owing also to their zeal for the interests of the republic, these directors lived on tolerable terms together, and prosecuted their task, divided with respect to the questions which they had to decide much more by their real opinions than by their animosities.

With the exception of Barras, the directors resided with their families, each occupying apartments in the Luxembourg. They did not live in an expensive style. Lareveillère, indeed, who was fond of company, and of the arts and sciences, and who deemed it his duty to spend his salary in a manner useful to the state, admitted to his house scientific and literary men, but he treated them with simplicity and cordiality. He had unfortunately exposed himself to some ridicule, but without having in any way contributed to it. He adhered in every respect to the philosophy of the eighteenth century, as expressed in the profession of faith of the Savoyard vicar. He wished for the fall of the Catholic religion, and he flattered himself that a speedy end would be put to it, if governments had the prudence to employ against it no other weapons than indifference and disregard. He wished for no superstitious ceremonies, no material images of the Deity; but he conceived that public meetings were requisite for men, at which they might edify themselves with discourses on moral subjects and on the won-

ders of the creation. These subjects, in fact, ought to be discussed in assemblies, because men there are more easily wrought upon, and more accessible to elevated and generous sentiments. These ideas he had developed in a publication, and he had said that it would be well some day to supersede the ceremonies of the Catholic worship by meetings like those of the Protestants, but more simple and more free from formality. This idea, caught up by some benevolent minds, was immediately carried into execution. A brother of Haüy, the celebrated geologist, formed a society which he called the Society of the Theophilanthropists, whose meetings embraced moral exhortations, philosophical lectures, and pious hymns. More than one society of this kind was formed. They assembled in halls hired at their own expense, and under the superintendence of the police. Though Lareveillère approved of this institution, and deemed it capable of drawing from the Catholic churches many of those tender consciences which feel a need of pouring forth their religious sentiments in common, he took care that neither himself nor his family should ever appear there, lest he should acquire the character of the leader of a sect, and provoke a comparison with the pontificate of Robespierre. In spite of Lareveillère's reserve, malignity seized this pretext to throw some ridicule on a magistrate universally honoured, and who afforded no handle for calumny. For the rest, if Theophilanthropism was the subject of some poor jokes in Barras's parties, or in the royalist journals, it attracted at the time but little notice, and did not in the least diminish the respect which Lareveillère-Lepeaux enjoyed.*

If any one of the directors really detracted from the consideration of the government, it was Barras. He did not live in the same simple and modest manner as his colleagues. He displayed a luxury and a prodigality for which his participation in the profits of men of business could alone account. The finances were directed with strict probity by the directorial majority and by the excellent minister, Ramel; but they could not prevent Barras from receiving from the contractors, or the bankers whom he supported with his influence, a very considerable share of their profits. He had a thousand other ways of supplying his extravagancé. France had become the arbitress of so many states, great and small, that many princes were glad to seek her favour, and to pay large sums for the promise of a voice in the Directory. We shall see by and by what was attempted in this way. The display which Barras made might not, in itself, have been useless, for the chiefs of a state ought to associate much with men, in order to study them, to learn their characters, and to make a proper choice of them; but he surrounded himself not only with men of business, but with intriguers of all sorts, dissolute women, and rogues. A scandalous grossness prevailed in his saloons. Those clandestine connexions, over which, in well-regulated society, people strive to throw a veil, were publicly avowed. His visitors went to Gros-Bois to indulge in orgies, which furnished the enemies of the republic with powerful arguments against the government. Barras himself was not anxious to conceal any part of his conduct, and, according to the custom of debauchees, he was fond of proclaiming his excesses. He would

* "Lareveillère, intrusted with the moral part of the government, was desirous of introducing, under the name of Theophilanthropy, a form of deistical worship, which the committee of public safety had ineffectually attempted to establish by the festival of the Supreme Being. But such a creed could not long continue general; it could only be individual. The Theophilanthropists became the object of ridicule, for their worship was opposed both to the opinions of the catholics and the unbelief of the revolutionists."

Mignet. E

himself relate before his colleagues his exploits at Gros-Bois and the Luxembourg, for which they sometimes severely reproached him. He would tell them how he had forced a celebrated contractor of that day to take a mistress of whom he began to be tired, and whose extravagance he could no longer supply; how he had revenged himself upon the Abbé Poincelin, a newspaper writer, for some personal invectives against him; and how, after enticing him to the Luxembourg, he had made his servants give him a flogging. This conduct, such as one would expect from an ill-bred prince, was, in a republic, extremely prejudicial to the Directory, and would have deprived it of all respect, had not the high reputation and the virtues of Carnot and Lareveillère counterbalanced the ill effect of the excesses of Barras.

The Directory, instituted the day after the 13th of Vendémiaire, formed in hatred of counter-revolution, composed of regicides, and furiously attacked by the royalists, could not but be warmly republican. But each of its members participated more or less in the opinions that divided France. Lareveillère and Rewbel possessed that moderate but rigid republicanism, which was as adverse to the violent proceedings of 1793 as to the royalist excesses of 1795. To gain them over to the counter-revolution was impossible. The unerring instinct of the parties taught them that from such men nothing was to be obtained either by seductions or by newspaper flatteries. Accordingly, they had nothing but the severest censure to bestow on those two directors. As for Barras and Carnot, they were in a different predicament. Barras, though he met everybody, was in reality an ardent revolutionist. The fauxbourgs held him in high esteem, and had not forgotten that he had been the general of Vendémiaire. The conspirators of the camp of Grenelle had reckoned upon him. Accordingly, the patriots loaded him with praise; and the royalists, for the same reason, overwhelmed him with invectives. Some secret agents of royalism, brought in contact with him by a common spirit of intrigue, might indeed, calculating upon his depravity, conceive some hopes; but this was an opinion which they kept to themselves. The mass of the party abhorred and attacked him with fury.

Carnot, ex-Mountaineer, formerly member of the committee of public welfare, and who, after the 9th of Thermidor, had well nigh fallen a victim to the royalist reaction, ought certainly to be a decided republican, and he really was so. At the first moment of his entrance into the Directory, he had strongly supported the appointment of all persons selected from among the Mountaineer party; but, by degrees, in proportion as the terrors of Vendémiaire subsided, his dispositions had changed. Carnot, even in the committee of public welfare, had never liked the herd of the turbulent revolutionists, and had powerfully contributed to destroy the Hebertists. On seeing Barras, who was anxious to continue king of the *canaille*, surround himself with the relics of the Jacobin party, he had become hostile to that party; he had displayed great energy in the affair of the camp of Grenelle, and so much the more as Barras was compromised in that rash attempt. Nor was this all. Carnot was annoyed by recollections. The charge preferred against him of having signed the most sanguinary acts of the committee of public welfare tormented him. In his estimation, the very natural explanations which he had given were not sufficient; he would have wished to prove by all means that he was not a monster; and he was capable of many sacrifices to prove this. Parties know everything, guess everything; they are not difficult in regard to persons, unless when they are victorious; but, when they are vanquished, they recruit themselves in all possible ways

and are particularly careful to flatter the chiefs of armies. The royalists were soon aware of Carnot's dispositions in regard to Barras and the patriot party. They had discovered his anxiety to reinstate himself in the good opinion of the public; they were aware of his military importance, and they took care to treat him differently from his colleagues, and to speak of him in the manner which they knew to be most likely to touch him. Hence, while the herd of their journals had nothing but gross abuse for Barras, Lareveillère, and Rewbel, they had nothing but praise for the ex-Mountaineer and regicide, Carnot. In gaining Carnot, they would have Letourneur, and thus they should make sure of two voices by a vulgar artifice, but a potent one, like all those which address themselves to self-love. Carnot had the weakness to yield to this kind of seduction; and, without ceasing to follow his internal convictions, he formed with his friend Letourneur a kind of opposition in the Directory, somewhat like that which the new third formed in the two Councils. On all questions, in fact, on which the Directory had to deliberate, he pronounced in favour of the opinion adopted by the opposition. Thus, on all questions relative to peace and war, he voted for peace, after the example of the opposition, which affected continually to demand it. He had strongly recommended that the greatest sacrifices should be made to the emperor, and that peace should be signed with Naples and Rome, without insisting on too rigorous conditions.

No sooner have such discordances broken out than they make rapid progress. The party desirous of profiting by them bestows the most extravagant praise on those whom it wishes to gain, and pours a torrent of censure on the others. These tactics had been attended with their usual success. Barras and Rewbel, already enemies to Carnot, hated him still more for the praise which was lavished upon him, and imputed to him the severity with which they were themselves attacked. Lareveillère strove in vain to appease these animosities; but discord nevertheless made baneful progress. The public, apprized of what was passing, divided the Directory into majority and minority, classing Lareveillère, Rewbel, and Barras, in the former, and Carnot and Letourneur in the latter.

The ministers also were classed. As people made a point of finding fault with the direction of the finances, they fell foul of Ramel, the minister, an excellent public functionary, who was obliged by the distressed state of the exchequer to resort to expedients censurable at any other time, but inevitable under the existing circumstances. The taxes came in but slowly, owing to the terrible irregularities in the collection. It had been found necessary to reduce the land-tax, and the indirect contributions yielded much less than had been expected. There were frequently no funds whatever in the exchequer; and, in these emergencies, the funds of the ordinary expenses were taken to defray those which were extraordinary, or the government anticipated the receipts, and made all the absurd and onerous bargains to which situations of this kind give rise. An outcry against abuses and peculations was then raised, whereas, on the contrary, it was the government that needed assistance. Ramel, who performed the duties of his office with equal integrity and intelligence, was the butt of every attack, and was treated as an enemy by all the newspapers. It was the same with Truguet, the minister of the marine, well known as a frank republican, as a friend of Hoche's, as a supporter of all the patriot officers; the same with Delacroix, the minister for foreign affairs, capable of forming a good administrator, but a bad diplomatist, too pedantic, and too rude in his intercourse with the ministers of foreign powers; the same with Merlin,

who, in his administration of justice, displayed all the fervour of a Mountaineer republican. As for Benezech, Petiet, and Cochon, the ministers of the interior, of war, and of the police, they were classed entirely by themselves. Benezech had sustained so many attacks from the Jacobins for having proposed to restore a free trade in articles of consumption, and to cease to supply Paris with provisions, that he had become agreeable on account of them to the counter-revolutionary party. An able public functionary, but trained under the old system, the overthrow of which he regretted, he partly deserved the favour of those who praised him. Petiet, minister at war, acquitted himself ably of his functions; but, being a creature of Carnot's, he shared precisely the same fate as the latter with the contending parties. As for Cochon, he was also recommended by his connexion with Carnot, and since the discovery which he had made of the plots of the Jacobins, and the zeal which he had shown, in prosecuting them, he had won the favour of the opposite party, which praised him with affectation.

Notwithstanding these disagreements, the government was still sufficiently united to rule with vigour, and to prosecute with glory its operations against the powers of Europe. The opposition was still repressed by the conventional majority remaining in the legislative body. The elections, however, were approaching, and the moment was at hand when a new third, chosen under the influence of the moment, would succeed another conventional third. The opposition flattered itself that it would then acquire the majority, and emerge from the state of submission in which it had lived. Accordingly, its language in the two Councils became more lofty, and it betrayed its hopes. The members composing this minority met at Tivoli, to discuss their plans, and to concert their measures. This meeting of deputies had become a most violent club, known by the name of the club of Clichy. The journals participated in this movement. A great number of young men, who, under the old system, would have composed scraps of poetry, declaimed, through fifty or sixty leaves, against the excesses of the Revolution and against the Convention to which they imputed those excesses. They were not finding fault, they said, with the republic, but with those who had imbrued its cradle in blood. The assemblies of electors were forming beforehand, and such were the means employed to influence their choice. In every thing the language, the spirit, and the passions of Vendémiaire were manifested: the same sincerity and the same credulity in the mass, the same ambition in certain individuals, the same perfidy in certain conspirators labouring clandestinely in favour of royalty.

This royalist faction, always beaten, but always credulous and intriguing, was incessantly raising its head again. Wherever there is a pretension backed by some succour in money, there will be found intriguers ready to serve it by miserable projects. Though Lemaître had been condemned to death, La Vendée quelled, Pichegru deprived of the command of the army of the Rhine, the intrigues of the counter-revolution had not ceased; they were prosecuted, on the contrary, with extreme activity. The situations of all the royalist party were singularly changed. The Pretender, called by turns Count de Lille and Louis XVIII., had left Venice, as we have seen, to proceed to the army of the Rhine. He had stopped for a moment in the camp of the Prince of Condé, where an accident placed his life in jeopardy. Standing at a window, he was fired at and slightly grazed by the ball. This attempt, the author of which remained unknown, could not fail to be attributed to the Directory, which was not silly enough to pay for a crime that would have been profitable to the Count d'Artois alone. The Pre

tender did not stay long with the Prince of Condé. His presence in the Austrian army was disapproved of by the cabinet of Vienna, which had refused to recognise him, and was aware that his presence would only serve to aggravate the quarrel with France—a quarrel already too sanguinary and too expensive. An intimation was given him to depart, and on his refusal, a detachment was sent to enforce his compliance. He then retired to Blankenburg, where he continued to be the centre of all the correspondence. The Count d'Artois, after his vain schemes respecting La Vendée, had retired to Scotland, whence he still corresponded with some intriguers, going to and fro between La Vendée and England.

Lemaître being dead, his associates had taken his place, and succeeded him in the confidence of the Pretender. These were, as we have already seen, the Abbé Brottier, once a schoolmaster, Laville-Heurnois, formerly a master of requests, a Chevalier Despomelles, and a naval officer named Duverne de Presle*. The old system of these agents, stationed in Paris, was to do everything by the intrigues of the capital, while the Vendéans pretended to accomplish everything by armed insurrection, and the Prince of Condé by means of Pichegru. La Vendée being subdued, Pichegru doomed to retirement, and a threatening reaction breaking out against the Revolution, the Paris agents were the more fully persuaded that they ought to expect everything from a spontaneous movement of the interior. To control the elections, then by the elections to control the councils, by the councils the Directory and the high offices, seemed to them a sure way to re-establish royalty with the very means furnished them by the republic. For this purpose, however, it was necessary to put an end to that divergence of ideas which had always been seen in the plans of counter-revolution. Puisaye, who remained secretly in Bretagne, was dreaming there, as formerly, of an insurrection in that province. In Normandy M. de Frotté was striving to excite a rising similar to that which had taken place in La Vendée, but neither of them would have anything to do with the Paris agents. The Prince of Condé, duped in his intrigue with Pichegru upon the Rhine, wished still to carry it on by himself, without suffering the Austrians or the Pretender to have any hand in it, and he was sorry that he had let them into the secret. To give some unity to these incoherent projects, and more especially to obtain money, the Paris agents sent one of their number into the western provinces, England, Scotland, Germany, and Switzerland. Duverne de Presle was the person selected for this mission. Being unable to deprive Puisaye of his command, they strove, by the influence of the Count d'Artois, to force him to join the system of the Paris agents, and to come to an arrangement with them. They obtained from the English the most important thing, some assistance in money. They procured powers from the Pretender, which placed all the intrigues under the direction of the Paris agency. Their messengers saw the Prince of Condé, who was not to be rendered either intelligent or manageable. He saw M. de Précy, who was still the secret promoter of the disturbances at Lyons and in the South. At last a general plan was concerted, which had no harmony or unity but upon paper, and which did not prevent every one

* "Duverne-de-Presle, a naval officer, was denounced by Malo, the chief of a squadron, as one of the contrivers of a royalist conspiracy, at the head of which was Laville Heurnois. He was in consequence brought before the Directory, and condemned to death with a commutation of his punishment for ten years' imprisonment. He afterwards purchased his pardon by turning evidence against the persons accused with him."

Biographie Moderne. E.

from acting in his own way, and agreeably to his personal interests and pretensions.

It was agreed that all France should be divided into two agencies, one comprising the East and the South, the other the North and the West. M. de Pr  cy was to be at the head of the former, the Paris agents were to direct the latter. These two agencies were to arrange together all their operations, and to correspond directly with the Pretender, who was to give them his orders. Secret associations were planned on the model of those formed by Bab  uf. They were to have no connexion with one another, and to be kept ignorant of the names of the chiefs, that, if one of the parties were apprehended, this circumstance might not lead to the seizure of all the conspirators. These associations were to be adapted to the state of France. As it had been observed that the greater part of the population, without desiring the return of the Bourbons, wished for order and quiet, and imputed to the Directory the continuance of the revolutionary system, a sort of masonic society was formed, called the Philanthropists, who engaged to use their electoral rights, and to exercise them in favour of men opposed to the Directory. The Philanthropists were unacquainted with the secret aim of these proceedings, and nothing was to be avowed to them but the mere intention of strengthening the opposition. Another association, more secret, more concentrated, less numerous, and entitled the Faithful, was to be composed of those more resolute and devoted men, to whom the secret of the faction might be divulged. The Faithful were to be secretly armed and ready for any *coup-de-main*. They were to enrol themselves in the national guard, which was not yet organized, and under cover of that uniform, to execute the more securely the orders that should be given them. It was to be their bounden duty, independently of every plan of insurrection, to watch the elections, and if the parties should come to blows, as had been the case in Vend  miaire, to fly to the assistance of the opposition party. The Faithful were to aid moreover in concealing emigrants and priests, in forging passports, in persecuting the revolutionists, and the purchasers of the national domains. These associations were to be under the direction of military chiefs, who were to correspond with the two principal agencies and to receive orders from them. Such was the new plan of the faction, a chimerical plan, which history would disdain to record, did it not make us acquainted with the dreams with which parties feast themselves in their defeats. Notwithstanding this pretended unity, the association of the South did nothing more than produce some anonymous companies, acting without direction and without aim, and following only the inspiration of revenge and plunder. Puisaye, Frott  , and Rochecot, in Bretagne and Normandy, laboured apart to make a new rising like that of Vend  e, and disavowed the mixed counter-revolution of the Paris agents. Puisaye even published a manifesto, declaring that Bretagne would never second any plans which did not tend to restore by open force absolute and entire royalty to the family of Bourbon.

The Prince of Cond   continued on his part to correspond directly with Pichegru, whose singular and absurd conduct nothing but the embarrassment of his situation can account for. This general, the only commander recorded in history to have voluntarily suffered himself to be beaten,* had

* "Pichegru, having determined in one way or other to serve his new allies and betray his country, had allowed himself to be beaten at Heidelberg, had compromised the army of Jourdan, evacuated Mannheim, raised the siege of Mayence with considerable loss, and exposed the frontier."—*Mignet*. E.

himself demanded his dismissal. This conduct must appear surprising, for it was depriving himself of all means of influence, and consequently rendering it impossible for him to accomplish his pretended designs. We shall, nevertheless, have no difficulty to comprehend it, if we examine Pichegru's position. He could not continue general, without, at length, putting in execution the plans which he had engaged to accomplish, and for which he had received considerable sums. Pichegru had before his eyes three examples, each very different from the others, that of Bouillé, that of La Fayette, and that of Dumouriez, which proved to him that it was impossible to seduce a whole army. He wished, therefore, to put it out of his power to attempt anything; and this accounts for the offer of his resignation which the Directory did not accept at first without regret, being wholly ignorant of his treason. The Prince of Condé and his agents were extremely surprised at the conduct of Pichegru, and conceived that he had swindled them out of their money, and that, in reality, he had never intended to serve them. But no sooner had he relinquished the command than he returned to the banks of the Rhine, upon pretext of selling his carriages, and then proceeded into the Jura, which was his native country. Thence he continued to correspond with the agents of the prince, to whom he represented his resignation as a profound combination. He should be considered, he said, as a victim of the Directory; he was going to connect himself with all the royalists of the interior and to form an immense party; his army, in the command of which he was to be succeeded by Moreau, would deeply regret him, and on the first reverse that it should sustain, it would not fail to call for its old general and to revolt in order to obtain his reinstatement. He should take advantage of this moment to throw off the mask, hasten to his army, assume the dictatorship, and proclaim royalty. This ridiculous plan, had it been sincere, would have been thwarted by the success of Moreau, who, even during his famous retreat, had never ceased to be victorious. The Prince of Condé, the Austrian generals, to whom he had been obliged to communicate the secret, and Wickham, the English minister in Switzerland, began to believe that Pichegru had cheated them. They would have dropped the correspondence; but, at the earnest desire of the intermediate agents, who never like to have made a vain attempt, the correspondence was continued, to see whether any profit was to be derived from it. It was carried on through Strasburg, by means of some spies, who crossed the Rhine, and proceeded to the Austrian general, Klinglin; and through Basle with Wickham, the English minister. Pichegru staid in the Jura without refusing or accepting the embassy to Sweden, which had been offered him, but striving to get himself elected deputy, paying the agents of the prince with the most wretched promises, and continually receiving considerable sums. He held out hopes of the most important results from his nomination to the Five Hundred; he boasted of an influence which he did not possess; he pretended to be giving the Directory perfidious advice and inducing it to adopt dangerous determinations; he attributed to himself the long resistance of Kehl, which, he said, he had recommended for the purpose of compromising the army. Very little faith was placed in these pretended services. The Count de Bellegarde wrote, "We are in the situation of the gambler, who wishes to regain his money, and who goes on risking more to recover what he has lost." The Austrian generals continued, nevertheless, to correspond, because, if great designs were out of the question, they at least obtained valuable particulars concerning the state and the movements of the French army. The infamous

agents of this correspondence sent to General Klingen such statements and plans as they could procure. During the siege of Kehl they had been continually indicating the points upon which the enemy's fire might be directed with the greatest effect.

Such was then the miserable part performed by Pichegru. With an understanding not above mediocrity, he was cunning and wary, and had sufficient tact and experience to believe any plan of counter-revolution impracticable at the moment. His everlasting delays, and his fables to amuse the credulity of the prince's agents, prove his conviction on this point; and his conduct in important circumstances will prove it still more clearly. He received, nevertheless, the price of the plans which he would not execute, and had the art to cause it to be offered to him without his asking for it.

Such, it is true, was the conduct of all the agents of royalism. They lied most impudently, boasted of an influence which they had not, and pretended to sway the most important persons, to whom frequently they had never spoken in their lives. Brottier, Duverne de Presle, and Laville-Heurnois, boasted that they had at their disposal a great number of the deputies in the two Councils, and gave assurances that they should have many more after the new elections. Such was not the fact. They had no communication except with Lemerer, the deputy, and one Mersan, who had been excluded from the legislative body by virtue of the law of the 3d of Brumaire against the relatives of emigrants. By means of Lemerer they pretended to influence all the deputies belonging to the club of Clichy. They judged from the speeches and the votes of those deputies that they would probably applaud the restoration of the monarchy, and hence they deemed themselves authorized to assure the King of Blankenburg of their attachment and even of their repentance. These wretches imposed on this king, and calumniated the members of the club of Clichy. There were among them ambitious men, who were enemies of the Conventionists, because the Conventionists had the entire government in their hands, men exasperated against the Revolution, dupes who suffered themselves to be led, but very few men bold enough to think of royalty, and of sufficient capacity to labour usefully for its re-establishment. Yet it was upon such foundations that the agents of royalism built their projects and their promises!

It was England that furnished all the funds for the presumed counter-revolution. She sent from London to Bretagne the succour demanded by Puisaye. Wickham, the English minister in Switzerland, was directed to supply the two agencies of Lyons and Paris with money, and to send some direct to Pichegru, who, to use the language of the correspondence, was "stowed away for great occasions."

The agents of the counter-revolution had the impudence to take the money of England and to laugh at her. They had agreed with the Pretender to receive her funds, without ever following any of her views, and without ever complying with any of her suggestions, which, they alleged, it was right to distrust. England was not their dupe, and felt for them all the contempt that they deserved. Wickham, Pitt, and all the English ministers, did not place the least reliance on the operations of these gentry, and had no hope whatever of a counter-revolution by their means. They needed restless spirits, who should disturb France, who should excite uneasiness by their projects, and who, without putting the government in real peril, should fill it with exaggerated apprehensions. To

this object they cheerfully devoted a million or two per year. Thus the agents of the counter-revolution deceived themselves in supposing that they were deceiving the English. With all their determination to commit a swindling trick, they were unsuccessful. England never reckoned upon greater results than those which they were capable of producing.

Such were then the projects and the means of the royalist faction. Cochon, minister of the police, was acquainted with part of them: he knew that there were in Paris correspondents of the court of Blankenburg; for, in our long revolution, during which plots were incessantly succeeding one another, there is no instance of a conspiracy having remained unknown. He attentively watched their proceedings, surrounded them with spies, and waited for some decisive attempt on their part, that he might seize them with advantage. They soon furnished him with occasion for doing so. Agreeably to their notable plan of gaining over the authorities, they first thought of securing the military authorities of Paris. The principal forces of the capital consisted of the grenadiers of the legislative body, and those in the camp of Sablons. The grenadiers of the legislative body were a picked corps of twelve hundred men, whom the constitution had placed about the two Councils as a guard of safety and honour. Their commandant, Adjutant-general Ramel, was known for his moderate sentiments, and in the estimation of the silly agents of Louis XVIII. this was a sufficient reason to set him down for a royalist. The armed force assembled at Sablons amounted to nearly twelve thousand men. The commander of this armed force was General Hatry, a brave man, whom they had no hope of gaining over. They turned their eyes to the colonel of the 21st dragoons, named Malo, who had so briskly charged the Jacobins at the time of their ridiculous attempt on the camp of Sablons. They argued respecting him as they did about Ramel, and because he had repulsed the Jacobins, it was concluded that he would welcome the royalists. Brottier, Laville-Heurnois, and Duverne de Presle, sounded both of them, and made proposals, which were listened to and immediately denounced to the minister of the police. The latter enjoined Ramel and Malo to continue to lend an ear to the conspirators, in order to get at their whole scheme. Accordingly, they were encouraged to enter into a long development of their plans, their means, and their hopes, and another interview was appointed, at which they were to exhibit the powers that they had received from Louis XVIII. Advantage was to be taken of this opportunity for securing them. The interviews took place in the apartments occupied by Malo in the Military School. Gendarmes and witnesses were concealed in such a manner as to hear everything, and to be able to show themselves at a given signal. Accordingly, on the 11th of Pluviose, these wretched dupes attended, bringing with them the powers of Louis XVIII., and again detailed their plans. The interview over, they were just departing, when they were seized by the agents employed for the purpose and taken before the minister of the police. Messengers were immediately sent to their residences, and all their papers were secured in their presence. Among them were found letters which furnished sufficient proofs of the conspiracy, and in part revealed the details. It was seen, for example, that those gentry composed an entire government at their pleasure. They meant, for the moment, and till the return of the king from Blankenburg, to suffer part of the existing authorities to remain. Among others, they proposed to retain Benezech in the department of the interior, and Cochon in that of the police; and, if the royalists should feel shy of the latter as a

regicide, they designed to put M. Siméon or M. Portalis, in his place. They meant, moreover, to give the superintendence of the finances to M. Barbé-Marbois, "who," they said, "possesses talents and information, and is reputed an honest man." They had, to be sure, not consulted Messrs. Portalis, Siméon, Benezech, Barbé-Marbois, and Cochon, to whom they were totally unknown; but they had disposed of them, as they were accustomed to do, without their knowledge, and on their presumed opinions.

The discovery of this plot produced a strong sensation, and proved that it behoved the republic to be continually upon its guard against its old enemies. It excited a positive astonishment in the whole of the opposition, which tended to royalism without being aware of it, and which was not at all in the secret. This astonishment proved how those wretches boasted when they sent assurances to Blankenburg, that they had at their disposal a great number of the members of both Councils. The Directory proposed to give them up immediately to a military commission. They denied its competence, asserting that they had not been taken in arms or making any attempt by main force. Several deputies, united in sentiment to their cause, supported them in the Councils; the Directory, nevertheless, persisted in sending them to a military commission for trial, because they had attempted to seduce military officers.

Their system of defence was plausible enough. They avowed their quality of agents of Louis XVIII., but declared that they had no other commission than to prepare the public opinion and to expect from that alone, and not from force, a return to monarchical ideas. They were condemned to death, but their punishment was commuted to that of imprisonment, in consequence of the revelations of Duverne de Presle. The latter made a long confession to the Directory, which was inserted in the secret register, and in which he disclosed all the intrigues of the royalists. The Directory abstained from publishing these details, lest it should apprise the conspirators that it was acquainted with their whole plan. Duverne de Presle gave no information concerning Pichegru, whose intrigues, being carried on directly with the Prince of Condé, were unknown to the Paris agents; but he declared vaguely, from hearsay, that attempts had been made to gain partisans in one of the principal armies.

This apprehension of their chief agents might have thwarted the intrigues of the royalists, if they had had a well-combined plan; but, as each of them proceeded in his own way, the arrest of Brottier, Laville-Heurnois, and Duverne de Presle, did not prevent M. de Puisaye and M. de Frotté from intriguing in Normandy and in Bretagne, M. de Precy at Lyons, and the Prince of Condé in the army of the Rhine.

About the same time, Babœuf and his accomplices were brought to trial; they were all acquitted, excepting Babœuf and Darthé, who underwent the punishment of death.*

The most important affair was that of the elections. Out of opposition to the Directory, or from royalism, a great number of persons were taking pains to influence them. In the Jura, great efforts were made to secure the return of Pichegru; at Lyons, that of M. Imbert Colomès, one of the agents of Louis XVIII. in the South; and at Versailles, that of M. de Vauvilliers, who was seriously compromised in the recently-discovered plot

* "The final dispersion of the old democratic party, which had been diminishing more and more every day, may be dated from this period. Under the reaction it remained united, and under Babœuf presented a formidable association. From that time democrats still existed, but the party was disorganized." *Mignet*. P.

Everywhere, in short, exertions were making in behalf of persons hostile to the Directory. In Paris, the electors of the Seine had met to concert their nominations. They proposed to ask the candidates the following questions: *Hast thou purchased national domains? Art thou a newspaper writer? Hast thou written, acted, or done anything during the Revolution?* All who should answer these questions in the affirmative were to be considered as ineligible. Such preparations showed how violent was the reaction against all those who had taken part in the Revolution. A hundred journals declaimed with vehemence, and actually stunned the public mind. The Directory had no means of repressing them but the law which awarded the punishment of death to writers advocating the return to royalty. No judges would ever have consented to the enforcement of so cruel a law. It applied for the third time to the two Councils for new legislative enactments, which were again refused. It proposed, also, to make the electors take an oath of hatred to royalty. A warm discussion took place concerning the efficacy of the oath, and the proposal was modified by changing the oath into a mere declaration. Every elector was to declare that he was an enemy to anarchy as well as to royalty. The Directory, without descending to any of the disgraceful means so frequently employed by representative governments for influencing elections, contented itself with choosing as commissioners to the assemblies men known for their republican sentiments, and setting Cochon, the minister, to write circulars, in which he recommended to the electors the candidates of its choice. A great outcry was raised against these circulars, which were only an insignificant exhortation, and by no means an injunction; for the number and independence of the electors, especially in a government in which almost all places were elective, placed them above the reach of the influence of the Directory.

While preparations were thus making for the elections, the choice of a new director also excited great discussion. The question was, which of the five should be designated by lot to quit the Directory; whether it should be Barras, Rewbel, or Lareveillère-Lepeaux, the opposition made sure, with the assistance of the new third, of carrying the nomination of a director of its choice. It hoped that it should then have a majority in the government; on which point it flattered itself egregiously, for its follies would not have failed very soon to make Carnot and Letourneur its enemies.

The club of Clichy turbulently discussed the choice of the new director. Cochon and Barthelemy were there proposed. Cochon had lost somewhat in the opinion of the counter-revolutionists since the apprehension of Brötter and his accomplices, and especially since his circulars to the electors. They preferred Barthelemy, our ambassador in Sweden, whom they believed to be secretly connected with the emigrants and the Prince of Condé.

Amidst this agitation, the most absurd reports were propagated. It was said that the Directory intended to apprehend the deputies just elected, and to prevent their assembling; it was even asserted that it meant to put them to death. Its friends, on their part, declared that an act of accusation was preparing against it at Clichy, and that the framers were only waiting for the new third, in order to submit it to the Five Hundred

THE DIRECTORY.

STATE OF EUROPE IN 1797 (YEAR V)—MARCH OF BONAPARTE AGAINST THE ROMAN STATES; PEACE OF TOLENTINO WITH THE POPE—NEW CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE AUSTRIANS—PASSAGE OF THE TAGLIAMENTO; BATTLE OF TARWIS; PASSAGE OF THE JULIAN ALPS; MARCH UPON VIENNA—PASSAGE OF THE RHINE AT NEUWIED AND AT DIRSHEIM—PRELIMINARIES OF PEACE SIGNED AT LEOBEN—PERFIDY OF THE VENETIANS; MASSACRE OF VEROONA; DOWNFALL OF THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE.

WHILE the contending parties were bestirring themselves in expectation of an event which was to alter the majorities, and to change the direction of the government of the republic, a new campaign was preparing, and everything indicated that it would be the last. The powers were divided nearly in the same manner as in the preceding year. France, united with Spain and Holland, had to struggle against England and Austria. The sentiments of the court of Spain were not, and could not be, favourable to the French republicans; but its policy, directed by the Prince of the Peace, was entirely favourable to them. She considered their alliance as the surest means of being protected against their principles, and justly flattered herself that they would not desire to revolutionize her, so long as they should find in her a powerful naval auxiliary. Besides, she bore an old grudge against Austria, and hoped that the union of all the navies of the continent would furnish her with the means of avenging her injuries. The Prince of the Peace, seeing that his existence depended on this policy, and aware that he must perish along with it, employed all his influence with the queen to secure it the ascendancy over the sentiments of the royal family, and his efforts were completely successful. The consequence of these dispositions was that the French were individually ill-treated in Spain, while the government, on the contrary, obtained the utmost deference to its wishes. Unfortunately, the French legation there did not behave with the respect due to a friendly power, or with the firmness requisite for protecting French subjects. Spain, by allying herself with France, had lost the important colony of Trinidad. She flattered herself that, if France should this year get rid of Austria, and turn all her forces against England, all the advantages gained by the latter might be wrested from her. The queen, in particular, flattered herself with an aggrandizement in Italy, for her son-in-law, the Duke of Parma. There was an idea also of an enterprise against Portugal, and, amidst that vast convulsion of states, the court of Madrid was not without some hope of uniting the whole of the Peninsula under one sceptre.

As for Holland, her situation was very deplorable. She was torn by all the passions that a change of constitution excites. The rational persons

who wished for a government in which the old federative system should be combined with the unity necessary for giving strength to the Batavian republic, had to combat three equally dangerous parties; in the first place, the Orangists, comprising all the creatures of the stadtholder, the placemen, and the populace; secondly, the federalists, including all the wealthy and powerful families, who were desirous of maintaining the former state of things, with the exception of the stadtholdership, which wounded their pride; lastly, the democrats, a turbulent, daring, and implacable party, composed of hotheaded persons and adventurers. These four parties combated one another with extreme animosity, and retarded the constitution of the country. Besides these embarrassments, Holland was still in dread of an invasion by Prussia, which was not awed by the successes of France. She found her commerce annoyed in the North by the English and the Russians; lastly, she was losing all her colonies, through the treachery of most of her governors. The Cape of Good Hope, Trincomalee, and the Moluccas, were in the hands of the English. The French troops, encamped in Holland, to cover her against Prussia, observed the strictest and most praiseworthy discipline; but the public departments and the military chiefs there behaved neither with delicacy nor with honesty. The country was, therefore, horribly drained. Hence, it might be inferred that Holland had done wrong by connecting herself with France, but this would be a hasty conclusion. Holland, situated between the two belligerent masses, could not escape the influence of the conquerors. Under the stadtholder, she was the subject of England and sacrificed to her interests; she had, moreover, internal slavery. By allying herself with France, she ran the risks attached to the nature of that continental rather than maritime power, and compromised her colonies; but she might some day, by the union of the three navies of the continent, recover what she had lost; she might hope for a reasonable constitution under French protection. Such is the lot of states. If they are strong, they make their revolutions themselves, but they have to undergo all the disasters attending them, and are drowned in their own blood; if they are weak, they see their neighbours come to revolutionize them, by force of arms, and undergo all the inconveniences arising from the presence of foreign armies. They do not murder one another, but they pay the soldiers who come to keep them in order. Such was the destiny of Holland and her situation in regard to us. In this state, she had not been of any great use to the French government. Her army and her navy were very slowly reorganizing themselves. The Batavian rescriptions, with which the war indemnity of one hundred millions had been paid, were circulating for next to nothing, and the advantages of the alliance had become nearly null to France; ill-humour had been the consequence. The Directory reproached the Dutch government with not keeping its engagements, and the Dutch government reproached the Directory with putting it out of its power to fulfil them. Notwithstanding these clouds, the two states were proceeding towards the same goal. A squadron and an army to embark in it were preparing in Holland, to concur in the projects of the Directory.

As regarded Prussia, great part of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland, France was still in the same relations of strict neutrality with them. Clouds had arisen between France and America. The United States behaved towards us with equal injustice and ingratitude. Old Washington had suffered himself to be drawn into the party of John

Adams* and the English, which was desirous of bringing America back to the aristocratic and monarchical state. The injuries suffered from certain privateers, and the conduct of the agents of the committee of public welfare, served them for a pretext—a pretext very ill-founded, for the wrongs done by the English to the American navy were of a far more serious nature; and the conduct of our agents was censured at the time and ought to be excused. These favourers of the English party alleged that France meant to obtain from Spain the cession of the Floridas and of Louisiana; that by means of those provinces and of Canada, she would encompass the United States, sow democratic principles in them, successively detach all the States from the Union, thus dissolve the American federation, and form a vast democracy between the Gulf of Mexico and the five lakes. There was not the slightest foundation for the rumour; but these falsehoods served to heat minds and to make enemies to France. A treaty of commerce had just been concluded with England. It contained stipulations which transferred to that power advantages formerly reserved for France alone, and due to the services which she had rendered to the American cause. In the French government there were persons in favour of a rupture with the United States. Monroe,† who was ambassador to Paris, gave the Directory the most prudent advice on this occasion. War with France, said he, will force the American government to throw itself into the arms of England and to submit to her influence; aristocracy will gain supreme control in the United States, and liberty will be compromised. By patiently enduring, on the contrary, the wrongs of the present president, you will leave him without excuse, you will enlighten the Americans, and decide a contrary choice at the next election. All the wrongs of which France may have to complain will then be repaired. This wise and provident advice had its effect upon the Directory. Rewbel, Barras, and Lareveillère, had accused it to be adopted in opposition to the opinion of the systematic Carnot, who, though in general favourably disposed to peace, insisted on the cession of Louisiana, with a view to attempt the establishment of a republic there.

Such were the relations of France with the powers that were her allies or merely her friends. England and Austria had concluded in the preceding year a triple alliance with Russia, but the great and wily Catherine was just dead. Her successor, Paul I., whose reason, not very strong, was enlightened only by transient gleams—a circumstance not unusual in his family—had paid great attentions to the French emigrants, but shown very little anxiety to execute the conditions of the treaty of

* "John Adams, a distinguished patriot of the American revolution, was born in 1735. His ancestors had fled from England with other puritans in the year 1630. In his earlier days he practised at the bar, and in 1770 was elected one of the representatives of the town of Boston, when he distinguished himself by his hostility to the despotism of the mother-country. He took his seat in congress in 1774, the first day of their session, and was a member of the committees which drew up a statement of the rights of the colonies, and prepared the address to the king. He also contributed to the celebrated Declaration of Independence. In 1735 he was appointed the first American minister to London. In the year 1797 he succeeded to the Presidency of the United States, vacated by the resignation of General Washington. He died at an advanced age in the year 1826."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

† "James Monroe was born in Virginia in 1758, and in 1776 entered the American revolutionary army as a cadet. In 1794 he was appointed minister plenipotentiary to France, but was recalled by Washington in 1796 with an implied censure. In 1817 he was chosen President of the United States, and re-elected in 1821. He died at New York in the year 1831."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

triple alliance. This prince seemed to be struck by the colossal power of the French Revolution,* and one would suppose that he comprehended the danger of rendering it more formidable by combating it; at least the language which he used to a Frenchman celebrated for his acquirements and his abilities would lead to that conclusion. Without breaking the treaty, he had urged the state of his army and of his exchequer, and advised England and Austria to have recourse to negotiation. England had endeavoured to induce the King of Prussia to join the coalition, but without success. That prince felt that it was not to his interest to afford assistance to his most formidable enemy, the emperor. France promised him an indemnity in Germany for the stadtholder, who had married his sister; he had, therefore, nothing to desire for himself. He merely wished to prevent Austria, beaten and despoiled by France, from indemnifying herself for her losses in Germany. He would fain even have prevented her from receiving indemnities in Italy. Accordingly, he had declared that he never would consent to the cession of Bavaria to Austria, in exchange for the Netherlands; and at the same time he sent to propose an alliance to the republic of Venice, offering to guarantee her integrity, in case France and Austria should attempt to accommodate their differences at her expense. His object, therefore, was to prevent the emperor from obtaining equivalents for the losses which he had sustained in the contest with France.

As Russia still held back from the conflict, and Prussia persisted in her neutrality, England and Austria alone remained in the field. England was in a very melancholy situation. She no longer dreaded, at least not for the moment, an expedition to Ireland, but her Bank was threatened more seriously than ever; she placed no dependence whatever on Austria, whom she saw out of breath, and she expected that France, after conquering the continent, would fall upon her with her united forces. Austria, notwithstanding the occupation of the *têtes de pont* of Kehl and Huningen, was aware that she had ruined herself by her perseverance in gaining those two fortresses, instead of marching all her forces into Italy. The disasters of Rivoli and La Favorita, and the capture of Mantua, placed her in imminent danger. She was obliged to weaken her army upon the Rhine, and to reduce herself to an absolute inferiority on that frontier, in order to transfer her forces and her Prince Charles to Italy. But during the interval that the troops would take to perform the march from the Upper Rhine to the Piave and the Isonzo, she would be left defenceless to the blows of an adversary, who was an adept in the art of seizing the advantages of time.

All these fears were well founded, and France was actually preparing to strike terrible blows.

The army of the Sambre and Meuse, reinforced by great part of the army of the Ocean, had been increased to eighty thousand men. Hoche, who had been appointed to the command of it, had stopped a very short time in Paris, on his return from the expedition to Ireland, and had hastened to proceed to his head-quarters. He had employed the winter in organizing his troops, and in supplying them with necessaries. Drawing considerable resources from Holland and the provinces between the Meuse

* "Paul," said Napoleon, "was at first strongly prejudiced against the French Revolution, and every person concerned in it; but afterwards I had rendered him reasonable, and changed his opinions altogether."—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

and the Rhine, which were treated as conquered countries, he had secured his army against those wants to which the army of the Rhine was exposed. Devising a different distribution of the various arms, he had given it greater unity and a more powerful organization. He was impatient to march at the head of his eighty thousand men, and saw no obstacle to prevent him from advancing into the very heart of Germany. Solicitous to illustrate his political views, he wished to imitate the examples of the general in Italy, and in his turn to create a republic. The provinces between the Meuse and the Rhine, which had not been like Belgium declared constitutional territory, were provisorily under military authority. If, at the conclusion of peace with the Empire, they were refused to France, in order not to give her the line of the Rhine, she might at least obtain their constitution into an independent republic, an ally and friend of her own. This republic, by the name of Cisirhenane Republic, might be indissolubly attached to France, and as useful to her as if it had been one of her provinces. Hoche availed himself of the moment to give it a provisory organization, and to prepare it for the republican state. He had formed at Bonn a commission, which had the twofold object of organizing it and drawing from it the resources necessary for the French troops.

The army of the Upper Rhine, under Moreau, was far from being in so satisfactory a state. It left nothing to be desired in regard to the valour and the discipline of the troops; but it lacked necessities, and the want of money, not admitting even of the acquisition of a bridge equipage, delayed its taking the field. Moreau urgently solicited a few hundred thousand francs, with which it was impossible for the treasury to furnish him. In order to obtain them, he had applied to General Bonaparte, but was obliged to wait till the latter had finished his excursion into the Roman states. This circumstance, of course, retarded the operations on the Rhine.

The most violent and the most sudden blows were about to be struck in Italy. Bonaparte, ready to destroy the last Austrian army at Rivoli, had given notice that he should afterwards make an incursion of a few days into the states of the Pope, in order to subject them to the republic, and to wring from him the money which the army stood in need of. He added that if a reinforcement of thirty thousand men were sent him, he would cross the Julian Alps, and boldly march for Vienna. This plan, so vast, was chimerical, in the preceding year, but now it had become possible. The policy alone of the Directory might have thrown obstacles in the way; it might have rendered it averse to placing all the operations of the war in the hands of this young commander, so absolute in his determinations. The benevolent Lareveillère, however, strongly insisted on his being furnished with the means of executing so grand a plan, and which would put so speedy an end to the war. It was decided that thirty thousand men should be sent to him from the Rhine. Bernadotte's division was taken from the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and Delmas's division from that of the Upper Rhine, to be marched across the Alps in the depth of winter. Moreau made the utmost efforts to place the division of Delmas on such a footing as to be a worthy representative of the army of the Rhine in Italy; we selected his best troops and emptied his magazines to equip them. It was impossible to be actuated by a more honourable and a more delicate sentiment. Those two divisions, forming twenty and some odd thousand men, passed the Alps in January, before any one was aware of their march. When just ready to cross, a tempest overtook them. The guides advised a halt: a charge was sounded, and they defied the tempest, with drums

beating and colours flying. These two divisions were already descending into Piedmont before their departure from the Rhine was known.

No sooner had Bonaparte signed the capitulation of Mantua than he set out, without waiting to see Marshal Wurmser file off before him,* and proceeded to Bologna to give law to the Pope. The Directory was desirous that he should at length destroy the temporal power of the Holy See; but it had not absolutely insisted on his doing so, and had left him at liberty to act according to circumstances and his own discretion. Bonaparte had no intention whatever of undertaking such an enterprise. While preparations were making in Upper Italy for a march across the Julian Alps, he meant to wrest one or two provinces from the Pope, and to impose on him a contribution which should defray the expenses of the new campaign. To attempt to do more would be to compromise his plan against Austria. It was even requisite that Bonaparte should make great haste, that he might get back speedily to Upper Italy; above all, it behoved him to conduct himself in such a manner as to avoid a war of religion, and to overawe the court of Naples, which had signed a peace, but did not consider itself at all bound by its treaty. That power felt an inclination to interfere in the quarrel, either to obtain a share of the spoils of the Pope, or to prevent the establishment of a republic at Rome, by which the revolution would be brought to its own doors. Bonaparte collected at Bologna Victor's division and the new Italian troops raised in Lombardy and in the Cispadane, and marched at their head, to execute in person an enterprise, which, in order to be well conducted, required all his tact and promptness.

The Pope was in the most painful anxiety. The emperor had promised him his alliance, but only on the hardest conditions, that is, at the price of Ferrara and Commachia; but even this alliance could not be of any benefit to him, since Alvinzy's army had been destroyed. The Holy See had, therefore, compromised itself to no purpose. The correspondence of Cardinal Busca, secretary of state, and a sworn enemy of France, had been intercepted. The designs against the French army, which it was proposed to attack in the rear, were disclosed; there was no longer any excuse for appealing to the clemency of the conqueror, to whose proposals the Papal government had for a year past refused to listen. When Cacault, the French minister, published the general's manifesto, and applied for leave to retire, it durst not detain him from a feeling of pride, but it was in the most cruel embarrassment. Soon, nothing was listened to but the counsels of despair. The Austrian general, Colli, who arrived at Rome with some officers, was placed at the head of the Papal troops; fanatical sermons were preached throughout the Roman states; heaven was promised to all who should devote themselves for the Holy See, and efforts were made to stir up a Vendée around Bonaparte. Urgent entreaties were addressed to the court of Naples for the purpose of awakening all its ambition and religious zeal.

Bonaparte advanced rapidly, that he might not allow the conflagration time to spread. On the 16th of Pluviose, year V (February 4, 1797), he marched for the Senio, where the Papal army was intrenched. It consisted

* "Napoleon paid a delicate and noble-minded compliment in declining to be present when the veteran Wurmser had the mortification to surrender his sword, together with his garrison. This self-denial did him as much credit nearly as his victory; and may be justly compared to the conduct of the Black Prince to his royal prisoner, King John of France."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon* E.

of seven or eight thousand regular troops, and a great number of peasants armed in haste, and headed by their monks. This army exhibited a most ludicrous appearance. A flag of truce came to intimate that if the army of Napoleon persisted in advancing, it would be fired upon. It advanced, nevertheless, towards the bridge over the Senio, which was strongly intrenched. Lannes ascended the river with a few hundred men, forded it, and drew up in order of battle in the rear of the Papal army. General Lahoz, with the Lombard troops, then marched to the bridge, and soon carried it. The new Italian troops steadily bore the fire, which for a short time was very brisk. Four or five hundred prisoners were taken, and some of the peasants put to the sword. The papal army retreated in disorder. It was pursued to Faenza; the gates of the town were forced, and the French entered to the sound of the tocsin, and amidst the shouts of an infuriated populace. The soldiers demanded leave to pillage. Bonaparte refused it. He assembled the prisoners taken in the battle on the banks of the Senio, and addressed them in Italian.* The unfortunate wretches imagined that they were about to be put to death. Bonaparte cheered them, and informed them, to their great amazement, that he gave them their liberty, on condition that they should go and enlighten their fellow-countrymen respecting the intentions of the French, who were not come to destroy either religion or the Holy See, but who merely wished to remove the evil councillors by whom the Pope was surrounded. He then ordered them to be supplied with refreshments, and dismissed them. Bonaparte advanced rapidly from Faenza to Forli, Cesena, Rimini, Pesaro, and Sinigaglia. Colli, who had but about three thousand regular troops left, intrenched them in a good position before Ancona. Bonaparte surrounded, and took great part of them. He gave them their liberty on the same conditions as before. Colli retired with his officers to Rome. Bonaparte had now only to march to that capital. He proceeded first to Loretto, the treasury of which had been emptied: scarcely a million was found in it. The old wooden image of the Virgin was sent to Paris as a curiosity. Leaving the coast, he marched from Loretto by Macerata for the Apennines, intending to cross them and to debouch upon Rome, if that should be necessary. He arrived at Tolentino on the 26th of Pluviose (February 13), and waited there to see what effect his rapid march and the deliberation of his prisoners would produce. He had sent for the general of the Camaldulenses, an ecclesiastic in whom Pius VI. placed great confidence, and directed him to repair to Rome with offers of peace. He particularly wished the Pope to submit, and to accept the conditions which he resolved to impose upon him. He was not disposed to lose time in exciting a revolution in Rome, which might have detained him longer than suited him, which would, perhaps, have provoked the court of Naples to take up arms, and which, in overthrowing the established government, would, for the moment, ruin the Roman finances, and prevent him from drawing from the country the twenty or thirty millions which he wanted. He conceived that the Holy See, deprived of its finest provinces in favour of the Cispadane, and exposed to the vicinity of the new republic, would soon be infected with the revolutionary contagion and fall in a very short time. This was good policy, and time proved its correctness. He awaited, therefore, at Tolentino, the effects of clemency and fear.

* "I am the friend," said Napoleon, "of all the nations of Italy, and particularly of the people of Rome. You are free; return to your families, and tell them that the French are the friends of religion, order, and the poor."—*Montholon*. E.

The prisoners whom he had sent home had, in fact, gone to all parts of the Roman states, and especially to Rome, spreading the most favourable reports of the French army, and appeasing the resentments excited against it. The general of the Camaldulenses arrived at the Vatican at the moment when the Pope was about to enter his carriage and to leave Rome. The prince, cheered by the message brought by that ecclesiastic, relinquished his intention of quitting the capital, dismissed Busca, the secretary of state, and despatched Cardinal Mattei, the prelate Galeppi, Marquis Massimi, and his nephew, the Duke of Braschi, to Tolentino, to treat with the French general. They had full powers to treat, provided the general required no sacrifice connected with the faith. The treaty was thereby rendered perfectly easy, for on the articles of faith the French general laid no stress whatever. The treaty was concluded in a few days, and signed at Tolentino on the 1st of Ventose (February 19). Its principal conditions were these. The Pope revoked all treaties of alliance against France, acknowledged the republic, and declared himself in peace and good understanding with her. He ceded to her all his rights on the Venaissin, and gave up definitively to the Cispadane republic the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, and likewise the fine province of La Romagna. The town and the important citadel of Ancona were to remain in the hands of France until the general peace. The two provinces of the duchy of Urbino and Macerata, which the French army had occupied, were to be restored to the Pope on payment of the sum of fifteen millions. A like sum was to be paid, agreeably to the armistice of Bologna, not yet executed. These thirty millions were payable, two-thirds in money and one-third in diamonds or precious stones. The Pope was, moreover, to furnish eight hundred cavalry horses and eight hundred draught horses, buffaloes, and other productions of the states of the Church. He was to disavow the murder of Basseville, and to pay three hundred thousand francs for the benefit of his heirs and of others who had suffered by the same event. All the works of art and manuscripts ceded to France by the armistice of Bologna were to be sent off immediately to Paris.

Such was the treaty of Tolentino,* which gained for the Cispadane republic not only the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, but also the beautiful province of La Romagna, and procured for the army a subsidy of thirty millions, more than enough for the campaign that was about to commence. A fortnight had sufficed for this expedition. While this treaty was negotiating, Bonaparte had contrived to awe the court of Naples, and to rid himself of it. Before he left Tolentino he performed a remarkable act, and one which demonstrated his personal policy thus early in his career. Italy, and the Papal states in particular, were full of exiled French priests. These unfortunate men, retired in convents, were not always received there with much charity. The ordinances of the Directory forbade their stay in countries occupied by our armies; and the Italian monks were not sorry to be delivered from them by the approach of our troops. These unfortunate men were reduced to despair. Long separated from their country, exposed to all the disdain of foreigners, they wept at the sight of our soldiers. They even recognized some of them, whose ministers they had been in the vil-

* "One of the papal negotiators of this treaty observed to Bonaparte, that he was the only Frenchman that had marched against Rome since the Constable Bourbon; but what rendered this circumstance still more singular was, that the history of the first expedition, under the title of 'The Sacking of Rome,' was written by Jacopo Bonaparte, an ancestor of him who executed the second."—*Las Cases*. E.

lages of France. Bonaparte was easily moved; besides, he was anxious to appear exempt from every kind of revolutionary and religious prejudice; he issued an order commanding all the convents of the Holy See to receive the French priests, to subsist them, and to give them pay. Thus, instead of putting them to flight, he improved their condition. He wrote to the Directory, explaining the motives which had induced him to commit this violation of its ordinances. "By continually hunting down these unfortunate men," said he, "you force them to return home. It is better that they should be in Italy than in France; they will be useful to us there. They are less fanatical than the Italian priests; they will enlighten the people, who are excited by all means against us. Besides," added he, "they weep on seeing us; how is it possible not to pity their misfortunes!" The Directory approved of his conduct. This act and this letter were published, and produced a very strong sensation.

He returned immediately to the Adige, to execute the boldest military march recorded in history. After once crossing the Alps to enter Italy, he was about to cross them a second time, to throw himself beyond the Drave and the Mur into the valley of the Danube, and to advance upon Vienna. Never had French army yet appeared in sight of that capital. To execute this vast plan, it was necessary to brave many dangers. He left all Italy upon his rear—Italy, struck with terror and admiration, but still impressed with the notion that the French could not long maintain possession of the country.

The late campaign of Rivoli and the capture of Mantua had appeared to put an end to those doubts; but a march into Germany was about to revive them all. The governments of Genoa, Tuscany, Naples, Rome, Turin, Venice, indignant at seeing a focus of revolution placed beside them in the Cispadane republic and Lombardy, might take advantage of the first reverse to rise. In uncertainty as to the result, the Italian patriots watched one another, that they might not compromise themselves. Bonaparte's army was far inferior to what it ought to have been to parry all the dangers of his plan. The divisions of Bernadotte and Delmas, just arrived from the Rhine, numbered no more than twenty thousand men; the old army of Italy did not exceed forty thousand; and these, with the Lombard troops, amounted to about seventy thousand. But it was necessary to leave at least twenty thousand in Italy, and to guard the Tyrol with fifteen or eighteen thousand, so that there remained but thirty and some odd thousand to march upon Vienna—an unexampled temerity. In order to obviate these difficulties, Bonaparte strove to negotiate an offensive and defensive alliance with Piedmont, which he had long aimed at. This alliance would procure him ten thousand good troops. The king, who at first was not satisfied with the guarantee of his dominions in return for the services that he was to render, was content with it now that he saw the Revolution gaining all minds. He signed the treaty, which was sent to Paris. But this treaty was contrary to the views of the French government. The Directory, approving of Bonaparte's policy in Italy, which consisted in awaiting the very speedy downfall of the governments and in not provoking it, in order to avoid both the trouble and the responsibility of revolutions, was neither for attacking nor guaranteeing any prince. The ratification of the treaty was, therefore, extremely doubtful, and besides it would take a fortnight or three weeks. The Sardinian contingent would then have to be set in motion, and by that time Bonaparte would be beyond the Alps. Bonaparte

was, above all, desirous of concluding a similar treaty of alliance with Venice. The government of that republic was equipping considerable armaments, the object of which could not be doubtful. The lagoons were full of Sclavonian regiments. Ottolini, podesta of Bergamo, the blind instrument of the state inquisitors, had distributed money and arms among the mountaineers of the Bergamasco, and held them in readiness for any favourable opportunity. That government, equally weak and perfidious, was nevertheless unwilling to compromise itself, and persisted in its pretended neutrality. It had refused the alliance of Austria and of Prussia, but it was in arms; and if the French, after entering Austria, should sustain reverses, it had determined to take a decided part, and to slaughter them in their retreat. Bonaparte, who was as crafty as the Venetian aristocracy, was aware of this danger, and urged an alliance rather to secure himself against its hostile designs, than to obtain its assistance. On crossing the Adige, he sent for Pezaro, the proveditore, whom he had so terrified the year before at Peschiera, and made him the most frank and friendly overtures. The whole *terra firma*, said he, is imbued with revolutionary ideas; a single word from the French would be sufficient to excite all the provinces to insurrection against Venice; yet the French, if Venice were to ally herself with them, would abstain from instigating to revolt. They would strive to pacify public opinion; they would guarantee the republic against the ambition of Austria; and, without demanding the sacrifice of her constitution, they would confine themselves to recommending some modifications indispensable for her welfare. Nothing could be more prudent or more sincere than this advice. It is not true that, at the moment it was given, the Directory and Bonaparte were thinking of giving up Venice to Austria. The Directory had as yet no idea on this point. If, while awaiting the issue of events, it had any intention at all, it was rather to emancipate Italy than to give up any part of it to Austria. As for Bonaparte, he sincerely wished to make an ally of Venice; and if Venice had listened to him, if she had joined them, and consented to modify her constitution, she would have saved her territory and her ancient laws. Pezaro answered in an evasive manner. Bonaparte, finding that he had nothing to hope for, then resolved to take his precautions, and to make amends for all his deficiencies by his ordinary means, that is, by the rapidity and the vehemence of his blows.

He had sixty and some thousand men such as Europe had never yet seen. He resolved to leave ten thousand in Italy; these, joined to the Lombard and Cispadane battalions, would form fifteen or eighteen thousand men, capable of awing the Venetians. He would then have fifty and some odd thousand left, which he meant to dispose in the following manner. Three roads lead across the Rætian, Noric, and Julian Alps to Vienna: the first, on the left, traversing the Tyrol at Mount Brenner; the second, in the centre, traversing Carinthia, at Mount Tarwis; the third, on the right, crossing the Tagliamento and the Isonzo, and leading into Carniola. The Archduke Charles had the bulk of his forces on this latter road, guarding Carniola and covering Trieste. Two corps, one at Feltre and Belluno, the other in the Tyrol, occupied the other two roads. Owing to the blunder committed by Austria, in not despatching her forces to Italy till very late, six fine divisions coming from the Rhine had not yet arrived. This blunder might have been partly repaired, had the Archduke Charles, fixing his head-quarters in the Tyrol, determined to operate upon our left. He would have been joined by the six divisions from the Rhine at least a fort-

night earlier; and then Bonaparte, instead of filing off on the right by Carinthia or Carniola, would certainly have been obliged to fight him and to finish with him before he ventured beyond the Alps. He would then have found him with his best troops, and would not have had so very easy a task. But the archduke had orders to cover Trieste, the only seaport of the monarchy. He fixed himself, therefore, at the outlet from Carniola, and placed only subordinate corps on the roads from Carinthia and the Tyrol. Two of the divisions from the Rhine were to reinforce General Kerpen in the Tyrol; the four others were to file away behind the Alps, through Carinthia and Carniola, and to proceed to the head-quarters in the Friule. It was now Ventose (March). The Alps were covered with snow and ice. Who would imagine that Bonaparte could think of climbing at that moment the summit of the Alps!

Bonaparte conceived that, by falling upon the archduke before the arrival of the principal forces from the Rhine, he should more easily carry the passes of the Alps, then cross them, beat in succession, as he had always done, the separate bodies of the Austrians, and, if he were supported by a movement of the armies of the Rhine, advance to Vienna.

In consequence, he reinforced Joubert, who had at Rivoli proved himself worthy of all his confidence, with the divisions of Baraguai d'Hilliers and Delmas, and thus composed for him a corps of eighteen thousand men. He directed him to ascend into the Tyrol, to fight Generals Laudohn and Kerpen to the utmost extremity, to drive them beyond the Brenner, to the other side of the Alps, and then to file off to the right through the Pusterthal, in order to join the grand army in Carinthia. Laudohn and Kerpen might, to be sure, return into the Tyrol, when Joubert should have rejoined the principal army; but it would take time for them to recover from a defeat, to obtain reinforcements, and to descend again into the Tyrol; meanwhile Bonaparte would be at the gates of Vienna. To quiet the Tyrolese, he recommended to Joubert to show much regard for the priests, to speak well of the emperor and ill of his ministers, to touch the imperial coffers only, and to make no change in the administration of the country. He directed the intrepid Massena, with his fine division, ten thousand strong, to march upon the corps which was in the centre towards Feltré and Belluno, to hasten to the gorges of the Ponteba, which precede the great Mount Tarwis, to make himself master of the gorges of that mountain, and thus to secure the outlet of Carinthia. He resolved to march with three divisions, twenty-five thousand strong, upon the Piave and the Tagliamento, to push the archduke before him into Carniola, then to descend towards the Carinthia road, to join Massena at Mount Tarwis, to cross the Alps at that mountain, to descend into the valley of the Drave and the Mur, pick up Joubert, and march for Vienna. He reckoned upon the impetuosity and the audacity of his attack, and upon the impression which his prompt and terrible blows were accustomed to leave.

Before he commenced his march, he gave to General Kilmaine the command of Upper Italy. Victor's division, placed *en échelon* in the states of the Pope, till the thirty millions should be paid, was to return in a few days to the Adige, and there form with the Lombards the corps of observation. An extraordinary ferment prevailed in the Venetian provinces. The peasants and the mountaineers, devoted to the priests and the aristocracy, and the towns, agitated by the revolutionary spirit, were ready to come to blows. Bonaparte enjoined General Kilmaine to observe the strictest neutrality, and set out to execute his vast projects. He issued, as usual, an

energetic proclamation,* calculated to increase the enthusiasm of his soldiers, had it been capable of exultation. On the 20th of Ventose, year V (March 10, 1797), the cold being intense and the snow several feet deep on the mountains, he set his whole line in motion. Massena commenced his operation upon the centre corps, push it upon Feltre, Belluno, and Cadore, took from it about a thousand prisoners, among whom was General Lusignan, descended upon Spilimbergo, and entered the gorges of the Ponteba, which precede Mount Tarwis. Bonaparte advanced with three divisions upon the Piave; Serrurier's division, which had distinguished itself before Mantua, Augereau's division, now under the command of General Guyeux, because Augereau had gone with the colours to Paris, and Bernadotte's division, which had come from the Rhine. This last formed a strong contrast, by its simplicity and its austere bearing, with the old army of Italy, enriched in the beautiful plains which it had conquered, and composed of brave, fiery, and intemperate Southerners. The soldiers of Italy, proud of their victories, laughed at the soldiers of the Rhine, and called them the contingent, in allusion to the contingents of the circles of Germany, which were very backward in doing their duty in the emperor's armies. The men of the Rhine, veterans in arms, were impatient to prove their valour to their rivals in glory. Some sabre-cuts had already been exchanged on account of these railleries, and they were anxious to exhibit their prowess before the enemy.

On the 23d (March 13), the three divisions crossed the Piave, and had nearly lost one man only, who was on the point of drowning, when a female sutler swam to him and saved his life.† Bonaparte gave the woman a gold chain. The enemy's advanced guards fell back, and sought refuge behind the Tagliamento. All the troops of Prince Charles in the Friule were assembled there to dispute the passage. The two young adversaries were about to meet. The one, in saving Germany by a happy conception, had, in the preceding year, acquired high reputation. He was brave, not wedded to German routine, but very uncertain of success, and extremely alarmed for his glory. The other had astonished Europe by the fecundity and the boldness of his combinations. He feared nothing whatever. Modest till the battle of Lodi, he now deemed no genius equal to his own,‡ no soldier

* "Soldiers!" said Napoleon, addressing his troops, "the capture of Mantua has put an end to the war of Italy. You have been victorious in fourteen pitched battles and seventy actions; you have taken 100,000 prisoners, 500 fieldpieces, 2,000 heavy cannon, and four pontoon-trains. The contributions laid on the countries you have conquered, have fed, maintained, and paid the army; besides which you have sent thirty millions to the minister of finance for the use of the public treasury. You have enriched the museum of Paris with three hundred masterpieces of ancient and modern Italy, which it had required thirty centuries to produce. You have conquered for the republic the finest countries in Europe. The Kings of Sardinia and Naples, the Pope, and the Duke of Parma, are separated from the coalition. You have expelled the English from Leghorn, Genoa, and Corsica. Still higher destinies await you. You will prove yourselves worthy of them. Of all the foes who combined to stifle our republic in its birth, the emperor alone remains." E.

† "The river is pretty deep, and a bridge would have been desirable; but the good will of the soldiers supplied that deficiency. A drummer was the only person in danger, and he was saved by a woman who swam after him."—*Montholon*. E.

‡ "Napoleon was characterized by nothing more strongly than by the spirit of self exaggeration. His strong original tendency to pride, fed and pampered by strange success and unbounded applause, swelled almost into an insane conviction of superhuman greatness. This insolent exaltation of himself above the race to which he belonged, broke out in the beginning of his career. His first victories in Italy gave him the tone of a master, and he never laid it aside to his last hour."—*Dr. Channing*. E

equal to the French soldier. On the 26th of Ventose (March 16), in the morning, Bonaparte directed his three divisions by Valvasone to the bank of the Tagliamento. That river, the bed of which is imperfectly marked, descends from the Alps over gravel, and divides into a great number of branches, all fordable. The Austrian army was drawn up on the other bank, covering the borders of the river with its balls, and keeping its fine cavalry deployed on its wings, ready to seize any opportunity for employing it on those plains so favourable to evolutions.

Bonaparte left Serrurier's division in reserve at Valvasone, and despatched Guyeux's and Bernadotte's divisions, the former to the left, facing the village of Gradisca, where the enemy was lodged; the latter to the right, facing Godroipo. The cannonade began, and some cavalry skirmishes took place on the sands. Bonaparte, finding the enemy too well prepared, feigned to give some rest to his troops, ordered the firing to cease, and directed them to begin to cook their soup. The enemy imagined that, as these divisions had marched all night, they were about to halt and to take some rest. But, at noon, Bonaparte all at once ordered them again under arms. Guyeux's division deployed on the left, Bernadotte's on the right. Battalions of grenadiers were formed. At the head of each division was placed the light infantry, ready to disperse as sharpshooters, then the grenadiers, who were to charge, and the dragoons, who were to support them. The two divisions were deployed in rear of these two advanced guards. Each demi-brigade had its first battalion deployed in line, and the two others compressed into close column on the wings of the first. The cavalry was destined to move about on the wings. The army advanced in this manner towards the banks of the river, in the same order and with the same coolness as on a parade.

General Dammartin on the left, and General Lespinasse on the right, ordered their artillery to draw up. The light infantry dispersed and covered the banks of the Tagliamento with a swarm of riflemen. Bonaparte then gave the signal. The grenadiers of the two divisions entered the water, supported by the squadrons of cavalry, and advanced to the other bank. "Soldiers of the Rhine!" exclaimed Bernadotte, "the army of Italy is watching you!" Both divisions dashed on with equal bravery. They rushed upon the enemy's army and drove it back on all sides. Prince Charles, however, had placed a strong corps of infantry at Gradisca, towards our left, and kept his cavalry towards our right wing, in order to turn and charge us by favour of the plain. General Guyeux, at the head of his division, furiously attacked Gradisca, and carried it. Bonaparte disposed his reserve cavalry towards our threatened wing, and threw it, under the command of General Dugua and Adjutant-general Kellermann, upon the Austrian cavalry. Our squadrons charged with skill and impetuosity took prisoner the general of the enemy's cavalry, and put it to the rout. Along the whole line, the Tagliamento was cleared and the enemy in flight. We made four or five hundred prisoners; the ground, being open, did not permit more to be taken.

Such was the battle of the 26th of Ventose (March 16), called the battle of the Tagliamento. While it was taking place, Massena, on the centre road, attacked Osopo, made himself master of the gorges of the Ponteba, and pushed the relics of Lusignan's and Orkscay's division upon Tarwis.

The Archduke Charles was aware that, in order to guard the Carniolc road and to cover Trieste, he must lose the road of Carinthia, which was the most direct and the shortest, and that which Bonaparte meant to follow

in marching for Vienna. The Carniola road communicates with that of Carinthia and with Mount Tarwis, by a cross-road, which runs through the valley of the Isonzo. The Archduke Charles despatched the division of Bayalitsch, by this route towards Mount Tarwis, to anticipate Massena, if possible. He retired with the rest of his forces upon the Friule, in order to dispute the passage of the Lower Isonzo.

Bonaparte followed him, and took possession of Palma-Nova, a Venetian town, which the archduke had occupied, and which contained immense magazines. He then marched upon Gradisca, a town situated in advance of the Isonzo. He arrived there on the 29th of Ventose (March 19). Bernadotte's division advanced from Gradisca, which was weakly intrenched, but guarded by three thousand men. Meanwhile, Bonaparte sent Serrurier's division a little below Gradisca, to cross the Isonzo there, and to cut off the retreat of the garrison. Bernadotte, without waiting for the result of this manœuvre, summoned the place to surrender. The commandant refused. The soldiers of the Rhine demanded permission to storm, that they might enter the town before the soldiers of Italy. They rushed upon the intrenchments, but a shower of balls and grape struck down more than five hundred of them. Fortunately, Serrurier's manœuvre put an end to the combat. The three thousand men in Gradisca laid down their arms, and gave up their colours and cannon.

Meanwhile, Massena had at last reached Mount Tarwis, and, after a very brisk action, made himself master of that pass of the Alps. The division of Bayalitsch, proceeding across the sources of the Isonzo to anticipate Massena at Tarwis, would consequently find the outlet closed. The Archduke Charles, foreseeing this result, left the rest of his army on the Friule and Carniola road, with orders to rejoin him behind the Alps at Clagenfurt. He then flew himself to Villach, where numerous detachments were arriving from the Rhine, to make a fresh attack on Tarwis, with a view to drive Massena from it and to reopen the road for the division of Bayalitsch. Bonaparte, on his side, left Bernadotte's division to pursue the corps which were retreating into Carniola, and with Guyeux's and Serrurier's divisions, proceeded to harass the division of Bayalitsch in its rear, while passing through the valley of the Isonzo.

Prince Charles, after rallying behind the Alps the wrecks of Lusignan and Orksay, who had lost Mount Tarwis, reinforced them with six thousand grenadiers, the finest and bravest soldiers in the imperial service, and again attacked Mount Tarwis, where Massena had left scarcely a detachment. He succeeded in recovering it, and established himself there with the corps of Lusignan and Orksay, and the six thousand grenadiers. Massena collected his whole division in order to regain it. Both generals were sensible of the importance of this point. Tarwis retaken, the French army would be master of the Alps, and would take the entire division of Bayalitsch. Massena rushed on headlong with his brave infantry, and paid, as usual, with his person. Prince Charles was not less sparing of himself than the republican general, and several times ran the risk of being taken by the French riflemen. Mount Tarwis is the loftiest of the Noric Alps. It overlooks Germany and Dalmatia. The combatants fought above the clouds, amidst snow, and upon plains of ice.* Whole lines of

* "The troops on both sides fought with the utmost resolution, and both commanders exposed their persons like the meanest of the soldiers; the cannon thundered above the clouds; the cavalry charged on fields of ice; the infantry struggled through drifts of

cavalry were thrown down and broken on this frightful field of battle. At length, after having brought forward his last battalion, the Archduke Charles relinquished Tarwis to his obstinate adversary, and found himself compelled to sacrifice the division of Bayalitsch. Massena, left master of Tarwis, fell upon that division as it came up, attacked it in front, while it was pressed in rear by Guyeux's and Serrurier's divisions, united under the command of Bonaparte. That division had no other resource than to surrender. A great number of soldiers, natives of Carniola and Croatia, escaped across the mountains, after throwing away their arms; but five thousand were left in the hands of the French, together with all the baggage, &c., and the artillery of the Austrian army, which had followed this route. Thus Bonaparte had reached in a fortnight the summit of the Alps, and had completely realized his object, so far as he had proceeded.

In the Tyrol, Joubert justified his confidence by fighting battles of giants. The two Generals, Laudohn and Kerpen, occupied the two banks of the Adige. Joubert had attacked and beaten them at St. Michael, killed two thousand of their men, and taken three thousand. Pursuing them without intermission upon Neumark and Tramin, and taking from them two thousand more men, he had thrown Laudohn to the left of the Adige into the valley of the Meran, and Kerpen to the right, to the foot of the Brenner. Kerpen, reinforced at Clausen by one of the two divisions coming from the Rhine, had been again beaten. He had again been reinforced, at Mittenwald, with the second division of the Rhine, had been beaten for the last time, and finally retired beyond the Brenner. Joubert, having thus swept the Tyrol, had turned to the right-about, and was marching through the Pusterthal to rejoin his general-in-chief. It was the 12th of Germinal (April 1), and already Bonaparte was master of the summit of the Alps, had taken nearly twenty thousand prisoners, was about to reunite Joubert and Massena with his principal corps, and to march with fifty thousand men for Vienna. His adversary, broken, was using his utmost exertions to rally the wrecks of his army, and to join them to the troops coming from the Rhine. Such was the result of this rapid and daring march.

But while Bonaparte was obtaining such speedy results, all that he had foreseen and apprehended on his rear was coming to pass. The Venetian provinces, agitated by the revolutionary spirit, had risen. They had thus furnished the Venetian government with a pretext for calling out considerable forces, and placing itself in a condition to crush the French army in case of reverse. The provinces on the right bank of the Mincio were most infected with this revolutionary spirit, owing to the vicinity of Lombardy. In the towns of Bergamo, Brescia, Salò, and Crema, were numbers of great families to which the yoke of the nobility of the golden book was intolerable, and which, supported by a numerous *bourgeoisie*, formed powerful parties.* By following the advice of Bonaparte, by open-

snow. At length the obstinate courage of Massena prevailed over the persevering resolution of his adversary; and the archduke was compelled to yield the possession of the blood-stained snows of Tarwis to the republican soldiers."—*Atison*. E.

* "Venice, that city of lofty remembrances—the Tyre of the middle ages—whose traders were princes, and her merchants, the honourable of the earth, fallen as she was from her former greatness, still presented some appearance of vigour. But the inhabitants of her provinces were not unanimous, especially those of the *terra firma*, or mainland, who, not being enrolled in the *golden book* of the insular nobility of Venice, were discontented, and availed themselves of the encouragement and assistance of the newly-created republics on the Po to throw off their allegiance. Brescia and Bergamo, in particular, were clamorous for independence."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

ing the pages of the golden book, by introducing some modifications into the ancient constitution, the government of Venice would have disarmed the formidable party which had sprung up in all the provinces of the mainland; but the usual blindness of all aristocracies had prevented this concession, and rendered a revolution inevitable. It is easy to determine the participation of the French in this revolution, notwithstanding all the absurdities invented by malice and repeated by stupidity. The army of Italy was composed of Southern revolutionists, that is, ardent revolutionists. In all their intercourse with Venetian subjects, it could not be otherwise than that they should communicate a similar spirit and excite revolt against the most odious of European aristocracies. But this was inevitable, and it was not in the power of the government or of the French generals to prevent it. As for the intentions of the Directory and of Bonaparte, they were clear enough. The Directory wished for the natural downfall of all the Italian governments; but it had determined not to take any active part in bringing this about; and, besides, it relied entirely on Bonaparte to conduct the political and military operations in Italy. As for Bonaparte himself, he had too much need of union, tranquillity, and friends in his rear, to think of revolutionizing Venice. An arrangement between the two parties would have suited him much better. This arrangement and our alliance being refused, he purposed to insist, at his return, on what he had not been able to obtain by gentle means. But, for the moment, he meant to do nothing. His intentions on this point were positively expressed to his government, and he had given General Kilmaine the most formal order not to take any part in political events, and to maintain tranquillity to the utmost of his power.

The towns of Bergamo and Brescia, the most agitated of the *terra firma*, had much communication with Milan. Secret revolutionary committees were everywhere formed, for the purpose of corresponding with the Milanese patriots. They solicited the aid of the latter to shake off the yoke of Venice. The victories of the French left no further doubt of the definitive expulsion of the Austrians; the patrons of the aristocracy were therefore conquered. Though the French affected neutrality, it was clear that they would not employ their arms to rivet the yoke again on the necks of people who should have thrown it off. All those, therefore, who rose in insurrection would be likely to continue free. Such was the reasoning of the Italians. The inhabitants of Bergamo, who were nearest to Milan, wrote to that city, and secretly inquired of the Milanese chiefs if they could rely upon their support, and upon the assistance of the Lombard legion commanded by Lahoz. Ottolini, podesta of Bergamo, the same faithful agent of the state inquisitors who gave money and arms to the peasants and mountaineers, had spies among the Milanese patriots; he was acquainted with the plot that was hatching, and obtained the names of the principal agents of the revolt residing at Bergamo. He lost no time in despatching a courier to Venice, to carry their names to the state inquisitors, and to cause their apprehension. The inhabitants of Bergamo, apprized of the danger, sent messengers after the bearer of the despatch, who overtook and secured him, and published the names of those of their fellow-townsmen who were compromised. This circumstance decided the explosion. On the 11th of March, at the moment when Bonaparte was marching for the Piave, the tumult began in their town. Ottolini, the podesta, issued threats, which were not attended to. The French commandant, whom Bonaparte had placed in the citadel with a garrison to watch the motions of the mountaineers of the Bergamasco, redoubled his

vigilance and reinforced all his posts. Both sides claimed his assistance. He replied that he could not interfere in the quarrels of Venetian subjects with their government, and said that the doubling of the posts was only a precaution for the safety of the place committed to his charge. In executing his orders and remaining neutral, he did a great deal for the people of Bergamo. They assembled on the following day, March 12, formed a provisional municipality, declared the town of Bergamo free, and drove away Ottolini, the podesta, who retired with the Venetian troops. They immediately sent an address to Milan to obtain the support of the Lombards. The conflagration could not fail to spread rapidly to Brescia, and to all the neighbouring cities. No sooner had the inhabitants of Bergamo asserted their freedom, than they sent a party to Brescia. The presence of these Bergamascons excited the Brescians to rise. Bataglia, the same Venetian who had given such prudent counsel in the deliberations of the senate, was podesta of Brescia. Conceiving himself unable to resist, he withdrew. The Revolution of that city took place on the 15th of March. The flame continued to spread, proceeding along the foot of the mountains. From Bergamo and Brescia it communicated to Salò, where the Revolution was accomplished in like manner by the arrival of Bergamascons and Brescians, by the retreat of the Venetian authorities, and in presence of the French garrisons, which remained neuter, and whose aspect, though they said nothing, filled the revolvers with hope. This rising of the patriotic party in the towns could not fail of course to determine the rising of the opposite party in the mountains and in the country. The mountaineers and the peasants, armed long before by Ottolini, received the signal from the Capuchins and the monks who came to preach in the hamlets. They prepared to go and sack the insurgent towns and to butcher the French, if they could. From that moment, the French generals could no longer remain inactive, although they wished to continue neuter. They were too well acquainted with the intentions of the mountaineers and of the peasants to suffer them to take up arms; and, without wishing to give support to either party, they found themselves obliged to interfere, and to quell that which entertained and proclaimed hostile intentions against themselves. Kilmaine immediately ordered General Lahoz, commanding the Lombard legion, to march towards the mountains to oppose their arming. It was not his wish any more than his duty, to throw obstacles in the way of the operations of the Venetian regular troops, if they came to act against the insurgent towns; but he could not suffer a rising, the result of which was incalculable in case of a defeat in Austria. He immediately despatched couriers to Bonaparte, and sent to hasten the march of Victor's division, which was returning from the Papal states.

The government of Venice, like all blind governments, which will not prevent danger by granting what is indispensable, was alarmed at these events, as if they had been unforeseen. It immediately despatched the troops which it had long been collecting, and marched them towards the towns on the right bank of the Mincio. At the same time, persuaded that the French were the secret influence which it was necessary to conciliate, they addressed themselves to Lallemand, the minister of France, inquiring if, in this emergency, the republic of Venice could rely on the friendship of the Directory. Lallemand's reply was simple, and dictated by his position. He declared that he had no instructions from his government for this case, which was true: but he added that, if the Venetian government would introduce into its constitution such modifications as were

required by the wants of the times, he thought that France would cheerfully support it. Lallemand could not have given any other answer; for, if France had offered her alliance to Venice against the other powers, she had never offered it to her against her own subjects; and she could not offer it to her against them, but on condition of the adoption of wise and rational principles. The great council of Venice deliberated on Lallemand's reply. It was several centuries since the proposal of a change of constitution had been publicly made. Out of two hundred votes it obtained but five. About fifty were for the adoption of energetic measures; but one hundred and eighty declared in favour of a slow, gradual reform, deferred till quieter times, that is, in favour of an evasive determination. It was resolved to send immediately two deputies to Bonaparte, to sound his intentions and to solicit his aid. One of the sages of the *terra firma*, J. B. Cornaro, and Pezaro, the well-known provveditore, whom we have seen more than once in the presence of the general, were the persons selected for this mission.

Kilmaine's couriers and the Venetian envoys reached Bonaparte at the moment when his bold manœuvres had insured to him the line of the Alps, and opened the hereditary states. He was at Gorice, settling the capitulation of Trieste. He learned with real pain the events that were occurring on his rear, and to be certain of this, it is sufficient to consider the audacity and the danger of his march upon Vienna. Besides, his despatches to the Directory attest the concern which he felt, and it shows but little judgment to assert that he did not express his real sentiments in those despatches, since he made no scruple of avowing his least creditable artifices against the Italian governments. But what could he do under such circumstances? It would not be generous in him to repress by force the party which proclaimed our principles, which welcomed, which caressed, our troops, and to give the triumph to a party which was ready, in case of a reverse, to annihilate our principles and our armies. He resolved to avail himself of this circumstance to make one more attempt to obtain from the envoys of Venice the concessions and the succours which he had not yet been able to wring from them. He received the two envoys politely, and gave them an audience on the 5th of Germinal (March 25). "For me to arm against my friends," said he, "against those who welcome us and are ready to defend us, in favour of my enemies, in favour of those who detest and would fain slaughter us, is an absolute impossibility. This base policy is as far from my heart as from my interest. Never will I lend my aid against the principles for which France has achieved her revolution, and to which I owe in part the success of my arms. But I offer you once more my friendship and my advice. Ally yourselves frankly with France; draw nearer to her principles; make modifications indispensably necessary to your constitution; then I will answer for everything, and, without employing violence, to which I cannot possibly resort, I will obtain by my influence over the people of Italy, and by the assurance of a more rational system, the restoration of order and of peace. This result would be for your own advantage as well as mine."

This language, which was sincere, and the wisdom of which needs no demonstration, was not relished by the Venetian envoys, and especially by Pezaro. This was not what they wanted. They were desirous that Bonaparte should restore the fortresses which he had occupied by way of precaution in Bergamo, Brescia, and Verona; that he should permit the arming of the fanatic party against the patriotic party, and that he should

thus allow another war like that of Vendée to be raised up against him in his rear. This was not the way to come to an arrangement. Bonaparte, whose temper was soon ruffled, abused the two deputies, and, reminding them of the proceedings of the Venetians towards the French army, declared that he was acquainted with their secret dispositions and designs; but that he was able, and that he had an army in Lombardy to watch them. The conference grew warm. They passed from these questions to that of supplies. Hitherto Venice had furnished the French army with provisions, and she had authorized Bonaparte to demand them of her by supplying the Austrian army. The Venetians wished that Bonaparte, having entered the hereditary states, should cease to be subsisted at their expense. This was not at all his intention, for he meant not to require any thing of the inhabitants of Austria, in order to conciliate them. The contractors whom Venice had secretly employed to supply the French army had ceased to do so, and the general had been obliged to levy requisitions in the Venetian states. "This is a vicious expedient," said Bonaparte; "it vexes the inhabitant, and affords occasion for abominable peculations; this campaign will not be a long one; give me a million per month while it lasts; the French republic will afterwards settle with you, and will feel more obliged for this million than for all the harm which you sustain from the requisitions. Besides, you have fed all my enemies, you have afforded them an asylum, you owe me reciprocity." The two envoys replied that the treasury was ruined. "If it is ruined," answered Bonaparte, "take money out of the treasury of the Duke of Modena, whom you have harboured to the detriment of my allies, the Modenese; take it from the property of the English, of the Russians, of the Austrians, of any of my enemies, deposited with you." The parties separated in an ill-humour.

A fresh interview took place on the following day.* Bonaparte, in a calm mood, repeated all his proposals; but Pezaro did nothing to satisfy him, and merely promised to inform the senate of all his demands. Bonaparte, whose irritation began to break forth, then grasped the arm of Pezaro, and said, "I assure you that I am aware of your intentions; I know what you are preparing for me; but beware! If, while I am

* The following is the account of this interview given by Napoleon himself, when at St. Helena, to Las Cases.

"Have I kept my word?" said Napoleon. "The Venetian territory is covered with my troops; the Germans are flying before me; I shall be in Germany in a few days. What does your republic desire? I have offered her the alliance of France; does she accept it?"—"No," said Pezaro, "Venice rejoices in your triumphs; she knows well that she can only exist by means of France; but, constant to her ancient wise policy, she wishes to remain neutral. Besides, what good could we do you? Under Louis XII. or Francis I. we were of some weight in the scale of battle; but now, with such immense armies, with whole populations under arms, what value can you set on our assistance?"—"But do you still continue your armaments?"—"We must do so," said Pezaro. Brescia and Bergamo have raised the standard of rebellion. Our faithful subjects are threatened at Crema, Chiari, and Verona; Venice itself is disturbed!"—"Well," replied the French general, "are not these additional reasons for accepting the proposals I have made you? They would put an end to all these troubles. But your fate hurries you on; reflect, however; it is a more decisive moment for your republic than you think. I leave a greater force in Italy, than would suffice to subject you; I am quitting Italy to penetrate deep into Germany; if there should be troubles in my rear, through your fault,—if my soldiers should be insulted through your exciting your troops against the Jacobins; that which would have been no crime while I remained in Italy will be an unpardonable one when I am in Germany; your republic would cease to exist; you would have pronounced its condemnation. If I have reason to complain of you, whether I am victorious or defeated, I will make peace at your expense." Pezaro, of course, made many protestations and excuses, and then took his leave. E.

engaged in a distant enterprise, you murder my sick, if you attack my depots, if you threaten my retreat, you will have decided your ruin. What I might forgive while in Italy, would be an unpardonable crime while I am engaged in Austria. If you take up arms, you decide either my ruin or your own. Think of this, and do not hazard the infirm lion of St. Mark against the fortune of an army which would find in its depots and its hospitals wherewithal to cross your lagoons and to destroy you." This energetic language frightened, without convincing, the Venetian envoys, who immediately communicated the result of this conference. Bonaparte also wrote immediately to Kilmaine, ordering him to exercise redoubled vigilance in punishing the French commandants if they overstepped the bounds of neutrality, and to disarm all the mountaineers and peasants.

Events had advanced so far that it was impossible for them to stop. The insurrection of Bergamo had taken place on the 22d of Ventose (March 12); that of Brescia on the 27th (March 17); that of Salo on the 4th of Germinal (March 24). On the 8th of Germinal (March 28), the town of Crema effected its revolution, and the French troops found themselves forcibly implicated in it. A detachment which preceded Victor's division, returning to Lombardy, presented itself at the gates of Crema. It was in a moment of agitation. The sight of the French troops could not fail to increase the hopes and the boldness of the patriots. The Venetian podesta, who was frightened, at first refused admission to the French; he then introduced forty of them, who made themselves masters of the gates of the town, and opened them to the rest of the French troops that followed. The inhabitants seized the opportunity, rose, and drove away the Venetian podesta. The French had done this merely to open themselves a passage; the patriots took advantage of it to rise. When such dispositions exist, everything becomes a cause, and the most involuntary circumstances have results which lead to inferences of collusion where there is none whatever. Such was the situation of the French, who, it is true, individually wished well to the revolution, but who officially observed neutrality.

The mountaineers and the peasants overran the country, excited by the agents of Venice and by the sermons of the Capuchins. The Slavonian regiments, landed from the lagoons upon *terra firma*, advanced towards the insurgent towns. Kilmaine had issued orders, and set in motion the Lombard legion to disarm the peasants. Several skirmishes had already taken place; villages had been burned, and peasants seized and disarmed. But the latter, on their part, began to sack the towns, and to slaughter the French, whom they designated by the name of Jacobins. They had even already murdered, in a horrible manner, all those whom they met with singly. They first effected a counter-revolution at Salo. A body of the inhabitants of Bergamo and Brescia, supported by a detachment of the Poles of the Lombard legion, immediately marched upon Salo to expel the mountaineers. But some persons sent to parley were enticed into the town and put to death. The detachment was surrounded and beaten. Two hundred Poles were taken prisoners and sent to Venice. The known partisans of the French were seized at Salo, at Verona, and in all the Venetian towns; they were confined under the leads, and the state inquisitors, emboldened by this paltry success, showed a disposition to take cruel vengeance. It is asserted that it was forbidden to cleanse the canal of Orfano, which was appropriated, as it is well known, to the horrible purpose of drowning prisoners of state. The government of Venice,

however, while preparing to exercise the utmost rigour, strove to deceive General Bonaparte by acts of apparent compliance, and granted the million per month which he had demanded. The French, nevertheless, continued to be murdered wherever they were found. Their situation became extremely critical; and Kilmaine despatched fresh couriers to Bonaparte. The latter, when apprized of the battles fought by the mountaineers, the events at Salo, where two hundred Poles had been made prisoners, the confinement of all the partisans of France, and the murders committed upon the French, was filled with rage. He immediately sent a thundering letter to the senate, in which he recapitulated all his grievances, and insisted on the disarming of the mountaineers, and the liberation of the Polish prisoners and of the Venetian subjects imprisoned under the leads. He charged Junot to carry this letter and to read it to the senate, and ordered Lallemant, the minister, to quit Venice immediately and to declare war against it, if all the satisfaction demanded were not granted.*

Meanwhile, he descended at a giant's pace from the summit of the Noric Alps into the valley of the Mur. His principal hope, in this rash march, was that the armies of the Rhine would speedily take the field, and soon arrive upon the Danube. But he received a despatch from the Directory, which took from him all hope of this kind. The distress of the treasury was so great that it could not furnish General Moreau with the few hundred thousand francs which he needed for procuring a bridge equipage and crossing the Rhine. Hoche's army, which had two bridges, and which was quite ready, desired to march, but the government durst not risk it alone beyond the Rhine, while Moreau remained on this side of it. Carnot, in his despatch, even exaggerated the obstacles which were likely to retard the opening of the campaign by the armies of Germany, and left Bonaparte no hope of being supported. The general was extremely disconcerted by this letter. He possessed a warm imagination, and he passed from extreme confidence to extreme distrust. He fancied either that the Directory wished for the destruction of the army of Italy and of its commander, or that the other generals would not second him. He wrote a bitter letter respecting the conduct of the armies of the Rhine. He said that a line of water never was an obstacle, and that his conduct was a proof of this; that when one was determined to cross a river, one could always do it; that when men made a point of never risking their glory, they sometimes lost it; that he had crossed the Alps over snow and ice three feet deep, and that if he had calculated, like his colleagues, he would not have dared to attempt it; that, if the soldiers of the Rhine left the army of Italy exposed by itself in Germany, *they could not have any blood in their veins*; that, for the rest, that brave army, if it were abandoned, would fall back, and Europe would be judge between it and the other armies of the republic. Like all passionate and proud men, Bonaparte was fond of complaining and of exaggerating the subject of his complaints. Whatever he might say, he had no thought either of retiring or of stopping, but of striking terror into Austria by a rapid march and of forcing her to consent to peace. Many circumstances favoured

"Napoleon sent his aide-de-camp, Junot, with a menacing letter to the senate, in which he threatened them with the whole weight of republican vengeance, if they did not instantly liberate the Polish and French prisoners, surrender to him the authors of the hostilities, and disband all their armaments. Junot was received by the senate, to whom he read the thundering letter of Napoleon; but they prevailed on him to suspend his threats; and despatched two senators to the republican head-quarters, to endeavour to bring matters to an accommodation."—*Atison*. E.

this design. Terror pervaded Vienna; the court was inclined to treat. Prince Charles strongly advised that course. The ministry alone, devoted to England, still held out. The conditions prescribed to Clarke, and which were anterior to Arcole and Rivoli, were so moderate that it would be easy to obtain the adhesion of Austria to those conditions, and even to much harder. When joined by Joubert and Massena, Bonaparte would have forty-five or fifty thousand men under his command; and with such a force he was not afraid of a general battle, whatever might be the power of the enemy. For all these reasons, he resolved to make an overture to Prince Charles, and, if he received no answer, to fall upon him with impetuosity, and to strike so sudden and so violent a blow, that Austria would no longer reject his offers. What glory for him, if, alone, unsupported, having penetrated into Austria by so extraordinary a route, he should impose peace upon the emperor!

He was at Klagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia, on the 11th of Germinal (March 31). Joubert, on his left, was completing his movement, and on the point of rejoining him. Bernadotte, whom he had detached by the Carniola road, had taken possession of Trieste, of the rich mines of Idria, and of the Austrian magazines, and was returning by way of Laybach and Klagenfurt. On the same day, the 11th (March 31), he wrote a memorable letter to the Archduke Charles. "General-in-chief," said he, "brave soldiers make war and desire peace. Has not this war lasted six years? Have we not slain men enough, and inflicted calamities enough on suffering humanity? It cries out on all sides. Europe, which had taken up arms against the French republic, has laid them down. Your nation alone is left, and yet blood is about to be spilt more abundantly than ever. This sixth campaign is announced by sinister omens. Be its issue what it may, we shall kill on either side some thousand men, and we must come to an arrangement at last, since everything has an end, not excepting even the passion of hatred.

"The Executive Directory of the French republic communicated to his majesty the emperor its desire to put an end to the war which afflicts both nations. The intervention of the court of London has opposed this wish. Is there then no hope of an arrangement; and must we continue to slaughter one another for the interests and the passions of a nation which knows nothing of the calamities of a war? You, general, who are by birth so near to the throne, and above all the petty passions which so frequently actuate ministers and governments, are you determined to merit the title of benefactor of the whole human race, and of the real saviour of Germany? Imagine not, general, that I mean by this that it is not possible to save her by force of arms; but, even supposing that the chances of war turn in your favour, Germany will not on that account be the less ravaged. As for me, general, if the overture which I have the honour to make to you can save the life of a single man, I shall be the prouder of the civic crown, which I shall feel that I have deserved, than of the melancholy glory which can result from military successes."

The Archduke Charles could not accede to this overture, for the Aulic Council had not yet come to any determination. At Vienna, the valuable effects of the crown and papers of importance were shipped on the Danube and the young archdukes and archduchesses were sent to Hungary. The court prepared, in case of extremity, to quit the capital. The archduke replied to general Bonaparte that he wished for peace as much as he could, but that he had no authority to treat, and that he must address himself

directly to Vienna.* Bonaparte advanced rapidly across the mountains of Carinthia, and, in the morning of the 12th of Germinal (April 1), pursued the enemy's rear-guard upon St. Veith and Freisach, and overthrew it. In the afternoon of the same day, he encountered the archduke, who had taken position in advance of the narrow gorges of Neumark, with the remains of his army of Friule, and with four divisions from the Rhine, those of Kaim, Mercantin, and the Prince of Orange, and the reserve of grenadiers. A furious battle ensued in these gorges. Massena had again all the honour of it. The soldiers of the Rhine challenged the old soldiers of the army of Italy. They tried which could advance the quickest and the farthest. After an obstinate action, in which the archduke lost three thousand men on the field of battle and twelve hundred prisoners, everything was carried at the point of the bayonet, and the gorges were taken. On the following day, Bonaparte marched without intermission from Neumark upon Unzmark. Between these two points terminated the cross-road connecting the high-road of the Tyrol with that of Carinthia. It was by this road that Kerpen was coming, pursued by Joubert. The archduke, wishing to gain time for Kerpen to rejoin him, proposed a suspension of arms, that, as he said, he might take into consideration the letter of the 11th (March 31). Bonaparte replied that they could negotiate and fight at the same time, and continued his march. On the following day, the 14th (April 3), another severe action took place at Unzmark, where he took fifteen hundred prisoners; he then entered Knittelfeld, and found no further obstacle as far as Leoben. The advanced guard entered that place on the 18th of Germinal (April 7). Kerpen had made a great circuit to rejoin the archduke, and Joubert had given the hand to the principal army.

On the very day that Bonaparte entered Leoben, Lieutenant-general Bellegarde, and Major-general Meerfeld arrived at the head-quarters, and desired a suspension of arms for ten days in the name of the emperor, who was intimidated by the rapid march of the French. Bonaparte was aware that a suspension of arms for ten days would give the archduke time to receive the last reinforcements from the Rhine, to rally all the detached portions of his army, and to take breath. But he himself had great need to do so, and he would be a gainer on his side by the junction of Bernadotte and Joubert. Besides he believed that there was a sincere desire to treat, and he granted a suspension of arms for five days, to allow plenipotentiaries time to arrive and to sign preliminaries. The convention was signed on the 18th (April 7), and was to last only till the 23d (April 12). He fixed his head-quarters at Leoben, and pushed forward Massena's advanced guard upon Simmering, the last height of the Noric Alps, which is twenty-five leagues distant from Vienna, and whence the steeples of that capital may be discerned. He issued a proclamation to the inhabitants to satisfy them respecting his intentions, and he added deeds to words, for nothing was taken without being paid for by the army.

Bonaparte awaited the expiration of the five days, ready to strike a fresh

* "Unquestionably, sir, said the archduke, in his reply, I desire as much as you, the attainment of peace for the happiness of the people and of humanity. Considering, however, that in the situation which I hold, it is no part of my business to inquire into and determine the quarrel of the belligerent powers; and that I am not furnished, on the part of the emperor, with any plenipotentiary powers for treating, you will excuse me, general, if I do not enter into negotiation with you touching a matter of the highest importance, but which does not lie within my department. Whatever shall happen, either respecting the future chances of the war, or the prospect of peace, I request you to be equally convinced of my distinguished esteem."—*Montholon*. E.

blow, and to increase the consternation of the imperial court, if it was not yet sufficiently frightened. But there was every disposition at Vienna to put an end to this long and cruel struggle, which had lasted five years, and in which torrents of blood had been spilt. The English party in the ministry had entirely lost its influence. Thigut was on the point of falling into disgrace. The people of Vienna loudly demanded peace; the Archduke Charles himself, the hero of Austria, recommended it, and declared that the empire could no longer be saved by arms. The emperor inclined to this opinion. At length, a determination was taken; and Count de Meerfeld, and the Marquis de Gallo, ambassador of Naples at Vienna, were immediately despatched to Leoben. The latter was chosen through the influence of the empress, who was the daughter of the Queen of Naples, and who interfered much in public affairs. Their instructions were to sign preliminaries which should serve as a basis for afterwards negotiating a definitive peace. They arrived on the morning of the 24th of Germinal (April 13), at the moment when the truce had expired, and Bonaparte was preparing to attack the advanced posts. They declared that they had full powers to settle the basis of peace. A garden in the vicinity of Leoben was declared neutral ground, and the negotiations were carried on amidst the bivouacs of the French army. The young general, who had all at once become a negotiator, had not served a diplomatic apprenticeship; but for a year past he had had to treat of the most important affairs that can be discussed in this world. He had acquired a celebrity which made him the most distinguished character of his times, and the language he used was as striking. He formed, therefore, a glorious representative of the French republic. He had no commission to negotiate. It was Clarke who was invested with all the powers for that purpose, and Clarke, whom he had sent for, had not yet arrived at the head-quarters. But he might consider the preliminaries of peace as an armistice, and this was within the powers of generals; besides it was certain that Clarke would sign all that he desired to have done: he therefore entered immediately into negotiation. The chief concern of the emperor and of his envoys was for the settlement of etiquette. According to ancient custom, the emperor had the honour of precedence before the kings of France; he was always named first in the preamble of treaties; and his ambassadors had precedence of the French ambassadors. He was the only sovereign to whom this honour was conceded by France. The emperor's two envoys immediately consented to acknowledge the French republic, if the ancient etiquette were maintained. "The French republic," proudly replied Bonaparte, "has no need to be acknowledged; it is in Europe like the sun above the horizon: so much the worse for those blind wretches who can neither see nor profit by it." * He refused the article of acknowledgment. As for etiquette, he declared that such matters were quite indifferent to the republic; that they might settle that point with the Directory, which would probably not object to sacrifice such interests to real advantages; that for the moment, they would treat on a footing of equality; and that France and the emperor should by turns have the precedence.

They then proceeded to the consideration of the essential questions. The first and most important article was the cession of the Belgic provinces

* "This was gallantly spoken; but how strange to reflect, that the same individual, in three or four years afterwards, was able to place an extinguisher on this sun of the republic, without even an eclipse being the consequence!"—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E

to France. Austria could no longer entertain any intention of refusing them. It was first agreed that the emperor should cede to France all the Belgic provinces; that, moreover, he should consent, as a member of the Germanic empire, to the extension of the limits of France to the Rhine. The point was to find indemnities, and the emperor had required sufficient indemnities to be procured for him either in Germany or in Italy. There were two ways of procuring them for him in Germany, either by giving him Bavaria, or by secularizing several ecclesiastical states of the empire. The first plan had more than once engaged the attention of European diplomacy. The second originated with Rewbel, who had devised this expedient as the most convenient, and the most conformable with the spirit of the Revolution. In fact, it was no longer the time for bishops to be temporal sovereigns, and it was ingenious to make the ecclesiastical power pay for the aggrandizements which the French republic was to receive. But the aggrandizements of the emperor in Germany would scarcely have obtained the assent of Prussia. Besides, if Bavaria were given to him, it would be necessary to find indemnities for the prince to whom it belonged. Lastly, the states of Germany being under the immediate influence of the emperor, he would not gain much by acquiring them, and he far preferred aggrandizements in Italy, which would really add new territories to his power. It was therefore requisite to think of seeking indemnities in Italy.

Had the French general consented to the immediate restoration to the emperor of Lombardy which he had lost; had he engaged to maintain the republic of Venice in its present state, and not to bring democracy to the frontiers of the Alps; he would instantly have consented to the peace, and acknowledged the Cispadane republic, composed of the duchy of Modena, the two legations, and La Romagna. But to replace Lombardy under the yoke of Austria—Lombardy, which had shown such attachment to the French, which had made such efforts and such sacrifices for them, and whose principal inhabitants were so deeply compromised—would be an odious act and a weakness; for our situation allowed us to require more. It behoved us then to insure the independence of Lombardy, and to seek in Italy such indemnities as would compensate Austria for the twofold loss of Belgium and of Lombardy. There was a very simple arrangement which had more than once occurred to European diplomatists, which had more than once been a subject of hope to Austria and of fear to Venice; this was, to indemnify Austria with the Venetian states. The Illyrian provinces, Istria, and the whole of Upper Italy, from the Isonzo to the Oglio, formed rich possessions, and were capable of furnishing ample indemnities for Austria. The manner in which the Venetian aristocracy had conducted itself towards France, its constant refusals to ally itself with her, its secret armaments, the evident object of which was to fall upon the French in case of a reverse, the recent rising of the mountaineers and peasants, and the murder of Frenchmen, had filled Bonaparte with indignation. Besides, if the emperor, for whom Venice had secretly armed, accepted her spoils, Bonaparte, against whom she had set on foot those armaments, could not have any scruple to cede them. For the rest, there would yet be indemnities left to offer to Venice. There were Lombardy, the duchy of Modena, the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, and La Romagna, rich and extensive provinces, part of which formed the Cispadane republic. Venice might be indemnified with some of these provinces. This arrangement appeared the most suitable; and here was for the first time laid down the principle of

indemnifying Austria with the provinces of Venice on the *terra firma*, and compensating Venice with other Italian provinces.

The plan was referred to Vienna, from which the negotiators were scarcely twenty-five leagues distant. This kind of indemnity was accepted; the preliminaries of peace were immediately settled and formed into articles, which were to serve as the basis of a definitive negotiation. The emperor ceded to France all his possessions in the Netherlands, and consented, as a member of the Empire, that the republic should acquire the boundary of the Rhine. He renounced Lombardy also. As an indemnification for these sacrifices, he was to receive the Venetian territories on *terra firma*, Illyria, Istria, and Upper Italy as far as the Oglio. Venice was to remain independent, to retain the Ionian islands, and to receive compensations taken from the provinces at the disposal of France. The emperor acknowledged the republics which were about to be founded in Italy. The French army was to retire from the Austrian states, and to take up its quarters on the frontiers of those states; that is, it was to evacuate Carinthia and Carniola, and to place itself on the Isonzo and at the outlets of the Tyrol. All the arrangements relative to the Venetian provinces and government, were to be made in concert with Austria. Two congresses were to be opened, one at Berne for the separate peace with the emperor, the other in a city of Germany for the peace with the Empire. The peace with the emperor was to be concluded in three months, upon pain of nullity of the preliminaries.* Austria had another strong reason for hastening the conclusion of the definitive treaty, namely, that she might take possession as speedily as possible of the Venetian provinces, so that the French might not have time to propagate revolutionary ideas there.

Bonaparte's plan was to dismember the Cispadane republic, composed of the duchy of Modena, the two legations, and the Romagna; to unite the duchy of Modena with Lombardy, and to form with them a single republic, having Milan for its capital, and to be called the Cisalpine republic, from its situation with respect to the Alps. He then purposed giving the two legations and La Romagna to Venice, taking care to humble its aristocracy and to modify its constitution. Thus there would be in Italy two republics allied with France, owing their existence to her and disposed to concur in her plans. The Cisalpine would have for its frontier the Oglio, which it would be easy to intrench. It would not possess Mantua, which, with the Mantuan, would continue to belong to the emperor, but Pizzighitone on the Adda might be made a first-rate fortress; and the walls of Bergamo and Crema might be rebuilt. The republic of Venice with her islands, with the Dogado and the Polesino, which Bonaparte would strive to preserve for her, with the two legations and the Romagna, which were to be given to her with the province of Massa-Carrara, and the Gulf of Spezzia, which was to be annexed to her territory in the Mediterranean, would be a maritime power, bordering at once upon two seas.

* "On the 27th of April, the Marquis de Gallo presented the preliminaries, ratified by the emperor, to Napoleon at Gratz. It was in one of those conferences that one of the plenipotentiaries, authorized by an autograph letter of the emperor, offered Napoleon, to procure him, on the conclusion of a peace, a sovereignty of two hundred and fifty thousand souls in Germany, for himself and his family, in order to place him beyond the reach of republican ingratitude. The general smiled; he desired the plenipotentiary to thank the emperor for this proof of the interest he took in his welfare, and said that he wished for no greatness nor riches, unless conferred on him by the French people"—*Montholon*. E.

It may be asked why Bonaparte did not avail himself of his position to exclude the Austrians entirely from Italy; why, above all, he indemnified them at the expense of a neutral power, and by an outrage similar to the partition of Poland. In the first place, was it possible entirely to emancipate Italy? Would it not have been requisite to convulse Europe once more, in order to make it consent to the overthrow of the Pope, of the King of Sardinia, of the Grand-duke of Tuscany, of the Bourbons of Naples, and of the Duke of Parma? Was the French republic capable of the efforts which such an enterprise would have demanded? Was it not achieving a great deal to have sown in this campaign the seeds of liberty, by constituting two republics, whence she could not fail soon to extend herself to the farthest extremity of the Peninsula? The partition of the Venetian states had no resemblance to that celebrated enormity with which Europe has so frequently been reproached. Poland was partitioned by the very powers which had urged her to rise, and which had promised her their assistance. Venice, to whom the French had sincerely offered their friendship, had refused it, and prepared to betray them, and to surprise them in a moment of danger. If she had reason to complain, it was of the Austrians, for whose benefit she intended to betray the French. Poland was a state whose limits were distinctly marked on the map of Europe, whose independence was in a manner commanded by Nature, and was of importance to the quiet of the West; whose constitution, though vicious, was generous; whose citizens, though unworthily betrayed, had exhibited a noble courage, and deserved the interest of civilized nations. Venice, on the contrary, had no natural territory but her lagoons, for her power had never resided in her possessions on the mainland; she was not destroyed because some of her provinces were exchanged for others; her constitution was the most unjust in Europe; her government was abhorred by her subjects; her perfidy and her cowardice gave her no claim to interest or to existence. Nothing, then, in the partition of the Venetian states could be compared with the partition of Poland, unless it were the conduct of Austria.

Besides, it was impossible to avoid giving such indemnities to the Austrians, without expelling them from Italy, and this could only be done by treating in Vienna itself. But for this the concurrence of the armies of the Rhine would have been requisite; and Bonaparte had received intimation that they could not take the field in less than a month. He would have had no alternative in this situation but to fall back, to await their taking the field; and this course would have been liable to many inconveniences, for it would have given time to the archduke to prepare a formidable army against him, and to Hungary to rise *en masse* and fall upon his flanks. Moreover, he would have been obliged to fall back, and almost to confess the rashness of his march. In accepting the preliminaries, he had the honour of extorting peace single-handed; he reaped the fruit of his very daring march; he obtained conditions which, in the situation of Europe, were extremely brilliant, and much more advantageous than those which had been specified for Clarke, since they stipulated for the line of the Rhine and the Alps, and for a republic in Italy. Thus, partly for political and military reasons, partly from personal considerations, he determined to sign the preliminaries. Clarke had not yet arrived at the headquarters. With his accustomed boldness and the assurance inspired by his glory, his name, and the general wish for peace, Bonaparte overstepped his powers, and signed the preliminaries, as though they had related to a mere

armistice. The signature was given at Leoben, on the 29th of Germinal, year V (April 18, 1797).

Had he known at the moment what was passing on the Rhine, he would not have been in such haste to sign the preliminaries of Leoben; but he knew no more than had been intimated to him, and it had been intimated to him, that the inaction would be long. He immediately sent off Massena to carry the preliminaries to Paris. This brave general was the only one whom he had not sent to carry colours, and to receive the honours of triumph. Bonaparte deemed this a fine opportunity for sending him, and one that was worthy of the important services which he had rendered. He also despatched couriers to the armies of the Rhine and of the Sambre and Meuse, who travelled through Germany, in order to arrive the sooner, and to put an end to all hostilities if they had commenced.

They had, in fact, begun at the very moment of the signature of the preliminaries. Hoche, long impatient to enter into action, was incessantly demanding permission to commence hostilities. Moreau had hastened to Paris, to solicit the funds necessary for the purchase of a bridge equipage. Orders were at length issued. Hoche, at the head of his fine army, debouched by Neuwied, while Championnet, with the right wing debouched by Düsseldorf, and marched upon Uckerath and Altenkirchen. Hoche attacked the Austrians at Heddersdorf, where they had thrown up considerable intrenchments, killed a great number of them, and took five thousand prisoners. After this brilliant action, he advanced rapidly upon Frankfort, always beating Kray, and striving to cut off his retreat. He was on the point of enveloping him by a skilful manœuvre, and perhaps of taking him, when Bonaparte's courier arrived, with the news of the signature of the preliminaries. This circumstance stopped Hoche amidst his victorious march, and caused him deep mortification, for he once more saw himself stopped short in his career. If the couriers had but been sent first to Paris, he should have had time to take Kray and his whole corps, which would have added a glorious exploit to his life, and had the greatest influence on the subsequent negotiations. While Hoche was advancing thus rapidly upon the Nidda, Desaix, who had been authorized by Moreau to cross the Rhine, attempted one of the boldest actions recorded in the history of the war. He had chosen a point much lower down than Strasburg for crossing the Rhine. After grounding, with his troops, upon an island of gravel, he had at length landed on the opposite bank. There he had remained for twenty-four hours, liable to be thrown into the Rhine, and obliged to struggle against the whole Austrian army, in order to maintain himself in copes and marshes, till a bridge should be thrown across the river. At length the passage was effected; the Austrians had been pursued into the Black Mountains, and part of their baggage taken. Here, also, the army was stopped amidst its success, by the courier from Leoben; and there was reason to regret that the false statements sent to Bonaparte should have induced him to sign so soon.

The couriers then went forward to Paris, where the news gave great joy to those who wished for peace, but not to the Directory, which, deeming our situation formidable, was disappointed to see that it had not been turned to a more profitable account. Lareveillère and Rewbel desired, as philosophers, the entire emancipation of Italy; Barras, like a fiery revolutionist, wished that the republic should humble the powers; Carnot, who, for some time past, affected moderation, who, in general, supported the

views of the opposition, approved of the peace, and asserted that, in order to obtain a durable peace, it was requisite that the emperor should not be humbled too much. Warm discussions on the subject of the preliminaries took place in the Directory; nevertheless, in order not to excite too much dissatisfaction in the public mind and not to appear to make everlasting war, it was decided that the bases fixed at Leoben should be approved of.

During these occurrences on the Rhine and in France, important events were breaking forth in Italy. We have seen that Bonaparte, apprized of the disturbances prevailing in the Venetian states, of the rising of the mountaineers against the towns, of the check of the Brescians before Salò, of the capture of the two hundred Poles, of the murder of a great number of Frenchmen, and of the imprisonment of all their partisans, had written at Leoben a furious letter to the senate of Venice. He had ordered Junot, his aide-de-camp, to read it himself to the senate, then to demand the liberation of all the prisoners, and the search after and the delivery to the French of the murderers; and he had instructed him to cause a declaration of war to be posted up and to quit Venice immediately, if complete satisfaction were not given. Junot was introduced to the senate on the 26th of Germinal (April 15). He read the threatening letter of his general, and he behaved with all the rudeness of a soldier, and of a victorious soldier.* He was assured that the armaments which had taken place had no other object than to maintain subordination in the territories of the republic; that, if murders had been committed, it was an involuntary misfortune which should be repaired. Junot would not be put off with empty words. He threatened to post up the declaration of war if the state prisoners and the Poles were not set at liberty, and if orders were not issued to disarm the mountaineers, and to search after the perpetrators of all the murders. However, the efforts made to pacify him at length succeeded, and it was settled with him, and the French minister, Lallemand, that the senate should write to General Bonaparte, and send two deputies to arrange with him as to the satisfaction upon which he meant to insist. The two deputies appointed were Francis Donat and Leopold Justiniani.

Meanwhile the agitation in the Venetian territories continued. The towns were still in hostility with the population of the country and of the mountains. The agents of the aristocratic and monkish party circulated the falsest reports relative to the state of the French army in Austria. They asserted that it was surrounded and destroyed, and they appealed to two facts as authorizing their false rumours. Bonaparte, in drawing to him the two corps of Joubert and Bernadotte, which he had ordered to march, the one through the Tyrol, the other through Carniola, had uncovered his wings. Joubert had beaten and driven Kerpen beyond the Alps; but he had left Laudohn in a part of the Tyrol, whence the latter had soon issued again, raising the whole loyal population of those mountains, and descending the Adige to march upon Verona. General Servier, left with twelve hundred men to guard the Tyrol, retired foot by foot upon Verona, to seek refuge with the French troops remaining in Upper Italy. At the same time, a corps of similar strength, left in Carniola, retired before the Croats, who had risen like the Tyrolese, and fell back upon Palma Nova. These were unimportant occurrences, and Lallemand, the French minister, strove

* "Junot, introduced into the senate, made the threats of his master ring in the astounded ears of the members, and, by the blunt and rough manner of a soldier who had risen from the ranks, added to the dismay of the trembling nobles."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

to demonstrate their insignificance to the government of Venice, in order to spare it fresh imprudences; but all these arguments were useless, and while Bonaparte was obliging the Austrian plenipotentiaries to come to his head-quarters to treat, it was reported in the territory of Venice that he was beaten, surrounded, and must inevitably perish in his mad expedition. The party hostile to the French and to the Revolution, at the head of which were several members of the Venetian government, though the government itself did not appear to belong to it, was in higher spirits than ever. At Verona, in particular, the agitation was most violent. This was the most important city in the Venetian states; it was the first exposed to the revolutionary contagion, for it stood next to Salò upon the line of the insurgent towns. The Venetians were anxious to save it, and to expel the French from it. To this attempt they were encouraged as well by the disposition of the inhabitants, as by the concourse of the mountaineers and the approach of General Laudohn. There were already in the city Italian and Slavonian troops in the service of Venice. More were sent, and very soon all the communications with the neighbouring towns were intercepted. General Balland, who commanded at Verona, found himself separated from the other commandants posted in the environs. More than twenty thousand mountaineers inundated the country. The French detachments were attacked on the roads; Capuchins preached to the populace in the streets, and a false manifesto of the podesta of Verona, was circulated, encouraging the people to slaughter the French.* The name of Bataglia, subscribed to this manifesto, was sufficient to prove it to be a forgery; nevertheless, it could not fail to contribute to inflame people's minds. At length a message was sent by the chiefs of the party in Verona to inform General Laudohn that he might approach, and that the place should be delivered up to him. It was on the 26th and 27th of Germinal (April 15 and 16), that all these circumstances occurred. No accounts had arrived from Leoben, and the moment actually appeared most seasonable for an explosion.

General Balland kept upon his guard. He had given his troops orders to retire into the forts on the first signal. He complained to the Venetian authorities of the treatment experienced by the French, and particularly of the preparations which he saw making; but he obtained only evasive replies, and no real satisfaction. He wrote to Mantua and to Milan, demanding succours, and was in readiness to shut himself up any moment in the

* "I arrived in the Venetian territory at the moment when the insurrection against the French was on the eve of breaking out. Thousands of peasants were instigated to rise, under the pretext of appeasing the troubles of Bergamo and Brescia. I passed through Verona on the 16th of April, the eve of the signature of the preliminaries of Leoben, and of the revolt of Verona. Easter Sunday was the day which the priests selected for preaching that it was lawful, and even meritorious, to kill Jacobins. 'Death to all Frenchmen!' was their rallying-cry. After stopping two hours at Verona, I proceeded on my journey, without being aware of the massacre which threatened that city. When about a league from the town, however, I was stopped by a party of insurgents on their way thither, consisting of about two thousand men. They only desired me to cry 'Long live St. Mark!' an order with which I speedily complied, and passed on. What would have become of me had I been in Verona on the Monday? On that terrible day the bells were rung while the French were butchered in the hospitals. Every one met in the streets was put to death. The priests headed the assassins. On the very day of the insurrection of Verona some Frenchmen were assassinated between that city and Vicenza, through which I had passed on the day before without danger; and scarcely had I passed through Padua, when I learned that others had been massacred there. Thus the assassinations travelled as rapidly as the post."—*Bourvienné*. E.

forts. On the 29th of Germinal (April 17), which was Easter Monday, an extraordinary agitation took place in Verona; bands of peasants entered, shouting "Death to the Jacobins!" Balland withdrew his troops into the forts, left only detachments at the gates, and gave notice that on the first act of violence, he would fire upon the city. But about noon whistlings were heard in the streets: the people fell upon the French; armed bands attacked the detachments left to guard the gates, and butchered those who had not time to regain the forts. Ferocious murderers threw themselves upon the French who were detained by their functions in Verona, stabbed them with poniards, and threw them into the Adige. They did not even spare the hospitals, and imbrued their hands in the blood of part of the sick.* Meanwhile, those who could get away, but had not time to run to the forts, fled to the government-house, where the Venetian authorities afforded them an asylum, that the massacre might not appear to be their work. Already more than four hundred unfortunate persons had perished, and the French garrison shuddered with rage at seeing the French slaughtered, and their bodies floating at a distance upon the Adige. General Balland immediately issued orders to fire, and covered the city with balls. He had it in his power to reduce it to ashes. But if the mountaineers who had entered concerned themselves but little about this, the inhabitants and the Venetian magistrates resolved to parley in order to save their city. They sent a flag of truce to General Balland, to confer with him, and to prevent the disaster. General Balland consented to a parley, with a view to save the unhappy individuals who had taken refuge in the palace of the government, and upon whom the Veronese threatened to revenge all the damage done to the city. Among the number were women and children belonging to the officers of the civil administrations, and sick escaped from the hospitals; and it was of importance to extricate them from the danger. Balland insisted that they should be delivered up to him immediately, that the mountaineers and the Sclavonian regiments should be sent away, that the populace should be disarmed, and that some of the Venetian magistrates should be given him as hostages and guarantees for the submission of the city. The messengers desired that an officer might be sent to the palace of the government to treat. The brave *chef de brigade*, Beaupoil, had the courage to accept this mission. Passing through the waves of a furious populace, which would fain have torn him in pieces, he at length reached the Venetian authorities. The whole night was passed in vain discussions with the provveditore and the podesta, without coming to any arrangement. They would not disarm, they would not give hostages, they wanted guarantees against the vengeance that General Bonaparte would otherwise not fail to take on the rebellious city. But, during this parley, the agreement not to fire while the conference lasted, was not observed by the ferocious hordes which had taken possession of Verona: they exchanged a fire of musketry with the forts, and our troops made sorties. Next morning, the 29th of Germinal (April 18), Beaupoil returned to the forts, amidst the most imminent dangers, without obtaining any concession. News was brought that the Venetian magistrates, unable to govern the furious multitude, had withdrawn. The firing of musketry against the fort was renewed. General Balland then ordered his guns again to play, and kept up an incessant fire upon the city. It was in flames in several quarters:

* Napoleon, when mentioning this circumstance at St. Helena, said, "The fury of the people carried them so far, that they actually murdered four hundred who were lying sick in the hospitals."—E.

Some of the principal inhabitants assembled in the palace of the government, in order to assume the direction of the city in the absence of the authorities. A fresh parley took place; it was agreed that the firing should cease; but this convention was not better executed than the former by the insurgents, who never ceased firing upon the forts. The ferocious peasants who covered the country fell upon the garrison of the fort of La Chiusa, situated on the Adige, and slaughtered it. They treated in the same manner the French scattered in the villages around Verona.

But the moment of vengeance was at hand. Couriers had been despatched from all quarters to acquaint General Kilmaine with what had happened. Troops hastened up from all sides. Kilmaine ordered General Chabrand to march immediately with twelve hundred men; Lahoz, commander of the Lombard legion, to advance with eight hundred; and Generals Victor and Baraguay-d'Hilliers to march with their divisions. While the troops were executing these movements, General Laudohn received intelligence of the signature of the preliminaries, and halted upon the Adige. After a sanguinary battle, which General Chabrand had to fight with the Venetian troops, the city of Verona was surrounded on all sides; and then the furious wretches who had massacred the French passed from the most atrocious violence to the deepest despondency. They had never ceased parleying and firing from the 1st to the 5th of Floreal (April 20-25). The Venetian magistrates had made their appearance again; they still demanded guarantees against the vengeance which threatened them; twenty-four hours were given them to decide; again they withdrew. A provisional municipality supplied their place; and, on seeing the French troops masters of the city and ready to reduce it to ashes, it surrendered unconditionally. General Kilmaine did what he could to prevent pillage, but he could not save the Mont de Piété, which was partly plundered. He ordered some of the known leaders of the insurrection taken in arms to be shot; he imposed upon the city a contribution of eleven hundred thousand francs for the pay of the army, and sent out his cavalry upon all the roads to disarm the peasants and to cut in pieces such as should resist. He then exerted himself to restore order, and immediately despatched a report to the general-in-chief, awaiting his decision relative to the rebel city. Such were the massacres known by the name of *Veronese Easter*.*

During these occurrences at Verona, an act still more odious, if possible, was committed in Venice itself. An ordinance forbade armed vessels of the belligerent powers to enter the port of Lido. A lugger, commanded by Captain Laugier, belonging to the French flotilla in the Adriatic, chased by Austrian frigates, had taken shelter under the batteries of Lido and saluted them with nine guns. He was ordered to put off again, notwithstanding the danger from the weather, which was bad, and from the enemy's ships that were in pursuit of him. He was about to obey, when, without giving him time to get away, the batteries fired upon the unfortunate vessel, and riddled her without mercy. Captain Laugier, with a generous self-devotion, made his crew go below, and went himself upon deck, with a speaking trumpet, to repeat that he was retiring: but he fell dead upon the

* "These sanguinary proceedings sufficiently verify the old observation, that pusillanimity and cruelty are allied to each other, and that none are so truly humane as the brave and free. They do not in the slightest degree palliate the treachery of the French or the rapacity of the Imperialists, but they go far to diminish the regret which otherwise would be felt at the success of unprincipled ambition, and the fall of the oldest republic of the Christian world."—*Alison*. E.

deck, with two of his crew. At the same moment the lugger was boarded by some Venetian boats, manned by Slavonians, who rushed upon deck and murdered the crew, with the exception of two or three unfortunate men, who were carried to Venice. This deplorable event happened on the fourth of Floreal (April 23).

At this moment news arrived not only of the massacres at Verona, but of the capture of that city, and of the signature of the preliminaries. The government found itself completely compromised, and could no longer reckon upon the ruin of General Bonaparte, who, so far from being surrounded and beaten, was on the contrary victorious, and just dictated peace to Austria. It would now have to deal with that all-powerful general, whose alliance it had refused, and whose soldiers it had slaughtered. It was overwhelmed with consternation. That it had officially ordered either the massacres at Verona or the cruelties perpetrated at the port of Lido was by no means probable; and whoever supposes so must be ignorant of the course pursued by governments swayed by factions. Governments in this situation have no occasion to give orders for the execution of what they wish; they need only suffer the faction whose sentiments they participate to act. They give up their means to it, and do by it what they dare not do themselves. The insurgents of Verona had cannon; they were supported by Venetian regular regiments; Ottolini, podesta of Bergamo, had been supplied wholesale with all that was necessary for arming the peasants; thus, after furnishing the means, the government had only to suffer them to be employed; and thus it was that it conducted itself. In the first moment, however, it committed an imprudence in decreeing a reward to the commandant of the Lido, for having, as it said, enforced respect for the laws of Venice. It could not, therefore, hope to find excuses that would avail it with General Bonaparte. It sent fresh instructions to the two deputies, Donat and Justiniani, who were at first directed only to reply to the demands made by Junot on the 26th of Germinal (April 13). The occurrences at Verona and the Lido were not then known; but now the two deputies had a very different task to perform, and very different events to explain. They advanced amidst shouts of joy excited by the news of the peace, and they were soon aware that they alone had cause to be sad amidst these important events. They learned on the road that Bonaparte, to punish them for the refusal of his alliance, for their severity to his partisans, and for some murders committed singly upon Frenchmen, had ceded part of their territories to Austria. What would he do, when he should be acquainted with the atrocious circumstances which had since occurred!

Bonaparte was already returning from Leoben, and withdrawing his army, according to the tenor of the preliminaries, towards the Alps and the Isonzo. They found him at Gratz, and were introduced to him on the 6th of Floreal (April 25). At this moment he had heard only of the massacres at Verona, which had begun on the 28th of Germinal (April 17), and not of the affair of the Lido, which took place on the 4th of Floreal (April 23). They were furnished with a letter from a brother of the general's, in order that they might be the more graciously received. They accosted trembling that man "truly extraordinary," to use their own words, "for the vivacity of his imagination, the promptness of his understanding, and the invincible force of his sentiments." He received them with politeness, and, repressing his indignation, permitted them to explain themselves at great length. Then, breaking silence, he asked, "Are my

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prisoners released? Are the murderers punished? Are the peasants disarmed? I want no empty words: my soldiers have been massacred; I must take signal vengeance." The two envoys reverted to the circumstances which had obliged them to provide against the insurrection, to the disorders inseparable from such events, to the difficulty of discovering the real murderers. "A government so well served by spies as yours," replied Bonaparte sharply, "ought to know the real instigators of those murders. I am aware, to be sure, that it is as despised as it is despicable, and that it cannot now disarm those whom it has armed. I will disarm them for it. I have made peace; I have eighty thousand men; I will break in pieces your leads. I will be a second Attila for Venice. I will have no inquisition, no golden book; those are institutions of the barbarous ages. Your government is superannuated; it must be demolished. When I was at Gorice, I offered M. Pezaro my alliance and rational advice. He rejected them. You were waiting for my return to cut off my retreat: well, here I am. I will treat no longer; I am determined to give law. If you have nothing else to say, I can only tell you that you may retire."

These words, angrily uttered, appalled the Venetian envoys. They solicited a second interview, but they could not draw any other expressions from the general, who persisted in his intentions, and whose evident determination it was to give law to Venice, and to destroy by force an aristocracy which he could not persuade by his counsels to amend itself. But they had soon additional cause for apprehension when they became acquainted with the particulars of the massacres at Verona, and especially with the atrocious cruelty committed in the port of the Lido. Not daring to call on Bonaparte, they ventured to write him a most submissive letter, offering him all the explanations that he could desire. "I cannot receive you," he replied, "covered all over with French blood. I will listen to you when you have delivered to me the three state inquisitors, the commandant of the Lido, and the officer who superintends the police of Venice." However, as they had received a last courier relative to the event at the Lido, he consented to see them, but refused to listen to any proposal, till they had delivered up to him the persons whom he demanded. The two Venetians, then seeking to use a power which their republic had frequently employed with effect, began to propose to him a reparation of a different kind. "No, no," replied the irritated general; "if you were to cover your beach with gold, all your treasures, all the treasures of Peru, could not pay for the blood of one of my soldiers."*

Bonaparte dismissed them. It was the 13th of Floreal (May 2). He immediately published a manifesto declaring war against Venice. The French constitution did not permit either the Directory or the generals to declare war, but it authorized them to repel hostilities already commenced. Bonaparte, supporting himself upon this authority and upon the events at Verona and at the Lido, declared that hostilities had commenced, gave notice to Lallemand, the minister, to quit Venice, caused the lion of St. Mark to be taken down in all the provinces of the *terra firma*, the towns to be municipalised, the overthrow of the Venetian government to be everywhere proclaimed, and, till the arrival of his troops, which were returning

* "The terrified deputies next ventured to touch with delicacy on the subject of pecuniary atonement. Napoleon's answer was worthy of a Roman. 'If you could proffer me,' he said, 'the treasures of Peru—if you could strew the whole district with gold, it could not atone for the French blood which has been so treacherously spilt.'"
Daru. E.

from Austria, he ordered General Kilmaine to proceed with the divisions of Baraguay-d'Hilliers and Victor to the border of the lagoons. His determinations, as prompt as his anger, were instantly executed. In the twinkling of an eye, the ancient lion of St. Mark disappeared everywhere between the banks of the Isonzo and those of the Mincio, and was replaced by the tree of liberty. Troops advanced from all sides, and the French cannon roared on those shores which for so long a period had not heard an enemy's guns.

The ancient city of Venice, seated amidst her lagoons, could still present almost insuperable difficulties even to the general who had just humbled Austria. All her lagoons were armed. She had thirty-seven galleys, and one hundred and sixty-eight gun-boats, carrying seven hundred and fifty guns and eight thousand five hundred seamen and gunners. She had a garrison of three thousand five hundred Italians and eleven thousand Slavonians, provisions for eight months, fresh water for two, and the means of renewing these supplies. We were not masters of the sea: we had no gun-boats for crossing the arms which separate the lagoons; we should be obliged to advance, with sounding-line in hand, along those canals unknown to us, and under the fire of innumerable batteries. Brave and daring as were the conquerors of Italy, they might be stopped by such obstacles, and doomed to a siege of several months. And how many events might produce a delay of several months! Austria, having rested herself, might reject the preliminaries, enter the lists again, and give rise to fresh chances.

But if the military situation of Venice presented resources, her internal state did not allow an energetic use to be made of them. Like all superannuated bodies, this aristocracy was divided. It had neither the same interests nor the same passions. The high aristocracy, possessing the public offices and honours, and having great wealth at its disposal, had less ignorance and fewer prejudices and passions than the inferior nobility; it had, above all, the ambition of power. The mass of the nobility, excluded from public employments, living upon succour, ignorant and furious, was full of genuine aristocratic prejudices. In conjunction with the priests, it excited the people, who belonged to it, as is the case in all states in which the middle class is not yet sufficiently powerful to draw them to it. These people, composed of seamen and artisans, coarse, superstitious, and half savage, were ready to indulge in any excesses. The middling class, composed of merchants, tradesmen, lawyers, physicians, &c., wished, as everywhere else, for the establishment of civil equality, rejoiced at the approach of the French, but durst not manifest its joy, for fear of a populace which might be urged to the greatest excesses before a revolution was effected. Lastly, to all these discordant elements was added another not less dangerous. The Venetian government was served by Slavonians. This barbarous soldiery, foreign to the people of Venice, and frequently in hostility with them, only awaited an occasion to gratify its longing for plunder, without intending to serve any party.

Such was the internal situation of Venice. That worn-out body was ready to fall to pieces. The great, in possession of the government, were struck with certain considerations. Though it might have been possible to resist an attack, they were afraid of a conflict with such a warrior as Bonaparte. They dreaded the horrors of a siege, the fury with which the two irritated parties would not fail to be inflamed, the excesses in which the Slavonian soldiery might indulge, the dangers to which Venice, with

her maritime and commercial establishments, would be exposed: they were, above all, apprehensive lest their possessions, all situated on the *terra firma*, should be sequestrated by Bonaparte and threatened with confiscation. They even had fears on account of the pensions upon which the inferior nobility lived, and which would be lost if, pushing the conflict to extremity, they exposed themselves to a revolution. They conceived that by negotiating, they might save the ancient institutions of Venice by means of modifications; retain the power which is always assured to those who are accustomed to wield it; save their estates and the pensions of the petty nobility; and spare the city of Venice the horrors of sack and pillage. These men, consequently, who had neither the energy of their ancestors nor the passions of the mass of the nobility, thought of treating.* The principal members of the government assembled at the doge's. These were the six councillors of the doge, the three presidents of criminal guarantee, the three chiefs of the council of ten, and the three avogadors. This meeting, an extraordinary one, and even contrary to established usage, had for its aim to provide for the preservation of Venice. Consternation pervaded it: The doge, enfeebled by age, had his eyes full of tears. He said that they were not sure of sleeping the next night quietly in their beds. Each suggested different measures. One member proposed to employ Haller, the banker, to soften Bonaparte. This proposition was deemed ridiculous and useless. Besides, Quirini, the ambassador, had orders to do whatever could be done in Paris, and even to buy votes in the Directory, if possible.† Others proposed that they should defend themselves. This scheme was thought imprudent, and worthy of young and silly heads. At length it was decided to propose to the great council a modification of the constitution, in order to appease Bonaparte by that course. The great council, composed in general of all the nobility, and representing the Venetian nation, was convoked. Six hundred and nineteen members, that is, rather more than half, were present. The proposition was made amidst a dead silence. This question had already been discussed in consequence of a communication from Lallemand, the minister, to the senate, and it had been voted to defer the modifications till other times. But on this occasion it was obvious that it was no longer possible to have recourse to dilatory means. The doge's proposition was adopted by five hundred and ninety-eight votes. It purported that two commissioners, to be sent by the senate, should be authorized to negotiate with General Bonaparte, and even to treat of objects within the competence of the great council, that is, of constitutional objects, subject to ratification.

The two commissioners set out immediately, and found Bonaparte on the border of the lagoons, at the bridge of Marghera. He was disposing his troops, and the French artillerymen were already exchanging balls with the Venetian gun-boats. The two commissioners delivered to him the resolution of the great council. For a moment he appeared struck with that determination; then, resuming a sharp tone, he said to them, "And are the three state inquisitors and the commandant of the Lido in confine-

* "Nothing would have been more easy than to defend the lagoons against an enemy, who, notwithstanding Napoleon's bravado, had not even a single boat. But the proposal, had it been made to an abbess and a convent of nuns, could scarce have appeared more extraordinary, than it did to these degenerate nobles."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† "Two hundred thousand crowns, as a private bribe, were placed at the disposal of Barras."—*Hardenberg*. E.

ment? I must have their heads. No treaty till French blood has been avenged. Your lagoons shall not deter me. I find them just what I expected. In a fortnight I shall be in Venice. Your nobles shall not escape death except by going like the French emigrants and dragging their misery all over the world." The two commissioners did their utmost to gain a delay of a few days, in order to obtain the consent of the council to the satisfaction which he demanded. He would not grant more than twenty-four hours. He nevertheless consented to grant a suspension of arms for six days, to give the Venetian commissioners time to rejoin him at Mantua, with the adhesion of the great council to all the conditions which he imposed.

Bonaparte, satisfied with having struck terror into the Venetians, had no intention of coming to real hostilities, because he was aware of the difficulty of carrying the lagoons, and he foresaw the interference of Austria. If he entered by force, complaints of the violation of the preliminaries would be made at Vienna; and in any case it would suit him better to induce them to submit. Satisfied with having frightened them, he set out for Mantua and Milan, not doubting that they would soon follow to make their full and entire submission.

The assembly of all the members of the government, already formed at the doge's, met afresh to receive the report of the commissioners. There were no longer any means of resisting the demands of the general; they were obliged to consent to them all, for the danger daily became more imminent. It was said that the citizens were conspiring and intended to murder the nobility; and that the Slavonians would avail themselves of the occasion to pillage the city. It was agreed to submit a new proposition to the great council, tending to accede to all that General Bonaparte demanded. On the 13th of Floreal (May 4), the grand council was again assembled. By a majority of seven hundred and four voices to ten, it decided that the commissioners should be authorized to treat on all the conditions with General Bonaparte, and that proceedings should be immediately commenced against the three state inquisitors and the commandant of the Lido.

The commissioners, furnished with new powers, followed Bonaparte to Milan, to lay the proud constitution of Venice at his feet. But six days were not sufficient, and the truce had nearly expired before they could come to an arrangement with the general. During this interval the consternation kept increasing in Venice. At one moment, the terror was so great, that the commandant of the lagoons was authorized to capitulate to the French generals invested with the command in the absence of Bonaparte. The government merely recommended to him the independence of the republic, religion, the safety of persons and of the foreign ambassadors, public and private property, the mint, the bank, the arsenal, and the archives. A prolongation of the truce was, however, obtained from the French generals, in order to allow the Venetian envoys time to negotiate with Bonaparte.

The arrest of the three state inquisitors had disorganized the police of Venice. The most influential persons of the *bourgeoisie* bestirred themselves and openly manifested an intention of acting, for the purpose of hastening the fall of the aristocracy. They surrounded Villetard, the French chargé d'affaires, who had remained at Venice after the departure of Lallemand, the minister, and who was an ardent patriot. They sought and hoped to find in him a supporter of their projects. At the same time the Slavonians were in a state of insubordination, which afforded reason to

apprehend the most horrible excesses. They had had quarrels with the people of Venice, and the *bourgeoisie* seemed even to excite these quarrels, which produced division among the forces of the aristocratic party. On the 20th of Floreal (May 9), terror had reached its height. Spada and Zorzi, two very influential members of the revolutionary party, entered into communication with some of the members of the extraordinary meeting formed at the doge's. They insinuated that they ought to address themselves to the French chargé d'affaires, and to arrange with him the means of preserving Venice from the calamities which threatened her. Donat and Bataglia, two patricians, whom we have already seen prominent during these troubles, addressed themselves to Villetard on the 9th of May. They asked him what would be, in the present danger, the most likely mode of saving Venice. He replied that he had no authority whatever from the general-in-chief to treat, but that, if they wished to have his private opinion, he should advise the following measures: The embarking and sending away of the Slavonians; the institution of a civic guard; the introduction of four thousand French into Venice, and the occupation by them of all the fortified points; the abolition of the ancient government, and the formation in its stead of a municipality of thirty-six members, chosen from among all classes, and having the existing doge for mayor; and the liberation of all prisoners confined on account of their opinions. Villetard added, that on these terms Bonaparte would, no doubt, pardon the three state inquisitors and the commandant of the Lido.

These propositions were submitted to the council assembled at the doge's. They were extremely severe, since they involved a complete revolution in Venice. But the heads of the government dreaded a revolution steeped in blood by the projects of the reforming party, by the popular fury, and by the cupidity of the Slavonians. Two of them made a vehement resistance. Pezaro said that it would be better to retire to Switzerland, than consummate with their own hands the ruin of the ancient government of Venice. The opposition, however, was overcome, and it was resolved that the propositions should be laid before the great council. This was summoned to meet on the 23d of Floreal (May 12). Meanwhile, the arrears of pay due to the Slavonians were discharged, and they were embarked to be sent back to Dalmatia. A contrary wind, however, prevented them from leaving the harbour, and their presence in the waters of Venice only served to keep up the prevailing agitation and terror.

On the 23d of Floreal (May 12), the great council was solemnly assembled for the purpose of voting the abolition of this ancient aristocracy. An immense concourse of people was collected. On the one hand was perceived the *bourgeoisie* exulting to see at last the power of its masters overthrown, and, on the other, the populace, excited by the nobility, ready to fall upon those whom it considered as the instigators of this revolution. The doge addressed the assembly with tears, and proposed to it to abdicate the sovereignty. They were about to deliberate, when reports of musketry were heard. The nobility conceived themselves threatened with a massacre. "To the vote! to the vote!" was shouted on all sides. Five hundred and twelve voices voted the abolition of the old government. According to the statutes, there should have been six hundred. There were twelve opposition votes and five null. The great council gave up the sovereignty to the entire Venetian nation; it voted the institution of a municipality and the establishment of a provisional government, composed of deputies of all the Venetian states; it consolidated the public debt and

the pensions granted to the poor nobles, and decreed the admission of French troops into Venice. No sooner were these resolutions adopted, than a flag was hoisted from a window of the palace. At this sight, the *bourgeoisie* was filled with joy, but the enraged populace, carrying along with them the image of St. Mark, paraded the streets of Venice, and attacked the houses of the inhabitants accused of having wrung this determination from the Venetian nobility.* The houses of Spada and Zorzi were broken open and plundered: the uproar was at its height, and a terrible convulsion was apprehended. Meanwhile, a certain number of the inhabitants interested in the public tranquillity assembled, placed at their head an old Maltese general, named Salembeni, who had been long persecuted by the state inquisition, and rushed upon the rioters. After a combat on the bridge of the Rialto, they dispersed them, and restored order and tranquillity.

The Slavonians were at length embarked and sent home, after committing great excesses in the villages of Lido and Malamocco. The new municipality was instituted; and on the 27th of Floreal (May 16) the flotilla went to fetch a division of four thousand French, which quietly established itself in Venice.†

During these occurrences in Venice, Bonaparte was signing in Milan, and on the same day, with the Venetian plenipotentiaries, a treaty conformable in every respect with the revolution which had just taken place. It stipulated the abdication of the aristocracy, the institution of a provisional government, the introduction of a French division upon the plea of protection, and the punishment of the three state inquisitors and of the commandant of the Lido. Secret articles stipulated, moreover, exchanges of territory, a contribution of three millions in money, and three millions in naval stores, and the delivery to France of three sail of the line and two frigates. This treaty was to have been ratified by the government of Venice; but this ratification was rendered impossible, since the abdication had already taken place, and it would have been useless, because all the articles of the treaty were already executed. The provisional municipality, nevertheless, thought it right to ratify the treaty.

Bonaparte had thus gained his end, without compromising himself with Austria, without engaging in the arduous undertaking of a siege. He had

* "Yielding to the tempest which they could not withstand, the Venetian oligarchy assembled in mournful silence on the 12th of May, and, after passing in review the exhausted resources and distracted state of the republic, voted, amidst the tears of all friends to their country, by a majority of five hundred and twelve to fourteen voices, the abdication of their authority. Shouts from the giddy multitude rent the sky; the tree of liberty was hoisted on the place of St. Mark; the democrats entered, amidst bloodshed and plunder, upon the exercise of their new-born sovereignty; and the revolutionary party fondly imagined they were launched into a boundless career of glory. But the real patriots, the men of sense and firmness, lamented the decision of the senate, and, retiring in silence to their homes, exclaimed, 'Venice is no more—St. Mark has fallen!' No sooner was the mournful act communicated to the people, than they flocked together from all quarters, and with loud cries demanded the restoration of the standard of St. Mark, and arms to combat for the independence of their country. The cannon of the republicans dispersed the frantic assemblages; and, amidst the shouts of the insane revolutionists, the French troops were conducted by Venetian boats to the place of St. Mark, where a foreign standard had not been seen for fifteen hundred years, but where the colours of independence were never again destined to wave."—*Alison*. E.

† "The French troops entered Venice on the 16th of May. The partisans of liberty immediately met in a popular assembly. The aristocracy was destroyed for ever; the democratic constitution of twelve hundred was proclaimed. Dandolo was placed at the head of the city. The Lion of St. Mark and the Corinthian horses were carried to Paris. *Monthonon*. E.

overthrown the absurd aristocracy which had betrayed him ; he had placed Venice in the same situation as Lombardy, the Modenese, the Bolognese, and the Ferrarese ; he could now, without any embarrassment, make such arrangements of territory as he should think fit. In ceding to the emperor the whole of the *terra firma* extending from the Isonzo to the Oglio, he had the means of indemnifying Venice, by giving to it Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna, which at this time formed part of the Cispadane republic. Giving these provinces to revolutionized Venice was not placing them again under the yoke. There would then be left the duchy of Modena and Lombardy, with which it would be easy to compose a second republic, allied with the first. A still better thing might be done, that is, if it were possible to put an end to local rivalries, namely, to unite all the provinces emancipated by the French arms, and to form with Lombardy, the Modenese, the Bolognese, the Ferrarese, the Romagna, the Polesina, Venice, and the Greek islands, a powerful republic, which should bear sway both on the continent and in the seas of Italy.

The secret articles relative to the three millions in naval stores, and to the three ships of the line and two frigates, furnished the means of laying hands on the whole Venetian navy. The comprehensive mind of Bonaparte, whose foresight embraced all objects at once, would not have that happen to us with the Venetians which had before happened to us with the Dutch, namely, that the naval officers or the governors of the islands, dissatisfied with the revolution, should deliver up to the English the ships and islands under their command. He laid particular stress upon the important Greek islands belonging to Venice, Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, Santa Maura, and Cerigo. He immediately ordered them to be occupied. He wrote to Toulon, desiring that a certain number of seamen might be sent to him by land, promising to pay their expenses and to equip them on their arrival in Venice. He solicited the Directory to order Admiral Brueys* to sail immediately with six ships in order to collect the whole of the Venetian navy, and to proceed with it to take possession of the Greek islands. He sent of his own accord two millions to Toulon, that the commissioner of the navy there might not be stopped by want of funds. In this particular he went beyond the regulations of the treasury, in order to avoid delay. Meanwhile, fearing lest Brueys should arrive too late, he united the little flotilla which he had in the Adriatic with the ships found at Venice, intermixed the Venetian crews with the French crews, put on board two thousand troops, and despatched them immediately to take possession of the islands. He would thus secure the most important posts in the Levant and the Adriatic, and take a position which, becoming daily more imposing, could not fail to have a powerful influence on the definitive negotiations of Austria.

The revolution was daily making fresh progress, since the signature of preliminaries of Leoben had fixed the fate of Italy, and insured the influence of France. It was now certain that the greater part of Upper Italy would be constituted into a democratic republic. It was an alluring example, which agitated Piedmont, the duchy of Parma, Tuscany, and the states of the Pope. The French general excited none, but seemed ready to welcome those who should throw themselves into his arms. At Genoa, the public mind was violently incensed against the aristocracy, less absurd

* This was the same admiral who was afterwards so signally defeated by Nelson at the memorable battle of the Nile. E.

and less enfeebled than that of Venice, but, if possible, more obstinate. France, as we have seen, had treated with her for the purpose of securing her rear, and had limited her demand to two millions for indemnities, two millions for pay, and the recall of the families exiled for their attachment to France. But the patriot party kept within no bounds, as soon as Bonaparte had imposed peace upon Austria. It met at the house of one Morandi, and had there formed an extremely violent club. A petition was drawn up and presented to the doge, demanding modifications in the constitution. The doge obtained the appointment of a commission for the purpose of examining this proposition. Meanwhile, the agitation went on. The citizens of Genoa and the hotheaded young men concerted together, and held themselves in readiness to take up arms. The nobles, on their part, aided by the priests, excited the populace, and armed the porters and the charcoal-burners. The minister of France, a mild and moderate man, rather restrained than excited the patriot party. But, on the 22d of May, when the occurrences at Venice became known, the *Morandists*, as they were called, appeared in arms, and endeavoured to make themselves masters of the principal posts of the city. A most violent conflict ensued. The patriots, opposed by the whole of the populace, were beaten, and a cruel revenge was wreaked upon them. The victorious rabble committed great excesses, and did not spare the French families, many of whom were maltreated. If the minister of France remained unmolested, it was only because the doge had taken care to send him a guard. When Bonaparte heard of these events, he saw that he could no longer delay interfering. He despatched Lavalette,* his aide-de-camp, to claim the French who

* "Marie Chamans, Count de Lavalette, was born in the year 1769, of obscure parents. He was destined for the clerical profession, and wore the habit of an abbé for some time, but afterwards took to the law. The Revolution gave a new direction to his ambition. He became an officer in the national guards, and afterwards served in the armies of the Rhine and of Italy. Bonaparte made him his aide-de-camp, intrusted him with his secret correspondence, and gave him in marriage Josephine's niece. On the establishment of the Consulate, Lavalette was made count and commander of the Legion of Honour. In 1815, when Louis fled from the Tuileries, he assumed the direction of the post-office, and used his utmost efforts to accelerate the progress of Napoleon. In consequence, on the second restoration, he was condemned to death as an accomplice of the Emperor. He contrived, however, to escape from prison in the disguise of his own wife, and was assisted in his endeavours to quit France by Messrs. Bruce and Hutchinson and Sir Robert Wilson. After some years of exile he was pardoned, and returned to his native country in 1821."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

"Lavalette was no bad representation of Bacchus. A lady might have been proud of his pretty little white hand, and red, well-turned nails. His two little eyes and immoderately little nose, placed in the midst of a very fat pair of cheeks, gave to his countenance a truly comic expression, in aid of which came the extraordinary arrangement of his head. Not the locks only, but the individual hairs might be counted; and they received distinguishing names from the wits of the staff—as the invincible, the redoubtable, the courageous; and one, in particular, which defied the discipline of the comb or the hand, and pertinaciously stood upright, was called the indomitable. But notwithstanding this personal appearance, and an address almost burlesque, Lavalette knew how to enforce respect. He had sense and wit; had seen much and retained much; and related anecdotes with remarkable grace, resulting from a cast of ideas at once quiet, brilliant, and acute. He was a good father, a good husband, and a faithful friend. He married, a few days before his departure for Egypt, Emile de Beauharnois, daughter of Madame Bonaparte's brother-in-law. This young lady was of extreme beauty, gentle, and well-educated. Her husband, however, had not reached Egypt before she took the small-pox, and lost her beauty. She was in despair; and though by degrees the traces of the malady subsided, she could not reconcile herself to the change of which she felt conscious her husband, on his return, must be sensible. The delicacy of his conduct, however, never gave her reason to suppose that his attachment was diminished; but her profound melancholy and weariness of life showed that she could not overcome her own apprehensions."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

were confined, to demand reparations in their behalf, and, above all, to insist on the apprehension of the three state inquisitors accused of having put arms into the hands of the populace. The patriot party, supported by this powerful influence, rallied, regained the ascendancy, and obliged the Genoese aristocracy to abdicate, as that of Venice had done. A provisional government was installed, and a commission sent to Bonaparte, to confer with him on the subject of the constitution that it was expedient to give to the republic of Genoa.

Thus, after having in two months enforced the submission of the Pope, crossed the Julian Alps, imposed peace upon Austria, recrossed the Alps, and punished Venice, Bonaparte was in Milan, exercising supreme authority over all Italy, awaiting, without hastening, the march of the revolution, setting hands to work upon the constitution of the emancipated provinces, creating a navy in the Adriatic, and rendering his situation more and more imposing for Austria. The preliminaries of Leoben had been approved in Paris and in Vienna: the exchange of the ratifications had taken place between Bonaparte and M. de Gallo, and the immediate opening of the conferences for a definitive peace was expected. Bonaparte in Milan, a mere general of the republic, possessed greater influence than all the potentates in Europe. Couriers incessantly going and coming, indicated that the destinies of the world were there to be decided. The enthusiastic Italians waited for whole hours to see the general come forth from the Serbelloni palace. Young and beautiful women surrounded Madame Bonaparte, and composed a brilliant court for her. Then commenced that extraordinary existence which has since dazzled and swayed the world.

THE DIRECTORY.

EMBARRASSING SITUATION OF ENGLAND; FRESH PROPOSALS FOR PEACE; CONFERENCES AT LILLE—ELECTIONS OF THE YEAR V—STRUGGLE OF THE COUNCILS WITH THE DIRECTORY—PLOT OF THE ROYALIST FACTION—STROKE OF POLICY OF THE EIGHTEENTH OF FRUCTIDOR.

THE conduct of Bonaparte in regard to Venice was bold. It had nevertheless not exceeded the limit of the laws. He had grounded the manifesto of Palma Nova upon the necessity of repelling hostilities already commenced; and, before the hostilities had changed into a declared war, he had concluded a treaty, which rendered it unnecessary for the Directory to submit the declaration of war to the two Councils. Thus the republic of Venice had been attacked, destroyed, and erased from the list of European powers, without the general's having scarcely consulted the Directory, or the Directory the Councils. Nothing was left to be done but to announce the treaty. Genoa had, in like manner, been revolutionized, apparently without the government having been consulted; and all these facts, which were attributed to General Bonaparte in a much greater degree than they really belonged to him, produced an extraordinary idea of the authority which he assumed in Italy, and of the power which he arrogated to himself. The Directory was sensible, in fact, that General Bonaparte had evaded a great many questions; yet it could not reproach him with having materially exceeded his powers. It was obliged to acknowledge the utility and the seasonableness of all his operations; and it durst not disapprove the conduct of a victorious general, and of one possessing such great authority over the public mind. M. Querini, the Venetian ambassador in Paris, had employed all possible means with the Directory to gain votes in favour of his country. He made use of a Dalmatian, a cunning intriguer, who was acquainted with Barras, to gain over that director. It appears that the sum of six hundred thousand francs in bills was given, on condition of defending Venice in the Directory. But Bonaparte, informed of the intrigue, denounced it. Venice was not saved, and payment of the bills was refused. These facts, known to the Directory, occasioned explanations and even the commencement of proceedings; but in the end the affair was hushed up. The conduct of Bonaparte in Italy was approved of, and the first days which followed the tidings of the preliminaries of Leoben were devoted to unbounded joy. The enemies of the Revolution and of the Directory, who had so loudly called for peace, that they might have a pretext for accusing the government, were extremely mortified at bottom to see the preliminaries signed. The republicans were transported with joy. They could have wished, it is true, the entire emancipation of Italy; but they were delighted to see the republic recognized, and in some measure

sanctioned, by the emperor. The great mass of the population was glad to see an end put to the horrors of war, and occasion to hope for a reduction of the public burdens. The sitting at which the Councils received the notification of the preliminaries was a scene of enthusiasm. It was declared that the armies of Italy, of the Rhine, and of the Sambre and Meuse, had deserved well of the country and of mankind, in conquering peace by their victories. All the parties lavished expressions of the warmest enthusiasm on Bonaparte, and it was proposed to give him the surname of *Italicus*, as in Rome that of *Africanus* had been conferred on Scipio.

Austria conquered, the whole continent was at peace with France. England alone was left for her to contend with. England, reduced herself, was in a really perilous situation. Hoche, stopped short at Frankfort amidst the most glorious triumphs, was impatient to open for himself a new career. His attention was still directed to Ireland, and he had by no means relinquished his plan of the preceding year. He had nearly eighty thousand men between the Rhine and the Nidda; he had left about forty thousand in the environs of Brest; the squadron equipped in that port was quite ready to sail. A Spanish fleet collected at Cadiz was only waiting for a gale of wind to oblige the English admiral, Jervis,* to quit his station off that port, to sail from it, and proceed to the Channel to combine its efforts with that of the French navy. The Dutch had, at length, succeeded in assembling a squadron and reorganizing part of their army. Hoche had therefore at his disposal immense means for exciting Ireland to insurrection. He proposed to detach twenty thousand men from the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and to march them off for Brest, to be embarked afresh. He had selected his best troops for this important operation, the object of all his thoughts. He proceeded himself to Holland under the strictest incognito, having given out that he was going to pass a few days with his family. There he superintended with his own eyes all the preparations. Seventeen thousand Dutch, excellent troops, were embarked, and the squadron only waited for the signal to sail, and join the expedition prepared at Brest. These forces, when united with those expected from Spain, would evidently threaten England with incalculable dangers.

Pitt was in the greatest consternation. The defection of Austria, the preparations making in the Texel, the squadron collected in Cadiz, from which the blockading fleet might be blown by a gale—all these circumstances were alarming. Spain and France were uniting their efforts to force Portugal to make peace, and the defection of this ancient ally too was to be apprehended. These events had seriously affected credit, and produced a crisis long foreseen and frequently predicted. The government still had recourse to the Bank, and had obtained from it enormous advances, either by making it purchase stock or discount exchequer-bills. It was only by a profuse issue of notes that the Bank was enabled to furnish these advances. The public being alarmed, and a report being circulated that the Bank had lent considerable sums to the government, every one hastened to turn his notes into specie. Thus, in the month of March, at the moment when Bonaparte was advancing towards Vienna, the Bank was obliged to apply for authority to suspend its payments. This application was complied with, and it was released from an obligation which it was incapable

* Admiral Sir John Jervis, afterwards created Earl St. Vincent, in honour of his celebrated naval victory of that name, died a few years since, at an advanced age. E.

of executing.* But its credit and its existence were not saved, for all that. A statement of its securities and liabilities was immediately published. The former amounted to 17,597,280*l.*; the latter to 13,770,390*l.*; so that its securities exceeded its liabilities by 3,826,890*l.* But it was not said how much of the former consisted of government securities. So much as consisted in bullion or bills of exchange was safe enough; but stocks and exchequer-bills, which constituted the greater part of the securities, had lost their credit with the policy of the government. Its notes fell immediately more than 15 per cent. The bankers, in their turn, solicited the faculty of paying in notes, otherwise they should be obliged to suspend their payments. It was natural that the same favour should be granted to them as to the Bank; nay, it was no more than just that it should, for it was the refusal of the Bank to fulfil its engagements in cash which rendered it impossible for them to discharge theirs in that manner. But from that moment the forced currency of money would be given to notes. To obviate this inconvenience, the principal merchants and traders in London met and exhibited a remarkable proof of public spirit and intelligence. Aware that the refusal to take bank-notes in payment would produce an inevitable catastrophe, in which all fortunes would suffer alike, they resolved to prevent it, and unanimously agreed to receive notes in payment. England struck, on this occasion, into the track of paper-money. It is true that this paper-money, instead of being forced, was voluntary; but it had only the solidity of paper, and was eminently dependent on the political conduct of the cabinet. To render it fitter for the purpose of money, it was divided into small sums. The Bank, whose smallest notes had been for 5*l.*, was authorized to issue notes for 1*l.* and 2*l.* This was one way of rendering them serviceable for the payment of the labouring classes.

Though the good spirit of English commerce had rendered this catastrophe less mischievous than it might have been, yet the situation was not less perilous; and, that it might not become disastrous, it was requisite to disarm France and to prevent the Spanish, French, and Dutch squadrons from uniting to kindle a conflagration in Ireland. The royal family was still as hostile as ever to the Revolution and to peace; but Pitt, who had no other view than the interest of England, considered a respite as indispensably necessary at the moment. Whether the peace should be definitive or not, a temporary repose was requisite. Perfectly agreeing on this point with Lord Grenville, he induced the cabinet to set on foot a *bond fide* negotiation, which should afford two or three years' relaxation to the overstrained springs of the British power. To dispute the possession of the Netherlands, now ceded by Austria, was wholly out of the question.

* "The aspect of public affairs in Britain had never been so clouded since the commencement of the war, nor, indeed, during the whole of the nineteenth century, as it was at the opening of the year 1797. Party spirit raged with uncommon violence in every part of the empire. Insurrections prevailed in many districts of Ireland; commercial embarrassments were rapidly increasing; and the continued pressure on the Bank threatened a total dissolution of public credit. The pressure arising from all these causes, together with the great drains upon the specie of the country which the extensive loans to the Imperial government had occasioned, was brought to a crisis in the close of 1796, by the run upon the country banks. The bankers, as the only means of averting bankruptcy, applied from all quarters to the Bank of England; the panic speedily reached the metropolis; and such was the run upon that establishment, that they were reduced to payment in sixpences; and were on the verge of insolvency, when an order in council was interposed for their relief, suspending all payments in cash, until the sense of parliament could be taken on the best means of restoring the circulation."—*Atison*. E.

The colonies were all that could now be a subject of dispute; and consequently there were both means and hopes of coming to an arrangement. Not only the situation of affairs indicated the intention of treating, but the choice of the negotiator proved it also. Lord Malmesbury was again appointed; and, at his age, a man would not have been employed twice successively in a vain representation. Lord Malmesbury, celebrated for his long diplomatic career, and for his dexterity as a negotiator, was weary of business, but wished to retire from it, after a brilliant and successful negotiation. None could be more brilliant than a pacification with France after so obstinate a struggle; and, if he had not been certain that his cabinet was desirous of peace, he would not have consented to play a parade part, which would become ridiculous by the repetition. He had, in fact, received secret instructions, which left him no doubt. The English cabinet applied for passports for its negotiator; and by common consent the place for the conferences was fixed not in Paris but at Lille. The Directory preferred receiving the English minister in a provincial town, because it was less afraid of his intrigues there. The English minister, on his part, had no wish to be brought face to face with a government whose forms had some rudeness, and was better pleased to treat through the medium of its negotiators. Lille was therefore selected, and a formal legation was prepared on both sides. Hoche was, nevertheless, to continue his preparations with vigour, in order to give more authority to the French negotiators.

Thus France, victorious on all sides, was in negotiation with the two great European powers, and appeared to be on the eve of a general peace. Events so auspicious and so brilliant should have left room for joy only in all hearts; but the elections for the year V had just given a dangerous strength to the opposition. We have seen how busy the adversaries of the Directory were at the approach of the elections. The royalist faction had considerably influenced their result. It had lost three of its principal agents by the apprehension of Bröttier, Laville-Heurnois, and Duverne de Presle; but that did it little harm, for, so great was the confusion which prevailed in it, that it could scarcely be increased by the loss of its leaders. There still existed two associations, one of men devoted to and capable of taking up arms; the other of doubtful men, fit only to vote at elections. The Lyons agency was yet intact. Pichegru, conspiring apart, was still corresponding with Wickham, the English minister, and the Prince of Condé. The elections, influenced by these intriguers of all kinds, and especially by the spirit of reaction, had the result which had been foreseen. Almost the whole of the second third was composed, like the first, of men who were enemies to the Directory, either from attachment to royalty or hatred of terror. Those who were devoted to royalty were, it is true, very few in number; but they meant to avail themselves, as usual, of the passions of others. Pichegru was elected deputy in the Jura. At Colmar one Chemblé was chosen, who was employed in the correspondence with Wickham; at Lyons, Imbert Colomès, one of the members of the royalist agency in the South, and Camille Jordan,* a young man of good sentiments and a lively imagination, but who displayed a ridiculous enmity against the

* "Camille Jordan was a young Lyonese deputy, distinguished by his eloquence and courage, but who entertained some unreasonable opinions, and was the great panegyrist of the clergy in the younger council. He was known by the nickname of Channing Jordan, and Jordan of the Bells, because he wished to decree the re-establishment of bells and the independence of the clergy."—*Mignet*. R.

Directory; at Marseilles, General Willot, who had been removed from the army of the Ocean to command in the department of the Bouches-du-Rhône, and who, so far from curbing parties, had suffered himself to be won, perhaps without being aware of it, by the royalist faction; at Versailles, one Vauvilliers, implicated in Brottier's conspiracy, and destined by the agency for administrator of articles of consumption; at Brest, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, who had fallen out with Hoche, and, consequently, with the government on occasion of the expedition to Ireland. A great many other selections were made equally significant with the above. General Jourdan, who had resigned the command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse after the unsuccessful termination of the preceding campaign, was nominated deputy by his department. He was worthy of representing the army in the legislative body, and of avenging the dishonour which the treason of Pichegru was about to cast upon it. It was a singular circumstance that Barrère was elected by the department of the Hautes-Pyrénées.

The new members hastened to Paris. They were to be installed on the 1st of Prairial. Meanwhile they were taken to the club of Clichy, which daily became more and more violent. The councils themselves no longer manifested their former moderation. The members of the first third, seeing that the moment when they were to be reinforced was approaching, began to throw off the reserve in which, for fifteen months past, they had enveloped themselves. They had hitherto followed in the track of the constitutionalists, that is, of those deputies who pretended to be neither friends nor enemies of the Directory, but to be attached to the constitution alone, and to oppose the government only when it deviated from that. This direction had particularly prevailed in the Council of the Ancients. But as the day of the junction approached, the opposition in the Five Hundred began to employ a more threatening language. It was said that the Ancients had too long led the Five Hundred, and that it was time for the latter to throw off their dependence. Thus, in the club of Clichy as well as in the legislative body, the party that was about to acquire the majority manifested its joy and its audacity.

The constitutionalists, duped, like all those who from the commencement of the Revolution had suffered themselves to be drawn into the opposition, fancied that they were about to become the masters of the movement, and that the new comers would only be a reinforcement for them. Carnot was at their head. Continuing to pursue the false direction which he had taken, he had never ceased supporting in the Directory the opinion of the legislative minority. In the discussion of the preliminaries of Leoben, in particular, he had given vent to an animosity hitherto kept within the bounds of decorum, and supported the concessions made to Austria with a zeal which could not have been expected from his past life. Carnot, blinded by his self-love, conceived that he could lead at pleasure the constitutional party both in the Five Hundred and in the Ancients, and saw in the newly elected only additional partisans. In his zeal to bring together the elements of a party of which he hoped to be the chief, he sought to connect himself with the most distinguished of the new deputies. He had even anticipated Pichegru, who was far from showing politeness to any of the members of the Directory, and called to see him. Pichegru, making a very ill return for his civilities, had only manifested aversion and almost disdain. Carnot had made the acquaintance of many other deputies of the first and second third. His apartments at the Luxembourg had

become the rendezvous of all the members of the new opposition ; and his colleagues daily saw their most irreconcilable enemies coming to visit him.

The great question was that of the choice of a new director. The lot was to decide who should go out. If the lot fell upon Lareveillère, Rewbel, or Barras, the course of the government would be changed ; for the director nominated by the new majority could not fail to vote with Carnot and Letourneur.

It was said that the five directors had agreed among themselves which of them should retire ; that Letourneur had consented to resign his functions, and that the ballot was to be only illusory. This was an absurd surmise, as the surmises hazarded by parties in general are. The five directors, Lareveillère alone excepted, clung closely to their places. Moreover, Carnot and Letourneur, hoping to become masters of the government, if the lot should turn out one of their three colleagues, would not consent to abandon their post voluntarily. One circumstance might have authorized this rumour. The five directors had stipulated among themselves that the member going out should receive from each of his colleagues an indemnity of ten thousand francs, which would make forty thousand, so that the poor directors might not pass all at once from the pomp of power to indigence. This arrangement led to a conjecture that, in order to decide Letourneur, his colleagues had agreed to give up to him part of their salaries. This, however, was not the case. It was said also that it had been agreed that he should resign before the 1st of Prairial, that the nomination of the new director might take place before the admission of the second third into the councils—another combination irreconcilable with the presence of Carnot.

The society of Clichy was very active in its endeavours to prevent the arrangements just mentioned. It contrived to get a proposal submitted to the Five Hundred, tending to oblige the directors to draw the lots in public. This proposal was unconstitutional, for the constitution did not prescribe the mode of drawing, and depended for its regularity on the interest of each of the directors. It passed nevertheless in the councils. Lareveillère-Lepeaux, without ambition, but firm, represented to his colleagues that this measure would be an encroachment on their prerogatives, and exhorted them not to acknowledge its legality. The Directory replied that it would not carry it into execution because it was unconstitutional. The councils rejoined that the Directory had no right to judge of a decision of the legislative body. The Directory was about to insist, and to answer that the constitution was placed by a fundamental article under the safeguard of each of the powers, and that the executive power was bound not to constitute an unconstitutional measure ; but Carnot and Letourneur abandoned their colleagues. Barras, who was violent but by no means firm, prevailed upon Rewbel and Lareveillère-Lepeaux to give way, and there was no further dispute about the mode of drawing the lots.

The turbulent club of Clichy devised fresh propositions to be submitted to the councils before the 1st of Prairial. The most important in its estimation was the repeal of the noted law of the 3d of Brumaire, which excluded the relatives of emigrants from public functions, and closed the doors of the legislative body against several members of the first and second third. The proposition was actually made to the Five Hundred, a few days before the 1st of Prairial, and adopted after a stormy discussion. This unhopèd-for success, even before the junction of the second third, proved the influence which the opposition began to exercise over the legislative body, though still composed of two-thirds Conventionalists. How

ever, the party calling itself constitutional was stronger in the Ancients. It was offended at the wilfulness of the deputies, who had hitherto seemed to submit to its direction, and it refused to repeal the law of the 3d of Brumaire.

The 1st of Prairial having arrived, the two hundred and fifty new members repaired to the legislative body, and took the place of two hundred and fifty Conventionals. Among the seven hundred and fifty members of the two councils, there were left, therefore, no more than two hundred and fifty belonging to the great assembly which had consummated and defended the Revolution. When Pichegru appeared at the Five Hundred, the greater part of the assembly, not knowing that it had a traitor in its bosom, and regarding him only as an illustrious general disgraced by the government, rose from an impulse of curiosity. Out of four hundred and forty-four votes, he obtained three hundred and eighty-seven for the presidency. The moderate and constitutional party would fain have called General Jourdan to the bureau, in order to pave the way for him to the chair, and to raise him to it after Pichegru; but the new majority, proud of its strength, and throwing off already all kind of delicacy, rejected Jourdan. The members of the bureau were Messrs. Simeon, Vaublanc, Henri Larivière, and Parisot. The exclusion of Jourdan was unwise, and could not but deeply wound the armies. During the sitting, the election for the Hautes Pyrénées, which had returned Barrère to the legislative body, was annulled. The result of the drawing of lots by the Directory was communicated. By a singular chance, the lot had fallen on Letourneur, which served to confirm the prevailing opinion of a voluntary agreement among the directors.* The choice of a successor next occupied all minds. That choice was now a matter of much less consequence, since it could not change the directorial majority; but still it was the support of one voice given to Carnot; and besides, as people were not well acquainted with the sentiments of Lareveillère-Lepeaux, as he was known to be a moderate, and one of the persons proscribed in 1793, they flattered themselves that he might, in certain cases, join Carnot, and change the majority. The Constitutionals, who entertained the wish and the hope to modify the march of the government, without overthrowing it, would fain have nominated a man attached to the existing system, but decided against the Directory, and ready to support Carnot. They proposed Cochon, the minister of the police, and a friend of Carnot's. They also thought of Beurnonville; but the members of the club of Clichy were hostile to Cochon, though they had, at first, shown him great favour on account of his energy against the Jacobins. They were now embittered against him for the apprehension of Brottier, Duverne de Presle, and Laville-Heurnois, but especially for his circulars to the electors. They rejected Cochon and even Beurnonville. They proposed Barthélemy, our ambassador in Switzerland, and the negotiator of the treaties of peace with Prussia and Spain. It was certainly not the diplomatic pacificator whom they meant to honour

* It is asserted in a great number of historical works that Letourneur went out by a voluntary arrangement. Lareveillère-Lepeaux, the director, in his valuable and yet unpublished memoirs, declares the contrary. To every one acquainted with that virtuous citizen, who was incapable of falsehood, his assertion is proof sufficient. But Carnot's memorial, written after the 18th of Fructidor, leaves no doubt on the subject. In that memorial, full of gall, and which is to be deplored for the glory of Carnot, he assures us that all those arrangements are but mere conjecture. He certainly had no interest in justifying his colleagues, against whom he was filled with resentment.

in his person, but the supposed accomplice of the Pretender and the emigrants. However, the royalists, who hoped to have a traitor in him, and the republicans, who were afraid of finding him one, were alike mistaken. M. Barthelemy was but a weak man, of moderate abilities, faithful to the reigning power, and not even possessing the boldness necessary for betraying it. To decide his election, which met with obstacles, it was reported that he would not accept the office, and that his nomination would be a homage paid to the man who had commenced the reconciliation of France with Europe. This fable contributed to his success. In the Five Hundred, he obtained three hundred and nine votes, and Cochon two hundred and thirty. In the list of the candidates presented to the Ancients appeared the names of Massena, supported by one hundred and eighty-seven votes; Kleber, by one hundred and seventy-three; Augereau, by one hundred and thirty-nine. There were a number of deputies who wished to call to the government one of the most distinguished generals of division in the armies.

Barthelemy was elected by the Ancients, and, in spite of the fable invented to gain votes for him, he immediately replied that he accepted the functions of director. His introduction into the Directory instead of Letourneur, produced no change of influence whatever. Barthelemy was not more capable of acting upon his colleagues than Letourneur; he proceeded to vote in the same manner, and to do from position, what Letourneur had done from attachment to the person of Carnot.

The members of the society of Clichy, the Clichyans, as they were called, fell to work immediately on the 1st of Prairial, and indicated the most violent intentions. Few of them were in the confidence of the royalist agents. Lemerer, Versan, Imbert Colomès, Pichegru, and perhaps Willot, were alone in the secret. Pichegru, at first in correspondence with Condé and Wickham, had just been put in direct communication with the Pretender. He received great encouragement, magnificent promises, and fresh funds, which he again accepted, without being more certain than before what use he could make of them. He promised much, and said that, before he could come to any determination, he must observe the new march of affairs. Cold and reserved, he affected, towards his accomplices and everybody, the mystery of a profound mind and the earnestness of a great character. The less he spoke, the greater were supposed to be his combinations and his means. The majority of the Clichyans were unacquainted with his secret mission. The government itself was ignorant of it, for D'averne de Presle knew nothing of it, and of course could not communicate it.

Among the Clichyans, some were actuated by ambition, others by a natural leaning towards monarchy, and the greater number by the remembrance of the Reign of Terror, and by the fear of seeing it renewed. Collected together by various motives, they were led, as is almost always the case with bodies of men, by the most ardent among them. After the 1st of Prairial, they formed the wildest plans. The first was to place the councils in permanence. They then meant to demand the removal of the troops which were in Paris; they purposed to arrogate to themselves the police of the capital, by interpreting the article of the constitution which gave to the legislative body the police of the place of its sittings, and by construing the word *place* as the word *town* or *city*. They purposed also to put the directors under accusation, to appoint others, to repeal *en masse* the laws called revolutionary, that is, to annul, by favour of that term, the entire revolution. Thus, Paris being in their power, the chiefs

of the government overthrown, the authority placed in their hands to be disposed of at their pleasure, they could hazard anything, even the restoration of royalty. These propositions of some violent spirits were, nevertheless, rejected. More moderate men, seeing that they were tantamount to an attack by main force upon the Directory, opposed them, and caused others to be adopted. It was agreed to have recourse, in the first place, to the power of the majority, for the purpose of changing all the commissions, reforming certain laws, and thwarting the course then pursued by the Directory. Legislative tactics were preferred for the moment to attacks by main force.

Having once determined upon this plan, they immediately put it in execution. After annulling Barrère's election, they recollected that four members of the first third had been excluded in the preceding year, by virtue of the law of the 3d of Brumaire. The refusal of the Ancients to repeal this law was not an obstacle. The deputies, shut out from the legislative body, were recalled as unconstitutionally excluded. Their names were Ferrand-Vaillant, Gault, Polissart, Job Aymé of the Drôme, and Mersan, one of the agents of royalism. They then devised a new method of repealing the law of the 3d of Brumaire. The repeal of that law, having been proposed some days before, and rejected by the Ancients, could not be again proposed for a year to come. A new form was employed, and it was decided that the law of the 3d of Brumaire should be repealed in so far as related to exclusion from public functions. This was nearly the whole of the law. The Ancients adopted the resolution under this form. The members of the new third, excluded as relatives of emigrants or as included in the amnesty for revolutionary offences, were allowed to be introduced. To this resolution M. Imbert Colomès of Lyons was indebted for the privilege of entering the legislative body.* It benefited Salicetti also, who had been compromised in the events of Prairial and included in the amnesty with several members of the Convention. Having been returned as deputy in Corsica, his election was confirmed. From an appearance of impartiality, the leaders of the Five Hundred obtained the repeal of a law of the 21st of Floreal, which removed from Paris the Conventionals not invested with public functions. This was done in order to appear to abrogate all the revolutionary laws. They proceeded immediately to the verification of the elections, and, as it might naturally be expected, they annulled all that were doubtful, in case a republican deputy had been returned, and confirmed them when they had brought in an enemy to the Revolution. They caused all the commissions to be renewed; and, pretending that everything ought to date from the day of their introduction into the legislative body, they demanded accounts of the finances up to the 1st of Prairial. They then got special commissions formed, for examining the laws relative to emigrants, priests, religion, public instruction, the colonies, &c. The intention of laying hands on everything was sufficiently evident.

Two exceptions had been made in the laws which banished emigrants for ever; the one in favour of the workmen and farmers who had fled from

* "Imbert Colomès, deputed from Lyons to the Council of Five Hundred, was erased from the list of emigrants, and, showing himself hostile to the Directorial party, was sentenced to transportation, and again placed on the list of emigrants. He then retired to Germany, and was one of those proscribed persons whom the Consuls did not recall in 1799. During the early period of the Revolution, he filled the station of first alderman of Lyons, where he behaved with firmness and moderation, but showed little favour to the democratic party."—*Biographie Moderne* E.

the Haut Rhin to escape the persecutions of St. Just and Lebas, during their mission in 1793; the other in favour of the persons compromised and obliged to flee in consequence of the events of the 31st of May. The refugees from Toulon, who had delivered up that place, and escaped in the English squadron, were alone deprived of the benefit of this second exception. Under favour of these two dispositions, a multitude of emigrants had already returned. Some passed themselves off for artisans or farmers of the Haut Rhin, others as having been proscribed on the 31st of May. The Clichyans moved and carried a prorogation of the delay granted to the fugitives of the Upper Rhine, and caused the time to be prolonged to six months. They even obtained a decision that the Toulonese fugitives might avail themselves of the exception granted to the persons proscribed on the 31st of May. Though this favour was merited by many of the Southerners who had fled to Toulon, and from Toulon on board the English squadron, merely to withdraw themselves from the proscription incurred by the federalists, it nevertheless recalled attention to, and seemed to grant an amnesty for the most criminal act of the revolutionary faction, and could not but excite the indignation of the patriots. The discussion on the subject of the colonies, and on the conduct of the agents of the Directory in St. Domingo, led to a violent scene. The commission to whom this subject was referred, consisting of Tarbé, Villaret-Joyeuse, Vaublanc, and Bourdon of the Oise, presented a report in which the Convention was treated with the greatest acrimony. Marec, the Conventionalist, was accused in it of not having *resisted tyranny with the energy of virtue*. At these words, which indicated the intention already often manifested of insulting the members of the Convention, all those who had still seats in the Five Hundred rushed to the tribune, and demanded a report drawn up in a manner more worthy of the legislative body. The scene was most violent. The Conventionalists, supported by the moderate deputies, obtained a decision that the report should be referred to the commission. Carnot influenced the commission by means of Bourdon of the Oise, and the dispositions of the projected decree were modified. At first it had been proposed to deprive the Directory of the faculty of sending agents to the colonies; that power was left it, but the number of agents was limited to three, and the duration of their mission to eighteen months. Santhonax was recalled. The Constitutionalists, seeing that, by joining the Conventionalists, they had been able to check the impetuosity of the Clichyans, conceived that they were about to become the moderators of the legislative body. But the succeeding sittings soon showed how much they were mistaken.

Among the most important subjects to which the new members proposed to direct their attention were religion and the laws concerning the priests. The commission charged with this momentous subject appointed for its reporter young Camille Jordan, whose imagination had been excited amidst the horrors of the siege of Lyons, and whose sensibility, though sincere, was not free from pretension. The reporter made a long and very inflated dissertation on the freedom of worship. It was not sufficient, he said, to allow to every one the exercise of his religion, but, in order that the liberty should be real, nothing should be required of him that was in contradiction with his creed. Thus, for instance, the oath required of the priests, though it did not interfere at all with their creed, yet, having been unfavourably interpreted by them, and considered as contrary to the doctrines of the Catholic church, ought not to be imposed upon them. It was a tyranny, the result of which was to create a class of proscripts, and of

dangerous proscriptions, because they had great influence on minds; and, assiduously concealed from the researches of the authorities by the pious zeal of the people, they laboured in secret to excite rebellion. As for the ceremonies of religion, it was not sufficient to permit them in closed temples. It was right, while forbidding all external shows that could occasion disturbance, to permit certain indispensable practices. Thus, bells were indispensable for assembling the Catholics at certain hours; they were a necessary part of their worship; to forbid them was to cramp its liberty. Besides, the people were accustomed to those sounds, they were fond of them, they had not yet consented to do without them; and in the country the law against bells had not been carried into execution. To permit them, then, was to satisfy an innocent want, and to put an end to the scandal of an unexecuted law. The case was the same in regard to cemeteries. While forbidding public exhibitions to all religions, it was nevertheless necessary to allow each to have its own enclosed grounds devoted to burial, and in which it should be at liberty to place its peculiar signs. In virtue of these principles, Camille Jordan proposed the abolition of the oaths, the repeal of the oppressive laws which had been the consequence, permission to use bells, and to have cemeteries, in which each religion could place such religious signs as it pleased upon the graves. The principles of this report, though expressed with dangerous emphasis, were just. It is true that there is but one way of destroying old superstitions, namely, indifference and want. By tolerating all religions, and granting salaries to none, governments would amazingly accelerate their end. The Convention had already restored to the Catholics the buildings which served them for churches. The Directory would have done well to allow them bells and crosses in the cemeteries, and to abolish the oath and the laws against the priests who refused to take it. But were the right forms employed, was the proper moment chosen, for bringing forward such claims? If, instead of making them one of the grievances in the grand indictment preferred against the Directory, their authors had waited for a more seasonable moment, and allowed passions time to subside and the government time to consolidate itself, they would infallibly have obtained the desired concessions. But because the counter-revolutionists made them a condition, for that very reason the patriots opposed them; for men will always oppose the opinions of their enemies. On hearing the sound of the bells, they would have fancied that they heard the tocsin of counter-revolution. Each party wishes its own passions to be comprehended and satisfied; but it will neither comprehend nor admit those of the contrary party. The patriots had their passions, composed of errors, fears, and animosities, which it was equally necessary to comprehend and to make allowance for.

This report produced an extraordinary sensation, for it touched the keenest and the deepest resentments.* It was the most striking and perhaps the most dangerous act of the Clichyans, though at bottom the best founded. The patriots made a bad reply to it, by saying that their adversaries proposed to reward the violation of the laws by the repeal of the violated laws. It is in fact but right to repeal laws that are impracticable.

* "Camille Jordan's report occasioned great surprise and produced violent opposition. All that remained of enthusiasm was still of a patriotic kind, and people were therefore astonished at the exhibition of so different a description of enthusiasm, as that of religion. They had in the last age, and during the Revolution, been totally unaccustomed to it and they could not now comprehend it."—*Mignet*. E.

To all these demands the Clichyans added vexations of all kinds against the Directory on the subject of the finances. This was the important object by means of which they hoped to harass and paralyze it. We have already shown, in giving a sketch of the financial resources of the year V (1797), what were the presumed receipts and expenses for that year. Ordinary expenses of 450 millions had to be supplied by 250 millions from the land-tax, 50 millions from personal contribution, and 150 millions from the stamp-duty, registration, patents, posts, and customs. The extraordinary expense of 550 millions was to be defrayed by the last fourth of the price of the national domains sold in the preceding year, amounting to 100 millions and required in bills from the purchasers; by the produce of the woods and the rents of national property, by the arrears of the contributions, by the Batavian rescriptions, by the sale of the national moveable property, by various accessory revenues, lastly, by the everlasting resource of the domains yet unsold. But all these means were insufficient and very much below their presumed value. The receipts and expenditure of the year being but provisionally regulated, orders had been issued for the levy, on the provisional assessments, of three-fifths of the land-tax and personal contribution. But the assessments made by the local administrations being faulty, as we have already stated, on account of the continual variation of the fiscal laws, loaded with marginal amendments, gave rise to continual difficulties. The unwillingness of the payers added to these difficulties, and the receipt was very slow. Besides the inconvenience of tardiness in coming in, the amount was far below what had been expected. The land-tax afforded a prospect of 200 millions at the utmost, instead of 250. The different revenues, such as stamp-duty, registration, patents, customs, and posts, gave hopes of no more than 100 millions instead of 150. Such was the deficit in the ordinary revenues destined to provide for the ordinary expenses. It was not less in the extraordinary. The bills given by the purchasers of the national property for the last fourth of the price had been negotiated at a great disadvantage. To avoid suffering the same losses on the Batavian rescriptions, they had been pledged for a sum very inferior to their value. The domains sold very slowly, consequently the distress was extreme. The army of Italy had subsisted upon the contributions which it levied; but the armies of the Rhine, of the Sambre and Meuse, of the interior, and the naval forces, had suffered most severely. The troops had several times been ready to mutiny. The public establishments and the hospitals were in extreme penury. The public functionaries were unpaid.

It had been found necessary to recur to expedients of all kinds. The first, as we have already related, had been to resort to delay for the acquittal of certain obligations. The *rentiers* were paid only one-fourth in cash and three-fourths in bills payable in national domains, and thence called *three-quarter bills*. The amount of the consolidated debt, the life debt, and pensions, was 248 millions; consequently there were only 62 millions to pay, and the ordinary expense was thus reduced to 186 millions. But, notwithstanding this reduction, the expenditure exceeded the income. Notwithstanding the distinction made between the ordinary and extraordinary expense, this distinction was not observed in the payments of the treasury. The extraordinary expense was defrayed by resources destined for the ordinary expense; that is, in default of money to pay the troops, or the contractors who supplied them, it was taken from the sums destined for the salaries of the public functionaries, the judges, and the administrators of all classes. Not only were the two kinds of funds blended, but the receipts

were anticipated, and orders given upon this or that receiver, payable with the first funds that should come into his hands. The contractors had orders given them upon the treasury, the minister of which fixed the order of payment according to the urgency of the wants. This method gave rise sometimes to abuses, but it afforded the means of providing for what was most pressing, and of frequently preventing contractors from being disheartened and relinquishing the service. Lastly, in default of every other resource, bills were given upon the national domains—a paper which was negotiated to the purchasers. Such was the method adopted, since the destruction of the paper-money, for anticipating the sales. Owing to this state of the finances, none but the worst kind of contractors, that is, adventurous contractors, surrounded the government, and obliged it to submit to the most onerous bargains. They would not take the paper that was given them but at a very low rate, and they raised the price of articles of consumption in proportion to the chances or the delay of payment. The government was frequently obliged to make the most singular arrangements, in order to supply particular wants. Thus, the minister of the marine bought flour for the fleet, on condition that the contractor, on delivering the flour at Brest, should give part in money, in order to pay the seamen, who were ready to mutiny. The compensation for this advance of cash, was, of course, to be obtained from the high price of the flour. All these losses were inevitable, and resulted from the existing state of affairs. It would be an injustice to impute them to the government. Unfortunately, the conduct of one of the directors, who secretly shared in the profits of the contractors, and who took no pains to conceal either his prodigality or the growth of his fortune, furnished a pretext for all sorts of calumnies. It was certainly not the disgraceful profits made by one individual which involved the state in distress, but people took occasion from them to accuse the Directory of ruining the finances.

Here, indeed, a violent and factious opposition might find ample matter for declamation and for mischievous projects. It did actually form one that was extremely dangerous. It had composed the commission of the finances of men of its own choice, who were most unfavourably disposed towards the government. The first thing which this commission did was to present to the Five Hundred, through the reporter, Gilbert Desmolières, an incorrect statement of the income and expenditure. It exaggerated the one, and greatly diminished the other. Obligated to acknowledge the inadequacy of the ordinary resources, such as the land-tax, the registration, the stamp-duty, the patents, the posts, and the customs, it nevertheless refused all the taxes devised for supplying the deficiency. Ever since the commencement of the Revolution, it had been found impossible to re-establish the indirect taxes. A tax on salt and tobacco was proposed: the commission alleged that it would frighten the people. A lottery was proposed: that it rejected as immoral. A toll upon the high-roads was proposed: this it considered as liable to great difficulties. These objections were all more or less just, but it was absolutely necessary to seek and to find resources. As the sole resource, the commission intimated that it was about to take into consideration a duty on the registry of judicial acts. As for the deficit of the extraordinary receipts, so far from providing for that, it sought to increase it, by forbidding the Directory the use of those expedients by means of which it had contrived to live from day to day. The course which it pursued was this:—

The constitution had detached the treasury from the Directory and made

it a separate establishment, under the control of independent commissioners, appointed by the Councils, who had no other duty than to receive the revenue and to make the disbursements. Thus, the Directory had not the management of the funds of the state; it gave orders upon the treasury, which the latter paid till the credits opened by the Councils were exhausted. Nothing could be more vicious than this system, for the management of the funds is an affair of execution, which ought to belong to the government, like the direction of the military operations, and in which the deliberating bodies can no more interfere than in the plan of a campaign. In many cases, even it occurs, that by a clever and skilful management, a minister contrives to create temporary resources on an emergency. Thus, the two Councils had, in the preceding year, authorized the treasury to execute all the negotiations ordered by the Directory. The new commission resolved to cut short the expedients which enabled the Directory to exist, by depriving it of all power over the treasury. In the first place, it desired that the Directory should cease to possess the faculty of ordering the negotiation of securities. When non-circulating securities were to be realized, the commissioners of the treasury were to negotiate them themselves, upon their personal responsibility. It then proposed to take from the Directory the faculty of fixing the arrangement in which the orders for payment were to be discharged. It proposed also to prohibit any anticipation of the funds that were to be received by the chests of the departments. It even desired that all orders already delivered upon funds not yet received, should be carried back to the treasury, verified and paid in their turn; which would interrupt and annul all the operations that had already taken place. It proposed, moreover, to render obligatory the distinction made between the two natures of expenses and receipts, and to require that the ordinary expenses should be paid out of the ordinary receipts, and the extraordinary expenses out of the extraordinary receipts—a mischievous measure, at a moment when it was absolutely necessary to supply every urgent want out of the first disposable funds. To all these propositions it added a last, more baneful than the preceding. We have already stated that, as the domains sold slowly, the government anticipated upon their sale, by giving bills which were receivable in payment of their value. The contractors were satisfied with these bills, which they afterwards negotiated to purchasers. Hence, it is true, there was a rivalry between this paper and the *three-quarter bills* delivered to the *rentiers*, the value of which was diminished by the competition. Upon pretext of protecting the unfortunate *rentiers* against the greediness of the contractors, the commission proposed no longer to allow the national domains to be paid for by the bills given to the contractors.

All these propositions were adopted by the Five Hundred, the majority of whom, blindly hurried away, ceased to observe any moderation. They were disastrous, and threatened the interruption of all the public services. The Directory, in fact, being no longer allowed to negotiate at pleasure the securities which it had in its hands;—having no longer the power to fix the order of the payments according to the urgency of the services, to anticipate on an emergency funds not yet received, to take from the ordinary for the extraordinary, and lastly, to issue a voluntary paper, payable in national domains;—was deprived of all the means which had hitherto enabled it to live, and was permitted, in the impossibility to provide for all wants, to give the preference to the most urgent. The measures adopted, though well suited to restore order in a quiet time, were alarming in the existing state of the

country. The constitutionalists made vain efforts to oppose them in the Five Hundred. They passed, and the only hope left was in the Council of Ancients.

The constitutionalists, moderate enemies of the Directory, saw with great pain the course pursued by the Council of the Five Hundred. They had hoped that the junction of a new third would be rather serviceable than prejudicial to them, that it would have no other effect than that of changing the majority, and that they should become masters of the legislative body. Carnot, their chief, had conceived the same illusive ideas; but both found themselves far beyond their goal, and they could perceive, on this, as on all other occasions, that behind every opposition lurks counter-revolution, with its mischievous designs. They possessed much more influence in the Council of Ancients than in that of Five Hundred, and they strove to provoke the rejection of the resolutions relative to the finances. Carnot had a devoted friend there in the deputy Lacuée; he was also connected with Dumas, formerly a member of the Legislative Assembly. He could reckon upon the influence of Portalis, Tronçon-Decoudray, Lebrun, and Barbé-Marbois, all moderately hostile to the Directory, and censuring the extravagance of the Clichyan party.* Owing to the united efforts of these deputies, and to the dispositions of the Council of Ancients, the first propositions of Gilbert Desmolières, those which forbade the Directory to manage the negotiations of the treasury, to fix the order of the payments, and to blend the ordinary with the extraordinary, were rejected. This rejection gave great satisfaction to the constitutionalists, and to all moderate men in general, who dreaded a conflict. Carnot was extremely rejoiced at it. He again conceived hopes that the Clichyans might be curbed by means of the Council of Ancients, and that the direction of affairs would remain in his hands and those of his friends.

But this was only a moderate palliative. The club of Clichy rang with the most violent declamations against the Ancients, and with fresh schemes of accusation against the Directory. Gilbert Desmolières resumed his first propositions rejected by the Ancients, in order to present them in another form, and to obtain their adoption upon a second deliberation. Resolutions of all kinds against the government succeeded one another in the Five Hundred. Deputies were forbidden to accept places for a year before their leaving the legislative body. Imbert-Colomès, who corresponded with the court of Blankenburg, proposed to take from the Directory the faculty, which it possessed by law, of examining letters coming from abroad. Aubry, the same who had brought about a reaction in the army after the 9th of Thermidor, and who had displaced Bonaparte in 1795, proposed to deprive the Directory of the right of removing officers, which would strip it of one of its most important constitutional prerogatives. He proposed also to add to the twelve hundred grenadiers composing the guard of the legislative body, a company of artillery and a squadron of dragoons, and to give the command of the whole of this guard to the inspectors of the hall of the legislative body—a ridiculous proposition, and which seemed to

* "The two parties were watching each other; the position of the one was in the Directory, the club of Salm, and the army; that of the other, in the councils, at Clichy, and in the salons of the royalists. The multitude were spectators. Each party was inclined to act in the revolutionary fashion towards the other. An intermediate party, whose principles were of a constitutional and pacific nature, attempted to prevent this struggle, and what was altogether impossible, to re-establish harmony. Carnot was at the head of this party, and some members of the Council of Five Hundred, directed by Thibaudeau, together with a considerable number of the Ancients, supported his scheme."—*Mignet*. E.

denote preparations for war. The remittance of a million to the commissioner of the navy at Toulon, made direct by Bonaparte, without sending it through the medium of the treasury, in order to hasten the departure of the squadron which he needed in the Adriatic, was denounced. That million was seized by the treasury and conveyed to Paris. Similar remittances, made in the same manner by the army of Italy to the armies of the Alps, the Rhine, and the Sambre and Meuse, were denounced. A long report on the relations of France with the United States was presented; and, though the Directory had right on its side in the differences which had arisen between it and that power, it was censured with acrimony. At length the rage for denouncing and finding fault with all the operations of the government, hurried the Clichyans into a last step, which was an egregious imprudence on their part. All Europe had rung with the events at Venice. Since the manifesto of Palma Nova, that republic had been annihilated and that of Genoa revolutionized, though the Directory had not communicated a single word on the subject to the two Councils. The reason of this silence lay, as we have seen, in the rapidity of the operations, a rapidity so great that Venice had ceased to exist, before the war could be submitted for deliberation to the legislative body. The treaty since concluded had not yet been laid before it, but was to be discussed in a few days. It was not so much the silence of the Directory that excited dissatisfaction, as the fall of the aristocratic governments and the progress of the Revolution in Italy. Dumolard, that diffuse speaker, who, for nearly two years, had not ceased to attack the Directory in the Council of Five Hundred, resolved to make a motion relative to the events of Venice and Genoa. The attempt was a bold one; for it was impossible to attack the Directory without attacking General Bonaparte. In order to effect this, it was requisite to defy an admiration now become universal, and an influence which had become colossal since the general had compelled Austria to make peace, and since, at once negotiator and warrior, he seemed to rule at Milan the destinies of Europe. All the Clichyans who were not maddened by factious views, strove to dissuade Dumolard from his intention; but he persisted, and, in the sitting of the 5th of Messidor (June 23), he made a motion of order with regard to the events of Venice. "Rumour," said he, "whose flight it is impossible to restrain, has everywhere diffused the report of our conquests over the Venetians, and of the astonishing revolution which has crowned them. Our troops are in their capital; their navy is delivered up to us; the most ancient government in Europe is annihilated; in the twinkling of an eye, it again appears under democratic forms; and our soldiers, braving the billows of the Adriatic, are on their way to Corfu to complete the new revolution. Admit these events as certain, and it follows that the Directory has in disguised terms made war and peace, and in certain respects a treaty of alliance with Venice, and all without your concurrence. Are we then no longer that nation which has proclaimed in principle and maintained by force of arms, that no foreign power has a right, upon any pretext, to interfere in the form of government of another state? Insulted by the Venetians, was it on their political institutions that we had a right to declare war? Victors and conquerors, was it for us to take an active part in their revolution, in appearance unlooked-for? I shall not here inquire what is the fate reserved for Venice? and particularly for her provinces on *terra firma*. I shall not examine whether the invasion of them, contemplated, perhaps, before the transactions which served as motives for it, is not destined to figure in history as a worthy companion to the partition

of Poland. I shall waive these reflections, and, with the constitutional act in my hand, I ask how the Directory can justify the absolute ignorance in which it seeks to leave the legislative body concerning this multitude of extraordinary events." Passing from the affairs of Venice, Dumolard then adverted to the transactions at Genoa, which, he said, exhibited the same character, and justified the supposition of the interference of the French army and its leaders. He spoke also of Switzerland, with which, he said, they were at variance relative to a right of navigation; and he asked if the government purposed to render democratic all the states in alliance with France. Taking frequent occasion to praise the heroes of Italy, he made mention only once of the commander-in-chief, whose name no lips then omitted an opportunity of pronouncing and eulogizing. Dumolard concluded by proposing a message to the Directory, applying for explanations concerning the events of Venice and Genoa, and the relations of France with Switzerland.

This motion caused general astonishment, and proved the boldness of the Clichyans. It was destined soon to cost them dearly. Until, however, they were doomed to feel its melancholy consequences, they were full of arrogance. They loudly expressed the strongest hopes, and seemed confident of becoming in a short time masters of the government. There prevailed everywhere the same assurance and the same imprudence as in Vendémiaire. The emigrants returned in multitudes. Great quantities of false passports and false certificates of residence were sent from Paris to all parts of Europe. A traffic was carried on with them at Hamburg. The emigrants introduced themselves into the French territory by way of Holland, Alsace, Switzerland, and Piedmont. Actuated by the fondness which the French feel for dwelling in their own fine country, and by the hardships and disgusts endured abroad; having, besides, nothing to hope from war, since the commencement of negotiations with Austria; having even to apprehend the disbanding of the corps of Condé, they came back to attempt, by means of peace and intrigues at home, that counter-revolution which they had not been able to effect by the league of the European powers. In default of a counter-revolution, they wished at least to see their country again, and to recover part of their property. Owing in fact to the interest which they everywhere excited, they had a thousand facilities for redeeming it. The jobbing in the different papers taken in payment for national domains, the facility for obtaining these papers at a low price, the favour of the local administrations towards the old proscribed families, and the complaisance of the bidders, who drew back whenever a former proprietor wished to purchase his estates under a fictitious name, enabled the emigrants to recover possession of their patrimony with very small sums. The priests, in particular, had returned in crowds. They were cordially received by all the devout in France, who lodged them, fed them, fitted up chapels for them in their houses, and supplied them with money which they collected. The old ecclesiastical hierarchy was clandestinely re-established. None of the new circumscriptions of the civil constitution of the clergy was acknowledged. The old dioceses still existed. Bishops and archbishops secretly administered them, and corresponded with Rome. Through them and their ministry all the ceremonies of the Catholic church were practised; they confessed, baptized, married, the persons who adhered to the old religion. All the Chouans who had nothing to do hastened to Paris, and joined the emigrants, whose number there was said to exceed five thousand. Seeing the conduct of the Five Hundred and the

perils of the Directory, they conceived that it would take but a few days to bring about the long wished-for catastrophe. Their correspondence with foreign countries was full of these hopes. All who were about the Prince of Condé, whose corps was retiring to Poland, the pretender who was at Blankenburg, and Count d'Artois who was in Scotland, were overjoyed. Amidst this intoxication, which had been manifested at Coblenz, when the emigrants expected to come back in a fortnight in the train of the King of Prussia, they formed plans for their return. They talked of it and joked about it, as of an event that would immediately take place. The towns bordering on the frontiers were full of people awaiting with impatience the moment for revisiting France. Lastly, to all this must be added the violent language of part of the royalist journals, whose fury increased with the temerity and the hopes of the party.

The Directory was informed by its police of all these movements. The conduct of the emigrants, the proceedings of the Five Hundred, sufficiently corresponded with the declaration of Duverne de Presle to demonstrate the existence of a real plot. Duverne de Presle had asserted that one hundred and eighty deputies were accomplices in it. He had mentioned no names but those of Lemerer and Mersan, and had said that all the others belonged to the club of Clichy. In this he was mistaken, as we have seen. Most of the Clichyans, excepting perhaps five or six, acted as they did under the influence of opinion, and not from connivance. But the Directory, misled by appearances and by the declaration of Duverne de Presle, believed them to be knowingly engaged in the plot, and regarded them as conspirators. A discovery made in Italy by Bonaparte had just revealed to them an important secret, and increased their alarm. The Count d'Entraigues,* an agent of the pretender's through whom he communicated with the intriguers of France, and the confidant of all the secrets of the emigration, had sought refuge in Venice. When the French entered that city, he was seized and delivered up to Bonaparte. The latter might have sent him to France to be shot as an emigrant and a conspirator; but he suffered himself to be moved, and chose rather to make use of him and his indiscretions than to doom him to death. He assigned the city of Milan for his prison, gave him some assistance in money, and drew from him all the secrets of the pretender. He thus learned the whole history of Pichegru's treason, which had remained unknown to the government, and of which Rewbel alone had entertained some suspicions, to which his colleagues refused to listen. D'Entraigues related to Bonaparte all that he knew, and made him acquainted with all the intrigues of the emigrants. Besides these verbal revelations, very curious particulars were obtained by the seizure of the papers found at Venice in the portfolio of d'Entraigues. Among other papers there was one of great importance containing a long conversation between d'Entraigues and the Count de Montgaillard, in which the latter gave an account of the first negotiation opened with Pichegru, and which proved fruitless through the obstinacy of the Prince of Condé. D'En-

* "The Count d'Entraigues was one of the second emigration, who left France during Robespierre's ascendancy. He was employed as a political agent by the court of Russia, after the affair of Venice, which proves that he was not at least convicted of treachery to the Bourbon princes. In July, 1812, he was assassinated at his villa near London, by an Italian domestic, who, having murdered the count and countess, shot himself through the head, leaving no clue to discover the motive of his villany. It was remarked that the villain used Count d'Entraigues' own pistols, which, apprehensive of danger, as a political intriguer, he had always ready prepared in his apartment."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

traigues had committed this conversation to writing, and it had been found among his papers. Berthier, Clarke, and Bonaparte, immediately signed it, for the purpose of attesting its authenticity, and sent it to Paris.*

The Directory kept it secret, like the declaration of Duverne de Presle, waiting for an occasion to employ it to good purpose. But it had no longer any doubt concerning the part acted by Pichegru in the Council of Five Hundred, which explained his defeats, his absurd conduct, his ill-behaviour, his refusal to go to Stockholm, and his influence over the Clichyans. It concluded that, at the head of one hundred and eighty deputies, his accomplices, he was preparing a counter-revolution.

The directors were divided since the new direction which Carnot had taken, and which had been followed by Barthelemy. Barras, Rewbel, and Lareveillère-Lepeaux, alone continued devoted to the system of the government. These three directors themselves were not very closely united, for Rewbel, a moderate Conventionalist, hated Barras as a partisan of Danton, and had, moreover, a great aversion for his manners and character. Lareveillère had some acquaintance with Rewbel, but very little intercourse with Barras. The three directors harmonized only in the habitual conformity of their votes. All three were highly irritated, and decidedly hostile to the faction of Clichy. Barras, though admitting emigrants, in consequence of his supple manners, never ceased to declare that he would mount his horse, and proceed, sword in hand, at the head of the fauxbourgs, to cut in pieces all the counter-revolutionists of the Five Hundred. Rewbel did not express himself in that manner; he imagined that all was lost; and, though resolved to do his duty, he conceived that no other resource would soon be left for him and his two colleagues but flight. Lareveillère-Lepeaux, endowed with as much courage as integrity, thought that they ought to make head against the storm, and to strain every nerve to save the republic. With a heart free from hatred, he might serve as the connecting link between Barras and Rewbel, and such he resolved to make himself. He first addressed himself to Rewbel, whose probity and intelligence he highly appreciated, and, explaining his intentions, asked him if he would consent to save the Revolution. Rewbel met his overtures with cordiality, and promised him entire devotion. The question now was to make sure of Barras, whose energetic language was not sufficient to satisfy his colleagues. Giving him no credit for either integrity or principle, seeing him surrounded by men of all parties, they deemed him just as capable of selling himself to the emigrants, as of putting himself some day at the head of the fauxbourgs and attempting some horrible *coup de main*. They were as apprehensive of one of these things as of the other. They wished to save the republic by an act of energy, but not to compromise it by fresh murders. Alarmed by the manners of Barras,

* M. de Montgaillard, in his work, full of calumnies and errors, has asserted that this piece contained real facts, but that it was spurious, and had been fabricated by Bonaparte, Berthier, and Clarke. The contrary is certain; and it is easy to conceive what an interest M. de Montgaillard must have had in clearing his brother from the conversation which is attributed to him in this paper. But it is scarcely to be supposed, in the first place, that three persons of such importance would have dared to commit a forgery. Such acts are as rare in our days as poisoning. Clarke was dismissed in consequence of events of Fructidor, and he belonged to Carnot's party. It is not at all probable that he would lend himself to fabricate papers in order to support the proceedings of Fructidor. Besides, the paper would have been very insufficient for the use intended to be made of it, and had it been forged it would have been made sufficient. Everything then, serves to prove the falsehood of M. de Montgaillard's assertion.

they distrusted him too much. Lareveillère undertook to speak to him. Barras, delighted to coalesce with his two colleagues and to insure their support, flattered above all by their alliance, acquiesced entirely in their plans, and appeared to fall in with all their views. From that moment they were sure of forming a compact majority, and of completely annulling by their three united votes the influence of Carnot and Barthelemy. It now became a question, what means were to be employed to counteract the conspiracy, which was supposed by them to have such extensive ramifications in the two councils. To have recourse to judicial proceedings, to denounce Pichegru and his accomplices, to demand of the Five Hundred an act of accusation against them, and then to bring them to trial, was absolutely impossible. In the first place, they had no names but those of Pichegru, Lemerer, and Mersan; it was believed that the others might be easily recognised by their connexions, their intrigues, their violent propositions, in the club of Clichy and in the Five Hundred, but they were nowhere named. To procure the condemnation of Pichegru and two or three deputies would not be destroying the conspiracy. Besides, they had not the means of insuring the condemnation of Pichegru, Lemerer, and Mersan; for the proofs obtained against them, though carrying moral conviction, were not sufficient to enable the judges to pronounce a condemnation. The declaration of Duverne de Presle and that of d'Entraigues were insufficient without the aid of oral depositions. But this was not the greatest difficulty. If they had obtained against Pichegru and his accomplices all the evidence which was wanting, it would be requisite to wring the act of accusation from the Five Hundred; and though the proofs had been as clear as day, still it would be impossible to obtain an act of accusation from the existing majority: it was like sending a culprit to be tried by his own accomplices.

These reasons were so self-evident, that Lareveillère and Rewbel, notwithstanding their preference of a legal course, were obliged to relinquish all idea of a regular trial, and to make up their minds to a stroke of policy—a sad and deplorable resource, but which, in their situation and with their alarms, was the only possible one. Having determined upon extreme measures, they purposed, nevertheless, not to have recourse to sanguinary means, and strove to curb the revolutionary propensities of Barras. Without having yet decided upon the mode and the moment of execution, they adopted the idea of apprehending Pichegru and his one hundred and eighty supposed accomplices, denouncing them to the purified legislative body, and demanding from it an extraordinary law, which should decree their banishment without trial. In their extreme distrust they made a great mistake respecting Carnot. They forgot his past life, his rigid principles, his obstinacy, and looked upon him as almost a traitor. They feared that, united with Barthelemy, he was implicated in Pichegru's plot. The pains which he took to collect the opposition around him and to make himself its chief, appeared to their prejudiced eyes so many proofs of criminal connivance. Still they were not yet convinced; but, having determined upon a bold stroke, they would not act by halves; and they were ready to strike the guilty, even at their sides and in the very bosom of the Directory.

They agreed to prepare everything for the execution of their plan, and to watch their enemies closely, in order to seize the moment when it should become urgent to strike them. Disposed to so bold an act, they had need of support. The patriot party, which could alone furnish it, was divided as formerly into two classes. Some, still furious ever since the

9th of Thermidor, had not cooled in the space of three years; they comprehended nothing whatever of the forced march of the Revolution, considered the legal system as a concession made to counter-revolutionists, and panted for vengeance and proscriptions. Though the Directory had struck them in the person of Babœuf, they were ready, with their usual self-devotion, to fly to its aid. But they were too dangerous to be employed, and the utmost that could be done was, in the day of extreme danger, to form them into regiments, as on the 13th of Vendémiaire, and to reckon upon the sacrifice of their lives. They had sufficiently proved, by the side of Bonaparte and on the steps of the church of St. Roch, of what they were capable in the hour of danger. Besides these ardent patriots, almost all compromised by their zeal or their active participation in the Revolution, there were moderate patriots of a superior class, who, approving more or less the conduct of the Directory, desired, nevertheless, that the republic should be supported upon the laws, and saw the imminent peril to which it was exposed by the reaction. These perfectly answered the intentions of Rewbel and Lareveillère, and could lend the aid, if not of force, at least of opinion to the Directory. They were to be seen alternately in the drawing-rooms of Barras, who kept up a kind of state for his colleagues, or in those of Madame de Staël, who had not quitted Paris, and who, by the charms of her superior mind, collected around her all the most shining characters in France. M. Benjamin Constant occupied the first rank among them, for his talents and for the works which he had already published in favour of the Directory. There, too, was seen M. de Talleyrand,* who, erased from the list of emigrants during the latter times of the Convention, had come to Paris with the desire of again entering upon the career of high diplomatic employments. This assemblage of distinguished men, composing the government society, had resolved to form an association to counterbalance the influence of Clichy, and to discuss political questions in a contrary spirit. It was called the Constitutional Circle. It soon comprised all the persons whom we have just designated, and the members of the councils who voted with the Directory; that is, nearly the whole of the last conventional third. The members of the legislative body, who called themselves constitutionalists, would naturally have been expected to join the new Circle, for their opinion was the same; but embroiled from self-love with the Directory by their discussions in the legislative body, they persisted in keeping aloof between the Constitutional Circle and

* "Talleyrand," said Napoleon, "is a corrupt man, who has betrayed all parties and persons. Wary and circumspect; always a traitor, but always in conspiracy with fortune; Talleyrand treats his enemies as if they were one day to become his friends; and his friends, as if they were to become his enemies. He is a man of unquestionable talent, but venal in everything. Nothing could be done with him but by means of bribery."—*Voice from St. Helena*. E.

We subjoin M. Bourrienne's character of Talleyrand, which, it will be observed, is wholly at variance with that drawn by Napoleon: "History will speak as favourably of Talleyrand, as his contemporaries have spoken ill of him. When a statesman, throughout a great, long, and difficult career, makes and preserves a number of faithful friends, and provokes but few enemies, it may justly be inferred that his character is honourable, his talent profound, and that his political conduct has been wise and moderate. It is impossible to know Talleyrand without admiring him. All who have that advantage, judge him, no doubt, as I do." E.

This celebrated statesman died in Paris, at an advanced age, in May of the present year (1838), leaving behind him some MS. memoirs—containing, it is supposed, the history of his own times—which, as ordered in his will, are not to be opened till thirty years after his death. E.

Clichy, after the example of Carnot and Barthelemy, the directors, and the deputies Tronçon-Ducoudray, Portalis, Lacuée, Dumas, Doulcet-Pontécoulant, Simeon, and Thibaudeau. M. Benjamin Constant spoke several times in the Constitutional Circle. M. de Talleyrand also delivered his sentiments there. This example was imitated; and circles of the same kind, composed, it is true, of men of an inferior class, and of less temperate patriots, were formed in all quarters. The Constitutional Circle was opened on the 1st of Messidor, a month after the 1st of Prairial. In a few days there were similar associations all over France; the warmest patriots joined them, and, from a perfectly natural reaction, the Jacobin party almost seemed to be forming itself anew.

But this was a worn-out implement, and of little use. The clubs had lost their importance in France, and were deprived by the constitution of the means of again becoming efficacious. The Directory had fortunately another support, namely, the armies, in which republican principles seemed to have taken refuge ever since the sufferings of the Revolution had produced so violent and so general a reaction in the interior. The whole army is attached to the government that organizes, maintains, and rewards it; but the republican soldiers viewed the Directory not merely as the heads of the government, but as the heads of a cause for which they had risen *en masse* in 1793, and for which they had fought and conquered for six years. Nowhere was the attachment to the Revolution so strong as in the army of Italy. It was composed of the revolutionists of the South, as impetuous in their opinions as in their bravery. Generals, officers, and soldiers, were loaded with honours, gorged with money, revelling in pleasure. They had conceived an extraordinary pride on account of their victories. They were informed of what was passing in the interior from the newspapers, which were given to them to read, and they talked of nothing but recrossing the Alps, and cutting in pieces the aristocrats of Paris. The rest which they enjoyed ever since the signature of the preliminaries, contributed by idleness to augment their excitement. Massena, Joubert, and Augereau, in particular, set them the example of the most ardent republicanism. The troops which had come from the Rhine, without being less republican, were cooler, more moderate, and had contracted under Moreau more sobriety and discipline. It was Bernadotte who commanded them. He affected a polished education, and strove to distinguish himself from his colleagues by more elegant manners. In his division, the appellation of *Monsieur* was employed, whereas in the whole of the old army of Italy, no other title than that of *Citizen* was tolerated. The old soldiers of Italy, licentious, insolent, and quarrelsome as southerners and as the spoiled children of Victory, were already rivalled in bravery by the soldiers of the Rhine; and now they began to be in rivalry with the latter, not in opinion but in manners and habits. They would not be called *Monsieur*, and on this account they had frequent duels with their comrades of the Rhine. Augereau's division, in particular, which was distinguished, like its general, for its revolutionary exaltation, was the most restless. It required an energetic proclamation from its chief to repress it and to put a stop to duels. The appellation of *Citizen* was alone authorized.

General Bonaparte viewed with pleasure the spirit of the army, and encouraged its flights. His first successes had all been gained against the royalist faction, whether before Toulon, or on the 13th of Vendémiaire. With that faction he was therefore in hostility from the outset. It had since made a point of depreciating his triumphs, because their lustre was reflected upon the Revolution.

Its last attacks, especially, had filled the general with indignation. He could not contain himself when he read Dumolard's motion, and learned that the treasury had seized the million sent to Toulon. But, besides his particular reasons for detesting the royalist faction, he had another more general and more profound; it lay in the glory and the greatness of the part which he was acting. What could a king do for his destiny? To whatever height he might exalt him, that king would still be above him. Under the republic, on the contrary, not a head was lifted higher than his. Whether he had any presentiment of his wonderful destiny or not, he foresaw, at least, in the republic an audacity and an immensity of enterprises which suited the audacity and the immensity of his genius. With a king, on the contrary, France would have been brought back to an obscure and limited existence. However he might act towards the republic, whether he served or oppressed it, Bonaparte could not be great unless with and by it, and he could not but cherish that in which his own destiny was involved. That a Pichegru should suffer himself to be allured by a mansion, a title, and a few millions, is not surprising; the ardent imagination of the conqueror of Italy required a different prospect. It required the prospect of a new world, revolutionized by his hands.

He wrote, therefore, to the Directory that he and his army were ready to fly to its aid,* in order to plunge the counter-revolutionists into their former nothingness. He was not afraid to give advice, and he earnestly exhorted the Directory to sacrifice a few traitors, and to break up a few presses.

In the army of the Rhine, the state of opinion was more calm. It contained some bad officers placed in the ranks by Pichegru. The mass of the army was nevertheless republican, but quiet, disciplined, poor, and less intoxicated with success than that of Italy. An army is always formed in the image of the general. His spirit is imparted to his officers, and by his officers it is communicated to his soldiers. The army of the Rhine was modelled after Moreau. Moreau, flattered by the royalist faction, which insisted on placing his clever retreat above the wonderful exploits in Italy, felt less hatred for it than Bonaparte. He was, moreover, careless, moderate, cool, and his taste for politics was but equal to his capacity. Hence he kept in the back-ground, without striving to render himself conspicuous. He was, nevertheless, a republican, and not a traitor, as it has been asserted. He was at this moment in possession of proofs of Pichegru's treason, and had it in his power to render an immense service to his government. We have already stated that he had taken a baggage-wagon belonging to General Klinglin, containing a great quantity of papers. These papers comprehended the whole correspondence in cipher of Pichegru with Wickham, the Prince of Condé, &c. Moreau, therefore, could have furnished proofs of the treason, and rendered judicial means more practicable. But Pichegru had been his commander-in-chief and his friend; he would not betray him; and he strove to discover the cipher of this correspondence without informing the government of its existence. It contained the very proof of Moreau's fidelity to the republic. Pichegru, after resigning the command, had only one way of retaining importance; namely, to say that Moreau was at his disposal, and that, relying upon him for the direction of the army,

* "Napoleon was resolved to support the Directory to the utmost, both because he was aware that the opposite party had determined on his dismissal, and because their principles, being those of moderation and peace, were little likely to favour his ambitious projects. He despatched Augereau, therefore, a general of decided character, and known revolutionary principles, to Paris, to support the government."—*Alison*. E

he was going himself to conduct the intrigues in the interior. Now Pichegru was continually repeating to his correspondents that they must not address themselves to Moreau, because he would not listen to any overture.* Moreau then was cold, but faithful. His army was one of the finest and bravest that the republic ever possessed.

All was different in the army of the Sambre and Meuse. This was, as we have elsewhere observed, the army of Fleurus, of the Ourthe, and of the Roer, an army brave and republican like its old general. Its ardour was increased when young Hoche, appointed to command it, had come and imparted to it all the energy of his character. This young man, who from sergeant in the French Guards had become, in one campaign, commander-in-chief, loved the republic as his mother and his benefactress. In the dungeons of the committee of public welfare his fondness had not cooled; in La Vendée it had been strengthened while contending with the royalists. In Vendémiaire he was quite ready to fly to the aid of the Convention, and he had already set twenty thousand men in motion, when the vigour of Bonaparte on the 13th rendered it unnecessary for them to advance farther. Having in his political capacity a reason for meddling in affairs which Moreau had not, feeling no jealousy of Bonaparte, but impatient to overtake him in the career of glory, he was heartily devoted to the republic, and ready to serve it in every way, on the field of battle, or amidst political tempests. We have already had occasion to observe that to consummate prudence he joined an ardour and a perseverance which were extraordinary. Ever prompt to play a part in events, he offered his arm and his life to the Directory. Thus the government was not destitute of material force, but it was requisite to employ it prudently, and, above all, seasonably.

Of all the generals, Hoche was the man whom it best suited the Directory to employ. If the glory and the character of Bonaparte could excite some umbrage, this was not the case with Hoche. His victories at Weissenburg, in 1793, his admirable pacification of La Vendée, his recent victory at Neuwied, threw around him a brilliant and a varied glory, in which esteem for the statesman was blended with esteem for the warrior; but his existence had nothing that could alarm liberty. If a general must be solicited to interfere in the troubles of the state, it would be better to apply to him than to the giant who ruled in Italy. He was the favourite general of the republicans, and the one upon whom their thoughts rested without any fear. Besides, his army was nearest to Paris. If it were requisite, twenty thousand men might in a few marches reach the capital, and second by their presence the vigorous stroke which the Directory had resolved to strike.

Hoche, then, was the man whom the three directors, Barras, Rewbel, and Lareveillère, thought of. However, without apprizing his colleagues, Barras, who was extremely bustling, and very clever at intrigue, and who was desirous in this new crisis to take upon himself the honour of the execution, wrote to Hoche, with whom he had some acquaintance, and demanded his interference in the events that were preparing. Hoche did not hesitate. A most convenient opportunity offered for directing troops upon Paris. He was labouring with the greatest assiduity to get his new expedition against Ireland ready. He had gone to Holland to superintend

* If M. de Montgaillard had read Klinglin's correspondence, he would not have asserted, on the authority of a statement of King Louis XVIII., that Moreau was betraying France ever since the year 1796.

the preparations making in the Texel. He had resolved to detach twenty thousand men from the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and to march them off for Brest. On their way through the interior, it would be easy to stop them when at the point nearest to Paris, and to employ them in the service of the Directory. He offered still more : money would be wanted, as well for the column on march as for a *coup de main*. This he secured in a very clever way. We have seen that the provinces between the Meuse and the Rhine had but an uncertain existence until peace should be made with the empire. They had not been, like Belgium, divided into departments and incorporated with France; they were administered according to martial law and with great prudence by Hoche, who wished to infuse republican ideas into them, and, if he could not obtain their express union with France, to form them into a Cisrhene republic, attached to the French as a daughter to her mother. He had established at Bonn a commission charged with the administration of the country and with receiving the contributions levied as well on this as on the other side of the Rhine. Two millions and some hundred thousand francs were in the coffers of this commission. Hoche forbade it to transfer them to the chest of the army paymaster, because they would then be under the authority of the treasury, and would perhaps even be withdrawn for purposes foreign to the army. He directed the column which he was about to set in motion to be paid up, and nearly two millions to be kept in reserve, either to be offered to the Directory or to be employed for the expedition to Ireland. It was out of political zeal that he committed this infraction of the established regulations, for this young general, who had greater opportunities for enriching himself than any other, was very poor. In doing all this, Hoche conceived that he was executing the orders not of Barras only, but also of Lareveillère-Lepeaux and Rewbel.

Two months had elapsed since the 1st of Prairial, that is, since the opening of the new session : it was now the end of Messidor. Propositions decided upon at Clichy, and submitted to the Five Hundred, had followed one another without intermission. A fresh proposition was preparing, on which the royalist faction laid particular stress. The organization of the national guards was not yet decreed ; the principle was merely introduced into the constitution. The Clichyans were desirous to prepare a force to oppose to the armies, and to get again under arms that youth which had risen in Vendémiaire against the Convention. They had just obtained the appointment of a commission in the Five Hundred to present a plan of organization. Pichegru was its president and reporter. Besides this important measure, the commission of finance had again disguisedly taken up the propositions rejected by the Ancients, and sought to present them in a different manner, in order to procure their adoption in a new shape. These propositions of the Five Hundred, formidable as they were, alarmed the three directors less than the conspiracy at the head of which they saw a celebrated general, and which they supposed to have very extensive ramifications in the councils. Determined to act, they meant first to make certain changes in the ministry, which they deemed necessary for giving more homogeneity to the administration of the state, and more steadiness and decision to the march of the government.

Cochon, minister of the police, though somewhat in disgrace with the royalists, since the prosecution of the three agents of the pretender and the circulars relative to the elections, was not the less entirely devoted to Carnot. With the plans entertained by the Directory, it could not leave

the police in the hands of Cochon. Petiet, minister at war, was in high repute with the royalists; he too was a devoted tool of Carnot's. It would be necessary to exclude him also, that there might not be an enemy to the channel of communication between the armies and the directorial majority. Benezech, minister of the interior, an excellent public functionary, and a docile courtier, was not to be feared by either party; but he was suspected on account of his known partialities and the indulgence shown him by the royalist journals. It was proposed to remove him too, were it but to have in his stead one on whom more reliance could be placed. The three directors had entire confidence in Truguet, minister of the marine, and Charles Delacroix, minister for foreign affairs; but reasons grounded on the interest of the service induced the directors to decide upon changing them. Truguet was a mark for all the shafts of the royalist faction, and he partly deserved their attacks on account of his haughty and violent temper. He was a man of integrity and of great resources, but did not treat individuals with that urbanity which is necessary at the head of a great administration. Besides, he might be employed with advantage in the diplomatic career; and he was himself desirous of superseding General Perignon in Spain, in order to obtain the concurrence of that power in his great plans respecting India. As for Delacroix, he has since proved himself capable of conducting the affairs of a department with ability; but he had neither the dignity nor the information requisite for representing the republic with the European powers. Besides, the directors had a strong desire to see another person, M. de Talleyrand, at the head of the foreign department. The enthusiastic spirit of Madame de Staël was delighted with the cool, keen, and profound mind of M. de Talleyrand. She had placed him in communication with M. Benjamin Constant,* and Benjamin Constant had undertaken to place him in communication with Barras. M. de Talleyrand contrived to make a friend of Barras, as he would have won over to himself more subtle men. After he had been introduced by Madame de Staël to Benjamin Constant, and by Benjamin Constant to Barras, he induced Barras to introduce him to Lareveillère, and he had the art to gain the honest man, as he had gained the dissolute one. He appeared to all a person greatly to be pitied, odious to the emigrants as a partisan of the revolution, disliked by the patriots as a man of high family, and the victim at once of his opinions and his birth. It was agreed to appoint him minister for foreign affairs. The vanity of the directors was flattered by attaching to themselves so distinguished a personage; and they were moreover sure that they were committing the foreign affairs to a clever, well-informed man, and one who was personally acquainted with the whole European diplomacy.

* We quote here the following anecdote of Benjamin Constant and Madame de Staël, because—although it refers to a rather later period—it is singularly characteristic of these two celebrated personages, and the opportunity of introducing it may not again present itself.

"M. Constant, who was one of Madame de Staël's chief favourites, was a *tribun* in 1799, and had determined to make a speech in his place against the dawning ambition of Napoleon. The night before, he found her in the midst of a brilliant circle of wits and agreeable people; and, observing how much she seemed to be delighted with their society, he took her aside and said, 'If I make my speech to-morrow, this pleasing scene must pass away.'—'Never mind,' she replied, 'we must do what is right.' The speech was spoken accordingly; and next night, before five o'clock, she had ten apologies; and at last sat down in the midst of an empty hall. This proves rather the servility of the good company of Paris, and of Madame de Staël's own select society, than the absolute tyranny of their ruler."—*Edinburgh Review*. E.

* There were left Ramel, minister of the finances, and Merlin of Douai, minister of justice, who were more hateful to the royalists than all the others together, but who performed the duties of their respective offices with equal zeal and ability. These the three directors would not remove on any account. Thus, out of the seven ministers, they purposed to change Cochon, Petiet, and Benezech, for the sake of public opinion; Truguet and Dalacroix, for the benefit of the service; and to retain only Merlin and Ramel.

In every state whose institutions are representative, whether monarchy or republic, it is by the choice of the ministers that the government indicates its spirit and its march. It is also for the choice of the ministers that parties bestir themselves, and they are desirous of influencing that choice as much for the interest of their opinion as for that of their ambition. But if, among the parties, there is one that wishes for more than a mere modification in the system of the government, and aspires to overthrow the existing order of things, that party, dreading reconciliations, wants something more than a change of ministers, abstains from interfering in it, or interferes in order to prevent it. Pichegru and the Clichyans, who were in the secret of the plot, cared but little about the change of the ministry. They, nevertheless, sought admission to Carnot, to converse with him on the subject; but it was rather with a view to sound him and to discover his secret intentions, than to arrive at a result which was in their estimation most insignificant. Carnot had frankly expressed his sentiments to them, and in writing, in his replies to the members who had made overtures to him. He had declared that "he would perish before he would suffer the constitution to be injured, or the powers which it had constituted to be dishonoured"—the literal expressions of one of his letters. He had, therefore, obliged those who came to sound him to confine their remarks to constitutional projects, such as a change of ministers. As for such of the Clichyans as were not initiated in the secrets of the faction, and the constitutionalists, they sincerely desired to obtain a ministerial revolution and to stop there. They rallied, therefore, around Carnot. The members of the Ancients and of the Five Hundred, who have already been named, such as Portalis,* Tronçon-Ducoudray, Lacuée, Dumas, Thibaudeau, Doucet-Pontécoulant, Simeon, Emery, had interviews with Carnot and Barthelemy, and discussed the changes to be made in the ministry. The two ministers whom they particularly desired to have changed were Merlin, the minister of justice, and Ramel, minister of the finances. Having especially attacked the financial system, they were more hostile to the minister of the finances than to any other. They wished also for the removal of Truguet and Charles Delacroix. They were desirous, of course, to retain Cochon.

* "Portalis was a lawyer before the Revolution, and was deputed to the Council of Ancients in 1795, where he showed himself constantly adverse to the directorial party. In 1796 he was chosen president. He was one of the most violent opponents of the law which decreed the sharing of the property of the relations of emigrants with the nation, which he said was a law in opposition to one of the first principles consecrated by legislators, which is, that crimes are personal. In 1797 he voted against popular societies, and proposed to reject, as insufficient, the resolution which suppressed divorce on account of incompatibility of temper. He was soon after inscribed on the transportation list of 1797, but succeeded in withdrawing himself. In 1801 Portalis was intrusted with all the affairs that concerned divine worship. In 1805 he was decorated with the red riband, and named grand officer of the Legion of Honour. His published work 'On the Duties of Historians,' gained the prize at the academy of Stockholm, in 1800."—*Bio-graphie Moderne*. E.

Petiet, and Benezech. The two directors, Barthelemy and Carnot, were not difficult to persuade. The weak Barthelemy had no personal opinion. Carnot saw all his friends in the ministers who were to be retained, all his enemies in those to be dismissed. But to this scheme, so readily formed in the coteries of the constitutionalists, it was not so easy to gain the assent of the other three directors, who, having decided upon their course, were for turning out the very men whom the constitutionalists were solicitous to retain.

Carnot, who was unacquainted with the union formed between his three colleagues, Rewbel, Lareveillère, and Barras, and who knew not that Lareveillère was the link which connected the two others, hoped that he would be the easiest to win. He, therefore, advised the constitutionalists to address themselves to him, in order to endeavour to bring him over to their views. They, accordingly, called upon Lareveillère, but found under his moderation an invincible firmness. Lareveillère, unaccustomed, like all the men of his time, to the tactics of representative governments, did not conceive that people could negotiate for the choice of ministers. "Stick to your part," said he, "that is, make laws; leave to us our duties, that of choosing the public functionaries. It is our duty to give a preference according to our conscience and our opinion of the merit of individuals, and not according to the requisitions of parties." He knew not then, neither did any one yet know, that a ministry ought to be composed of influential persons; that these persons ought to be taken from among the existing parties; and that the choice of this or that minister, being a guarantee of the course which is about to be pursued, may fairly become a subject of negotiation. Lareveillère had other reasons for rejecting any compromise. He was conscious that he and his friend Rewbel had never wished or voted but for what was right; he was sure that the directorial majority, whatever might be the personal views of the directors, had never voted otherwise; that in its financial arrangements, without being able to prevent all the subaltern malversations, its administration had been upright and as little vicious as possible under the circumstances; that, in politics, it had never had any personal ambition, and done nothing to extend its prerogatives; that, in the direction of the war, it had aspired only to a speedy, but honourable and glorious peace. Lareveillère could not, therefore, comprehend and admit the reproaches levelled at the Directory. His good conscience rendered them unintelligible to him. Henceforward he beheld in the Clichyans only perfidious conspirators, and in the constitutionalists men whose self-love was galled. He, more than any one, was yet ignorant that the dislike of parties, whether well or ill founded, must be acquiesced in, and that among all other pretensions must be reckoned even those of wounded self-love. Besides, in what the constitutionalists offered there was nothing very attractive. The three coalesced directors wished to give themselves an homogeneous ministry, in order to strike the royalist faction. The constitutionalists, on the contrary, required a ministry totally opposite to that which the directors deemed necessary in the existing danger, and they had nothing to offer in return but their votes, which were by no means numerous, and which, moreover, they would not promise on any question. Their alliance, therefore, had nothing sufficiently alluring to induce the Directory to listen to them and desist from its projects. Lareveillère gave them no satisfaction. In their communications with him they employed Faujas de St. Fonds, the geologist, with whom he was connected by conformity of tastes and studies. All was to no purpose. He con-

cluded with this reply: "Whenever you attack us, you will find us ready. We shall kill you, but politically. You want our blood, but yours shall not be spilt. You shall merely be deprived of the power to injure us."

This firmness caused them to despair of Lareveillère. Carnot advised them to apply to Barras, strongly doubting of success, for he was aware of his hatred. Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, one of the ardent members of the opposition, and whose fondness for pleasure had frequently brought him into the company of Barras, was commissioned to speak to him. The easy Barras, who promised everybody, though, at bottom, his sentiments were sufficiently decided, was apparently less intractable than Lareveillère. Out of the four ministers whose removal the constitutionalists demanded, namely, Merlin, Ramel, Truguet, and Delacroix, he was willing to change two. It had been so agreed with Rewbel and Lareveillère. He could, therefore, promise for those two, and he engaged that they should be dismissed. But whether, with his usual facility, he promised more than he intended to perform, whether he meant to deceive Carnot and to induce him to demand himself the change of the ministers, or whether his generally ambiguous language was interpreted too favourably, the constitutionalists went and informed Carnot that Barras consented to everything, and would vote with him relative to each of the ministers. The constitutionalists insisted that the change should take place immediately. Carnot and Barthelemy, doubtful of Barras, hesitated to take the initiative. Barras was urged to take it, and he replied, that the journals being extremely inveterate at the moment, the Directory would appear to yield to their violence. Means were tried to silence the journals; but meanwhile Rewbel and Lareveillère, ignorant of these intrigues, themselves took the initiative.

On the 28th of Messidor, Rewbel declared in the sitting of the Directory, that it was high time to come to a decision, that they ought to put an end to the fluctuations of the government, and direct their attention to the change of ministers. He proposed that they should proceed immediately to the ballot. The ballot was secret. Truguet and Delacroix, whom all were for displacing, were unanimously excluded. As for Ramel and Merlin, whom the constitutionalists alone wished to remove, they had but the two votes of Barthelemy and Carnot against them, and they were retained by those of Rewbel, Barras, and Lareveillère. Cochon, Petiet, and Benezech, were turned out by the votes of the same three who had supported Merlin and Ramel. Thus the plan of reform agreed upon by the directorial majority was accomplished. Carnot saw himself beaten, and tried to defer, at least, the appointment of successors, saying that he had not made up his mind on the subject. He was drily told that a director ought always to be prepared, and that he ought not to remove a functionary till he had fixed upon a successor. He was required to vote immediately. The five successors were appointed by the same majority. Ramel was retained in the department of the finances, and Merlin in that of justice; M. de Talleyrand was placed at the head of the foreign affairs, and over the marine an old and brave seaman and an excellent administrator, Pleville le Peley; over the interior François de Neufchateau, a distinguished writer, but more ingenious than practical; over the police Lenoir Laroche, a prudent and enlightened man, who contributed excellent political articles to the *Moniteur*; lastly, over the war department, the young and illustrious general, to whose aid the three directors resolved to have recourse—Hoche. The latter was not of the age required by the constitution, namely, thirty years. This was well known, but Lareveillère

had proposed to his two colleagues, Rewbel and Barras, to appoint him, even at the risk of being obliged in two days to supersede him, in order to attach him to them and to pay a flattering tribute to the armies. Hence, every one concurred in this change, which became decisive, as we shall presently see. It is common enough to see parties contributing to one and the same event, which they conceive likely to prove beneficial to them. They concur in producing it, but the strongest decides the result in his favour.

Even if he had not possessed the most irritable pride, Carnot must have been indignant, and have conceived himself tricked by Barras. The members of the legislative body who had taken part in the negotiation hastened to him, obtained all the particulars of the sitting of the Directory which had just taken place, inveighed against Barras, called him a cheat, and manifested the warmest indignation. But another event presently increased the agitation, and raised it to the highest pitch. Hoche, on the recommendation of Barras, had set his troops in motion, with the intention of directing them, in reality, upon Brest, but of stopping them for a few days in the vicinity of the capital. He had chosen the legion of the Franks, commanded by Humbert; Lemoigne's division of infantry; the division of horse chasseurs, commanded by Richepanse;* and a regiment of artillery; consisting in the whole of fourteen or fifteen thousand men. Richepanse's division of chasseurs had already arrived at La Ferté-Alais, eleven leagues from Paris. This was an imprudence, for the constitutional radius was twelve leagues, and, till the moment for action arrived, the legal limit ought not to have been overstepped. This imprudence was owing to the error of a commissary at war, who had transgressed the law without being aware of it. To this unlucky circumstance others were added. The troops, seeing the direction which they were ordered to take, and knowing what was passing in the interior, had no doubt that there was an intention of making them march against the Councils. The officers and soldiers said to each other by the way, that they were going to bring the aristocrats of Paris to reason. Hoche had merely apprized the minister at war of a general movement of troops towards Brest, for the expedition against Ireland.

The news of the arrival of Richepanse's chasseurs, the particulars of their march and of their language, reached Petiet, the minister, on the 28th of Messidor. Petiet communicated them to Carnot; and, at the moment when the deputies had hastened in a crowd to pour forth their resentment against the directorial majority, and to express their regrets to the dismissed ministers, they were informed of the march of the troops. Carnot said that the Directory had not to his knowledge issued any order, that, perhaps, the three other directors had held a private deliberation, but in that case, it must be entered in the secret register; that he would ascertain that point, and that it was not right to promulgate the circumstance before he had examined whether there existed any orders. But the deputies were too much irritated to observe any moderation.

The dismissal of the ministers, the march of the troops, and the appoint.

* "Richepanse, son of an officer in the horse regiment of Conti, was born in 1770, became chief of a squadron in 1794, and general of division in 1800. He was distinguished by uncommon presence of mind and intrepidity. His devotion to the Directory having gained him the confidence of Hoche, that general gave him the command of the troops whom he sent to Paris. Richepanse took a brilliant part in the battle of Hohenlinden, and died at Guadaloupe in 1802."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

ment of Hoche in the place of Petiet, left no doubt whatever respecting the intentions of the Directory. An outcry was raised that the Directory evidently meant to attack the inviolability of the Councils, to bring about a new 31st of May, and to proscribe the deputies who were faithful to the constitution. A meeting was held at the house of Tronçon-Ducoudray, who was one of the most influential members of the Ancients. The Clichyans, according to the usual custom of extreme parties, had seen with pleasure the moderates, that is, the constitutionalists, disappointed in their hopes, and thwarted in their scheme for composing a ministry to their wishes. They considered them as duped by Barras, and rejoiced at the trick. The danger, nevertheless, appeared serious, when they saw the troops advancing. Their two generals, Pichegru and Willot, knowing that the deputies were assembling at Tronçon-Ducoudray's to confer upon the passing events, repaired thither, though the meeting was composed of men who did not follow the same direction. Pichegru had not yet any real means in his hands; his only resource consisted in the passions of the parties, and wherever they burst forth, thither he was obliged to hasten, either to watch or to act. This meeting was attended by Portalis, Tronçon-Ducoudray, Lacuée, Dumas, Simeon, Doulcet-Pontécoulant, Thibaudau, Villaret-Joyeuse, Willot, and Pichegru. Great warmth was manifested, as might naturally be expected. They talked of the plans of the Directory; they quoted expressions used by Rewbel, Lareveillère, and Barras, indicating a resolution taken; and they concluded from the change of ministry and the march of troops that this resolution was a *coup de main* against the legislative body. The most violent resolutions were proposed, such as to suspend the Directory, to place it under accusation, or even to outlaw it. But to execute all these resolutions a force would have been requisite, and Thibaudau, who did not participate in the general excitement, asked where they were to find it. To this it was replied, that they had the twelve hundred grenadiers of the legislative body, part of the 21st regiment of chasseurs, commanded by Malo, and the national guard of Paris; that, during the reorganization of that guard, they could send into every district of the capital companies of grenadiers to rally around them the citizens who had taken arms in Vendémiaire. After much discussion, nothing was agreed upon, as is almost always the case when the means are not real. Pichegru, cold and reserved as usual, made some observations on the insufficiency and danger of the means proposed, the sedateness of which formed a contrast to the general excitement. The meeting broke up, and the members returned to Carnot's and to the residences of the dismissed ministers. Carnot disapproved of all the plans proposed against the Directory. A second meeting was held at Tronçon-Ducoudray's; but Pichegru and Willot were not there. Much discussion again took place, and the members, not daring to recur to violent measures, at length resolved to intrench themselves in constitutional means. They agreed to demand the law relative to the responsibility of ministers, and the immediate organization of the national guard.

At Clichy, they declaimed as elsewhere, and to no better purpose; for, if the passions were more violent, the means were not more effective. They particularly regretted the police, which had just been taken from Cochon, and reverted to one of the favourite schemes of the faction, that of wresting the police of Paris from the Directory and giving it to the legislative body, by straining the meaning of an article of the constitution. It was proposed at the same time to give the direction of this police to

Cochon; but the proposition was so bold, that none durst move it. They agreed upon the idea of quibbling about the age of Barras, who, they said, was not forty years old at the time of his appointment to the Directory, and of demanding the instantaneous organization of the national guard.

Accordingly, on the 30th of Messidor, there was a great tumult in the Five Hundred. Delahaye, the deputy, denounced the march of the troops, and moved that the report on the national guard should be presented immediately. Others warmly censured the conduct of the Directory; painted in alarming colours the state of Paris, and the arrival of a multitude of known revolutionists; and demanded that a discussion should be opened with regard to the political societies. It was decided that the report on the national guard should be made the day after the next, and that immediately afterwards the discussion respecting the clubs should be opened. On the day after the next, the 2d of Thermidor, further particulars had arrived concerning the march of the troops and their number, and it was known that there were already four regiments of cavalry at La Ferté-Alais.

Pichegru made the report on the organization of the national guard. His *projet* was conceived in the most perfidious manner. All the French enjoying the quality of citizens were to be inscribed in the list of the national guard; but all were not to compose the effective force of that guard. Those who were to be on duty were to be chosen by the others, that is, to be elected by the mass. In this manner the national guard was to be formed, like the Councils, by the electoral assemblies; and the result of the elections showed what kind of guard would be obtained by these means. It was to be composed of one battalion per canton; in each battalion there was to be a company of grenadiers and of chasseurs, so as to re-establish those select companies, which were always composed of the most violent men, and were usually employed by the parties for the execution of their views. It was proposed to vote the adoption of the plan immediately. The fiery Henri Larivière declared that everything announced a 31st of May. "Let us go then! let us go!" cried some voices of the left, interrupting him. "Yes!" he resumed, "but I am cheered when I consider that this is the 2d of Thermidor, and that we are near the 9th, a day fatal to tyrants." He proposed that the *projet* should be instantly voted and that a message should be sent to the Ancients, requesting them to remain sitting, that they too might vote it before they broke up. Thibaudeau, the leader of the constitutional party, justly remarked that, whatever diligence might be used, the national guard could not be organized in less than a month; that their precipitation to vote an important *projet* would therefore be unavailing to secure the legislative body from the dangers with which it was threatened; that the national representation ought to envelop itself in its rights and its dignity, and not to seek its force in means which at the moment were impotent. He proposed a deliberate discussion. An adjournment of twenty-four hours for the consideration of the *projet* was adopted, but the principle of the reorganization was immediately afterwards decreed. At this moment a message arrived from the Directory, giving explanations concerning the march of the troops. This message stated that the troops bound for a distant destination could not help passing near Paris; that, owing to the inadvertence of an army commissary, they had overstepped the constitutional limit; that the error of the commissary was the sole cause of this infraction of the laws; and that, moreover, the troops had received orders to fall back immediately. This explanation was not satisfactory. After much extremely violent declamation, a commission was

appointed to examine this message, and to make a report on the state of Paris and the march of the troops. On the following day the discussion of Pichegru's *projet* commenced, and four of its articles were voted. The assembly then turned its attention to the clubs, which were springing up on all sides, and seemed to indicate a rally of the Jacobin party. It was proposed to prohibit them absolutely, because the laws which restricted them were always evaded. It was decreed that no political assembly should be permitted for the future.

Thus the society of Clichy committed a sort of suicide, and consented to its own dissolution on condition of destroying the Constitutional Circle, and the other subordinate clubs which were forming in all quarters. The leaders of the Clichy had, in fact, no need of that tumultuous assemblage for concerting their measures, and they could sacrifice it without depriving themselves of any great resource. Willot then denounced Barras as not having attained the age required by the constitution at the time when he was appointed director; but an examination of the registers of the war-office proved that this was a mere quibble. Meanwhile other troops had arrived at Rheims. Fresh alarm was excited. The Directory repeated the former explanation, which was declared insufficient, and the commission already appointed was directed to investigate and report.

Hoche had arrived in Paris, for he must have gone thither, whether he had to proceed to Brest or to execute a stroke of policy. He presented himself without fear to the Directory, certain that, in ordering his divisions to march, he had obeyed the directorial majority. But Carnot, who was at this moment president of the Directory, strove to intimidate him. He asked by virtue of what order he had acted, and threatened him with an accusation for having passed the constitutional limits. Unfortunately, Rewbel and Lareveillère, who were not informed of the order given to Hoche, could not support him. Barras, who had given the order, had not the courage to speak, so that Hoche was left exposed to the peremptory questions of Carnot. He replied that he could not go to Brest without troops. Carnot rejoined that there were still forty-three thousand men in Bretagne, a number sufficient for the expedition. At length Lareveillère, perceiving the embarrassment of Hoche, stepped in to his aid, expressed in the name of the majority of the Directory the esteem and confidence which his services had merited, assured him that an accusation against him was out of the question, and broke up the sitting.* Hoche hastened to Lareveillère's, to thank him. He there learned that Barras had not informed either Rewbel or Lareveillère of the movement of the troops, that he had given the order without their knowledge; and he was indignant against Barras, who, after compromising, had not the courage to defend him. It was evident that Barras, in acting separately, without apprizing his two colleagues, was desirous of holding singly in his own hand the means of execution. Hoche, incensed, treated Barras with his usual haughtiness, and gave all his esteem to Rewbel and Lareveillère. Nothing was yet ready for the execution of the design contemplated by the three directors; and Barras, in calling Hoche, had compromised him to no purpose. Hoche returned immediately to his head-quarters, which were at Wetzlar, and ordered the troops which he had brought to be cantoned in the environs of

* "Carnot, from this moment, became convinced that his ruin had been determined on by his colleagues. Barras and Lareveillère had long borne him a secret grudge, which sprung from his having signed the warrant, during the Reign of Terror, for the arrest of Danton, who was the leader of their party."—*Alison*. E.

Rheims and Sedan, where they would still be at hand to march for Paris. He was extremely disgusted by the conduct of Barras towards him; but he was ready to devote himself again, if Lareveillère and Rewbel should give him the signal. He was deeply compromised: some talked of accusing him; but he awaited with firmness at his head-quarters what the majority of the Five Hundred, incensed against him, might attempt. His age being a bar to his acceptance of the ministry at war, Scherer was appointed to it in his stead.

The sensation which had been produced no longer admitted of the employment of Hoche in the execution of the projects of the Directory. Besides, the importance which such a participation must give him might excite the jealousy of the other generals. It was not impossible that Bonaparte might take it amiss that any but himself should be applied to. It was thought that it would be better not to make use of any of the generals-in-chief, but to select one of the most distinguished generals of division. The directors conceived the idea of asking Bonaparte for one of the generals who had gained such celebrity under his command; which would have the advantage of satisfying him personally, and at the same time of not offending any of the generals-in-chief. But, while they were thinking of addressing themselves to him, he interfered in the quarrel in a manner most annoying to the counter-revolutionists, and embarrassing at least to the Directory. He chose the anniversary of the 14th of July, corresponding with the 26th of Messidor, for giving a festival to the armies, and causing addresses to be drawn up relative to the events which were preparing. He ordered a pyramid to be erected at Milan, bearing trophies and the names of all the officers and soldiers who had fallen during the campaign in Italy. Around this pyramid the festival was held. It was magnificent. Bonaparte attended it in person, and addressed to his soldiers a threatening proclamation:

"Soldiers!" said he, "this day is the anniversary of the 14th of July. You see before you the names of your companions in arms who have died on the field of honour for the liberty of the country. They have left you an example. You owe yourselves wholly and entirely to the republic; you owe yourselves wholly and entirely to the happiness of thirty millions of French; you owe yourselves wholly and entirely to the glory of that name which has received fresh lustre from your victories.

"Soldiers! I know that you are deeply affected by the calamities which threaten the country. But the country cannot incur any real dangers. The same men who have caused it to triumph over coalesced Europe, are there. Mountains separate us from France; you will cross them with the rapidity of the eagle, in case of need, to maintain the constitution, to defend liberty, to protect the government and the republicans.

"Soldiers! the government is watching over the laws which are committed to its care. The royalists, the moment they appear, will have ceased to live. Be not uneasy, but let us swear by the manes of the heroes who have died by our side for liberty, let us swear upon our new colours, implacable war against the enemies of the republic, and of the constitution of the year III!"

There was afterwards an entertainment, at which the most energetic toasts were given by the generals and the officers. The general gave for the first toast, the brave Stengel, Laharpe, and Dubois, who had fallen in the field of honour. "May their manes," said he, "watch over us, and protect us from the ambuscades of our enemies!" The company then drank to the constitution of the year III, to the Directory, to the Council

of the Ancients, to the French murdered in Verona, to the *re-emigration of the emigrants*, to the union of the French republicans, to the destruction of the club of Clichy. At this last toast the trumpets sounded a charge. Similar festivities took place in all the towns where there were divisions of the army, and they were celebrated with the same parade. Addresses were afterwards drawn up in each division. These were still more significant than the proclamation of the general-in-chief.* He had observed a certain dignity; but the whole Jacobin phraseology of 1793 was introduced into the addresses of the different divisions of the army; and especially into those of Massena's, Joubert's, and Augereau's division. That of Augereau, in particular, exceeded all bounds. "Tremble," it said, "O conspirators! From the Adige and the Rhine to the Seine is but a step. Tremble! your iniquities are numbered, and the price of them is at the point of our bayonets!"

These addresses were subscribed by thousands of signatures and sent to the commander-in-chief. He packed them up and transmitted them to the Directory with his proclamation, that they might be printed and published in the newspapers. Such a step indicated clearly enough that he was ready to march to put down the faction formed in the Councils, and to lend his assistance to the execution of a stroke of policy. At the same time, knowing the Directory to be divided, seeing that the scene was becoming complicated, and wishing to be informed of everything, he selected one of his aides-de-camp, M. de Lavalette, in whom he placed great confidence, and who possessed the penetration necessary for forming a correct judgment of events. He sent him off to Paris, with orders to observe everything and to collect all the information he could. At the same time, he made an offer of funds to the Directory, in case it should need them, if it intended to attempt any act of vigour.

When the Directory received these addresses, it was extremely embarrassed. They were in some measure illegal, for the armies had no right to deliberate. To give them a favourable reception, and to publish them, was to authorize the armies to interfere in the government of the state, and to deliver up the republic to the military power. But how was it to escape this danger? In addressing itself to Hoche, in applying to him for troops, in asking Bonaparte for a general, had not the government itself provoked this interference? Obligated to have recourse to force, to overstep the bounds of legality, could it apply to other supporters than the armies? To receive these addresses was but the consequence of what it had done, of what it had been obliged to do. Such was the destiny of our unfortunate republic, that, to extricate itself from its enemies, it was obliged to put itself in the power of the armies. It was the dread of a counter-revolution, which, in 1793, had thrown the republic into the excesses and horrors whose melancholy history we have seen; it was the dread of counter-revolution which now obliged it to throw itself into the arms of the soldiery; in short, it was always to avoid the same danger that it had recourse sometimes to passions, at others to bayonets.

* The address of one of the divisions commenced in the following significant manner: "Of all the animals produced by the caprice of nature, the vilest is a king, the most cowardly is a courtier, the worst is a priest. If the scoundrels who disturb France are not crushed by the forces you (the Directory) possess, call to your aid the 29th demi-brigade; it will soon discomfit all your enemies; Chouans, English, all will take to flight. We will pursue the unworthy citizens even into the chambers of their unworthy patron, George" E.

The Directory would fain have kept these addresses secret, and not published them, on account of the bad example; but it would have grievously offended the general, and perhaps have pushed him towards the enemies of the republic. It was, therefore, compelled to print and circulate them. They struck terror into the Clichyan party, and made it sensible of the egregious imprudence which it had committed in attacking, by Dumolard's motion, the conduct of General Bonaparte at Venice. They gave rise to fresh complaints in the Councils, to invectives against this interference of the armies; it was said that they had no right to deliberate, and herein was discovered a new proof of the designs imputed to the Directory.

Bonaparte caused the Directory fresh embarrassment by the general of division whom he sent it. Augereau excited a kind of agitation in the army by the violence of his opinions, every way worthy of the fauxbourg St. Antoine. He was ready to fall out with any one who was less violent than himself, and Bonaparte was afraid of a quarrel among his generals. To get rid of him, he sent him to the Directory,* conceiving that he would be very fit for the purpose for which he was destined, and that he would be better in Paris than at head-quarters, where want of occupation rendered him dangerous. Augereau was delighted; for he was as fond of the agitations of clubs as of fields of battle; and he was not insensible to power. He set out immediately, and arrived in Paris in the middle of Thermidor. Bonaparte wrote to his aide-de-camp, Lavalette, that he sent him because he could not keep him any longer in Italy; he cautioned him to be on his guard against him, and desired him to continue his observations, keeping himself constantly aloof from him. He also recommended to him to show the greatest civility to Carnot; for, though he declared decidedly in favour of the Directory against the counter-revolutionary faction, he wished not to enter in the slightest degree into the personal quarrels of the directors.

The Directory was far from pleased to see Augereau arrive. That general was the right sort of man for Barras, who liked to have Jacobins and patriots of the fauxbourgs about him, and who was always talking of mounting his horse; but he did not suit Rewbel and Lareveillère, who wished for a prudent, temperate general, and one who could make common cause with them against the schemes of Barras. Augereau could not have been better pleased than to find himself in Paris on such a mission. He was a brave man and an excellent soldier, but a great braggart; he possessed a generous heart, but a weak head. He went about in Paris, receiving entertainments, enjoying the celebrity gained by his exploits, but attributing to himself part of the operations of the army of Italy, willingly allowing it to be supposed that he had suggested to the general-in-chief his most brilliant plans, and incessantly repeating that he would soon bring the aristocrats to reason. Lareveillère and Rewbel, sorry for this, resolved

* "Bonaparte despatched Augereau to Paris, ostensibly for the purpose of presenting the standards taken at Mantua, but in reality to command the armed force which the majority of the Directory had determined to employ against their dissentient colleagues, and the opponents of their measures in the national councils. Augereau was a blunt, bold, stupid soldier, a devoted Jacobin, whose principles were sufficiently well known to warrant his standing upon no constitutional delicacies. But, in case the Directory failed, Napoleon kept himself in readiness to march upon Lyons at the head of fifteen thousand men. There, rallying the republicans, he would, according to his own well-chosen expression, have crossed the Rubicon at the head of the popular party, and ended, doubtless, like Cæsar, by usurping the supreme command."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

to court him, and, by addressing his vanity, to bring him back to some degree of moderation. Lareveillère caressed him much, and succeeded in taming him, partly by clever flatteries, partly by the respect with which he contrived to inspire him. He made him sensible that he was not wanted to dishonour himself by a sanguinary affray, but to acquire the title of saviour of the republic by a wise and energetic act, which should disarm the factions without spilling blood. He calmed Augereau, and at length rendered him more reasonable. He was immediately invested with the command of the 17th military division, comprehending Paris. This new step sufficiently denoted the intentions of the Directory. Its resolutions were fixed. Hoche's troops were within a few marches. There needed but a signal to bring them to the capital. It was only waiting for the funds promised by Bonaparte, as it would not take money from the treasury, lest it should compromise Ramel, the minister who was so strictly watched by the commission of finance. These funds were partly destined to gain the grenadiers of the legislative body, who were twelve hundred in number, and who, without being formidable, might, by resisting, bring on a battle, which the Directors were particularly solicitous to avoid. This business was intrusted to Barras, ever fertile in intrigues, and this was the motive for deferring the meditated blow.

The events in the interior had a most pernicious influence on the highly important negotiations opened between the republic and the powers of Europe. The implacable faction leagued against the liberty and the repose of France, was about to add to its long catalogue of faults that of compromising the peace which had been so long expected. Lord Malmesbury had arrived at Lille, and the Austrian ministers had conferred at Montebello with Bonaparte and Clarke, the two plenipotentiaries appointed to represent France. The preliminaries of Leoben, signed on the 29th of Germinal (April 18), purported that two congresses should be opened, the one general at Berne, for peace with the emperor and his allies, the other particular at Rastadt, for peace with the Empire; that the peace with the emperor should be concluded within three months, otherwise the preliminaries were to be null and void; that nothing should be done in the Venetian states unless in concert with Austria, but that the Venetian provinces should not be occupied by the emperor till after the conclusion of peace. The occurrences at Venice seemed to derogate somewhat from these conditions, and Austria showed much haste to derogate from them more formally, on her part, by occupying the Venetian provinces of Istria and Dalmatia. Bonaparte winked at this infraction of the preliminaries, in order to spare recriminations in regard to what he had done at Venice, and what he was about to do in the islands of the Levant. The exchange of the ratifications took place at Montebello, near Milan, on the 5th of Prairial (May 24). The Marquis de Gallo, the Neapolitan minister at Vienna, was the emperor's envoy. After the exchange of the ratifications, Bonaparte conferred with M. de Gallo, for the purpose of inducing him to forego the idea of a congress at Berne, and to prevail on him to treat separately in Italy, without calling in the other powers. The reasons which he had to assign, tending even to the interest of Austria herself, were excellent. How could Russia and England, if they were called to this congress, allow Austria to indemnify herself at the expense of Venice, whose possessions they coveted themselves? It was impossible, and the very interest of Austria, as well as the necessity of a speedy conclusion, required that they confer immediately, and in Italy.

* M. de Gallo, a sagacious and intelligent man, felt the force of these reasons. In order to decide him and to gain the Austrian cabinet, Bonaparte made a concession of etiquette, to which the cabinet of Vienna attached great importance. The emperor still apprehended that the republic would reject the ancient ceremonial of the kings of France, and insist on the alternative in the protocol of the treaties. The emperor was yet solicitous to be named first, and to retain for his ambassadors the precedence before the ambassadors of France. Bonaparte, who had, at his desire, been authorized by the Directory to concede such trifles, assented to the demand of M. de Gallo. The joy was so great that M. de Gallo immediately adopted the principle of a separate negotiation, and wrote to Vienna to obtain powers in consequence. But old Thugut, infirm, a humourist, entirely attached to the English system, and every moment tendering his resignation, since the courts, influenced by the Archduke Charles, seemed to incline to a contrary system—Thugut had other views. He was displeased with the peace; the internal disturbances in France excited hopes which he was fond of indulging, though they had so often proved deceitful. Though Austria had been led into many false steps and a disastrous war, by giving ear to the emigrants, still Pichegru's new conspiracy suggested to Thugut the idea of deferring the conclusion of peace. He resolved to oppose wilful delays to the urgency of the French plenipotentiaries. He caused the proceeding of the Marquis de Gallo to be disavowed, and another negotiator, Major-general Count de Meerveldt, to be despatched to Montebello. This negotiator arrived on the 1st of Messidor (June 19), and demanded the execution of the preliminaries, that is, the assembling of the congress at Berne. Bonaparte, indignant at this change of system, returned a very warm reply. He repeated all that he had previously urged in regard to the impossibility of obtaining the adhesion of England and Russia to arrangements the basis of which had been fixed at Leoben; he added, that a congress would occasion fresh delay; that two months had already elapsed since the signing of the preliminaries of Leoben; that, according to those preliminaries, peace ought to be concluded in three months, and it would be impossible to conclude it in that time, if all the powers were to be summoned. These reasons again left the Austrian plenipotentiaries without reply. The court of Vienna appeared to give way, and fixed the conferences at Udine, in the Venetian states, that the place of negotiation might be nearer to Vienna. They were to recommence on the 13th of Messidor (July 1).

Bonaparte, whom business of high importance detained at Milan* amidst the new republics that were about to be founded, and who, moreover, was anxious to watch the events at Paris as closely as possible, would not suffer himself to be dragged to no purpose to Udine, merely to be there trifled with by Thugut. He, therefore, sent Clarke, and declared that he should

* "Napoleon established himself at the chateau of Montebello, near Milan. There the future Emperor of the West held his court in more than regal splendour; and there weightier matters were to be determined, and dearer interests were at stake, than had ever been submitted to European diplomacy since the iron crown was placed on the brows of Charlemagne. Josephine there received the homage due to the transcendent glories of her youthful husband; Pauline displayed those charms which afterwards shone with such lustre at the court of the Tuileries, and the ladies of Italy, captivated by the splendour of the spectacle, hastened to swell the illustrious train. Already Napoleon acted as a sovereign prince; his power exceeded that of any living monarch; and he had entered on that dazzling existence which afterwards entranced and subdued the world."—*Alison*. E.

not repair thither in person, until he was convinced, by the nature of the powers given to the two negotiators, and by their conduct in the negotiation, of the sincerity of the court of Vienna. It actually turned out that he was not mistaken. The cabinet of Vienna, more than ever imposed upon by the miserable agents of the royalist faction, flattered itself that it should be dispensed, by a revolution, from treating with the Directory, and it caused notes, strange in the then state of the negotiation, to be delivered. These notes, dated July 18 (Messidor 30), stated that the court of Vienna intended to adhere strictly to the preliminaries, and, consequently, to treat for a general peace at Berne; that the term of three months, fixed by the preliminaries for the conclusion of peace, could only be meant to commence from the meeting of the congress, otherwise it would have been too insufficient to be stipulated; that, in consequence, the court of Vienna, in accordance with the tenor of those preliminaries, demanded a general congress of all the powers. These notes, contained, likewise, bitter complaints on the occurrences at Venice and Genoa; they maintained that these occurrences were a serious infraction of the preliminaries of Leoben, and that France ought to give satisfaction for them.

On receiving these very strange notes, Bonaparte was filled with indignation. His first idea was to collect all the divisions of his army immediately, to resume the offensive, to advance once more upon Vienna, and to insist this time on less moderate conditions than at Leoben. But the internal state of France, and the conferences opened at Lille, checked this impulse, and he conceived that it was right, at this important juncture, to leave the Directory, placed as it was at the centre of all the operations, to decide the conduct to be pursued. He contented himself with instructing Clarke to draw up a vigorous note. This note was to the following effect: That it was no longer time to demand a congress, the impossibility of which had been acknowledged by the Austrian plenipotentiaries, and which the court had itself given up, in fixing the conferences at Udine; that this congress was not without motive, since the allies of Austria were separating themselves from her, and showing an intention of treating singly, which was proved by the conferences at Lille; that the term of three months could only be meant to commence from the day of the signature at Leoben, otherwise, by deferring the opening of the congress, there might be no end to delays, which France wished to prevent by fixing a positive term; that, finally, the preliminaries had not been violated in the conduct pursued towards Venice and Genoa; that those two countries had a right to change their government; that no one ought to find fault with them for it; and finally, that Austria had much more seriously violated the preliminaries in taking possession of Istria and Dalmatia, contrary to all the written conventions. After thus replying in a firm and dignified manner, Bonaparte referred the whole to the Directory, and awaited its orders, recommending to it as speedy a decision as possible, because it was of importance to resume hostilities before the arrival of the unfavourable season, if he should have to recommence them.

The negotiation, opened at Lille, was conducted with more sincerity, which cannot but appear singular, since it was with Pitt that the French negotiators had to treat. But Pitt was really alarmed at the situation of England. He had ceased to reckon on all upon Austria; he placed no confidence in the lying representations of the royalist agents, and wished to treat with France, before peace with the emperor should render her stronger and more exacting. If then he had in the last year desired only to shuffle,

for the purpose of satisfying public opinion and preventing an arrangement in regard to the Netherlands, this year he sincerely wished to treat, even though the peace should last no longer than two or three years. This downright Englishman could not, in fact, consent to leave the Netherlands definitively to France.

Everything proved his sincerity, as we have observed, both in the selection of Lord Malmesbury, and the secret instructions given to that negotiator. According to the practice of English diplomacy, all was so arranged that there should be two negotiations at once; the one official and apparent, the other secret and real. Mr. Ellis had been given to Lord Malmesbury, in order to conduct with his assent the secret negotiation, and to correspond directly with Pitt. This practice of English diplomacy is compulsory in a representative government. In the official negotiation nothing more is said than may be repeated in the two houses of parliament, and what cannot be published is reserved for the secret negotiation. When, in particular, the ministry is divided on the question of peace, the secret conferences are communicated to that portion of the ministry which authorizes and directs the negotiation. The English legation arrived at Lille with a numerous retinue, and in great state, on the 16th of Messidor (July 4).

The negotiators chosen to represent France were Letourneur, who had recently quitted the Directory, Pleville le Peley, who staid but a few days at Lille on account of his appointment to the ministry of the marine, and Hugues Maret, since Duke of Bassano.* Of these three ministers the latter alone was capable of performing a useful part in the negotiation. Young, initiated early into diplomatic life, he combined with much intelligence manners which had become rare in France since the Revolution. He was

* "Hugues Bernard Maret was born of a respectable family in 1763. Early in life he applied to the study of the law, but when the Revolution broke out turned his attention to diplomacy. He constantly attended the sittings of the States-general, and compressed on paper the substance of every remarkable harangue. By the advice of friends he published these reports daily, and their success was so great that he was engaged to contribute them to the *Moniteur*, which, in consequence, increased tenfold in a single month. The diplomatic career of Maret commenced at Hamburg as secretary of legation. He was afterwards transferred to Brussels with increased powers, but his most important duty was a mission to London, the object of which was to negotiate a peace. The negotiation, however, was indignantly broken off by our ministry, on learning the death of Louis XVI. On his return to Paris, Maret was nominated minister plenipotentiary to Naples, but on his way thither he was arrested by the Austrians and thrown into prison at Mantua, whence he was transferred to a healthier fortress in the Tyrol. Here he devoted his days to literary pursuits; formed a composition which served for ink; and with the stump of an old pen which he found in a corner of his room, wrote two or three comedies as well as one tragedy, on some slips of paper which he begged or stole from his gaoler. But this was not all; for with a piece of coal he actually covered the four walls of his dungeon with scientific disquisitions. After twenty-two months' confinement, Maret and some others were exchanged for the Duchess d'Angoulême; and he was appointed by the Directory to assist in the negotiations with Lord Malmesbury at Lille. For some time afterwards he remained without employment, but on the return of Bonaparte he assisted him in overthrowing the Directory. From this period the history of Maret becomes that of his master, to whom he proved a most useful acquisition. In 1811, having been previously created Duke of Bassano, he succeeded Champagny as minister for foreign affairs; on which occasion Talleyrand observed, 'In all France I know but one greater ass than Maret, and that is, the Duke of Bassano.' During the Hundred Days he was minister of the interior and secretary of state, and distinguished himself by his moderation. He was present at Waterloo, where he was nearly taken prisoner, and, on the return of the Bourbons, was exiled to Gratz, in Styria, but at the end of five years was permitted to return to France. In 1826 he was residing on his estate in Burgundy, and wholly devoted to the education and establishment of his children."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

indebted to M. de Talleyrand for his introduction to public affairs ; and on this occasion he had concerted with him that one of the two should have the ministry for foreign affairs, and the other the mission to Lille. M. Maret had been sent twice to London in the early period of the Revolution. He had been favourably received by Pitt, and had made himself well acquainted with the English cabinet. He was therefore a very fit person to represent France at Lille. He repaired thither with his two colleagues, and they arrived at the same time as the English legation. It is usually not in the public conferences that diplomatic business is really transacted. The English negotiators, full of tact and dexterity, would have been glad to meet the French negotiator on familiar terms, and had too much good sense to feel any dislike. On the contrary, Letourneur and Pleville le Peley, upright men, but unaccustomed to diplomacy, had much of the revolutionary wildness. They considered the two Englishmen as dangerous persons, ready to intrigue and to deceive, against whom it was necessary for them to be upon the guard. They refused to see them unless officially, being afraid of compromising themselves by any other communication. It was not in this manner that a good understanding could be brought about.

Lord Malmesbury notified his powers, in which the conditions of the treaty were left blank, and demanded the conditions of France. The three French negotiators stated the conditions which, as it may be conceived, were a very high *maximum*. They required that the King of England should renounce the title of King of France, which he continued to assume, according to one of those ridiculous customs retained in England ; that he should give up all the ships taken at Toulon ; that he should restore to France, Spain, and Holland, all the colonies which he had taken from them. In exchange for all these concessions, France, Spain, and Holland, offered nothing but peace, for they had not taken anything from England. France, it is true, was important enough to require much ; but to demand everything for herself and her allies, and to give up nothing, was to renounce any arrangement. Lord Malmesbury, who wished to arrive at real results, saw clearly that the official negotiation would lead to nothing and strove to bring about a more confidential intercourse. M. Maret, more familiar than his colleagues with diplomatic usages, readily assented to this, but he was obliged to negotiate with Letourneur and Pleville le Peley in order to prevail on them to meet the English envoys at the theatre. The young men of the two embassies were the first to associate together, and they were soon on the most friendly footing. France had so completely broken with the past since the Revolution, that it cost great pains to replace her in her old relations with the other powers. There had been nothing of the sort to do in the preceding year, because then the negotiation was not sincere ; the parties had only aimed at eluding one another ; but this year it was requisite to come to efficacious and kindly communications. Lord Malmesbury caused M. Maret to be sounded, with a view to engage him in a private negotiation. Maret, before he assented to it, wrote to Paris to obtain authority to do so from the French ministrv. This was granted without difficulty, and he immediately entered into conferences with the English negotiators.

There was no longer any idea of contesting the possession of the Netherlands or discussing the new position in which Holland was placed in regard to France ; but England was desirous of keeping some of the principal colonies which she had conquered, to indemnify herself as well for the expenses of the war as for the concessions which she should make us.

She consented to restore to us all our colonies; she even agreed to renounce all pretensions to St. Domingo, and to assist us to re-establish our sway there; but she insisted on indemnifying herself at the expense of Holland and Spain. Thus she refused to restore to Spain the island of Trinidad, which she had taken, and which was a colony of high importance, from its position at the entrance of the sea of the Antilles. Among the possessions taken from the Dutch, she meant to keep the Cape of Good Hope, which commands the navigation of the two oceans, and Trincomalee, the principal port of the island of Ceylon; she was willing to exchange the town of Negapatnam, on the Coromandel coast, for the town and fort of Cochin, on the coast of Malabar, which was an important settlement for her. As for the renunciation of the title of the King of France, the English negotiators resisted it on account of the royal family, which was by no means disposed to peace, and whose vanity it was requisite to spare. With respect to the ships taken at Toulon, which had been already equipped and armed in the English fashion, they deemed it too ignominious to restore them, and offered an indemnity in money of twelve millions (500,000*l.*). Malmesbury assured Maret that he durst not return to London after restoring everything, and not retaining for the English people any of the conquests acquired at the expense of their blood and treasure. To prove his sincerity he moreover showed all the secret instructions sent to Mr. Ellis, which furnished evidence of the desire of Pitt to obtain peace. These conditions deserved consideration.

A circumstance which happened all at once, gave great advantage to the French negotiators. Besides the junction of the Spanish, Dutch, and French squadrons at Brest, a junction that depended on the first gale which should blow Admiral Jervis from Cadiz, England had another danger to apprehend. Portugal, terrified by France and Spain, had just abandoned her ancient ally and entered into a treaty with France. The principal condition was, that she should not admit more than six armed vessels belonging to the belligerent powers at once. England would thus lose her invaluable station in the Tagus. This unexpected treaty placed the English negotiators somewhat at the mercy of M. Maret. They began to discuss the definitive conditions. Trinidad was not to be wrested from them. As for the Cape of Good Hope, which was the most important object, it was at length agreed that it should be restored to Holland, but on one express condition, that France should never take advantage of her ascendancy over Holland to possess herself of it. This was what England most dreaded. She was less anxious to hold it herself than to keep it out of our hands, and the restitution of that colony was agreed to on condition that we should never have it. With regard to Trincomalee, which carried with it the possession of Ceylon, it was to be kept by the English, but still with the appearance of the alternative. A Dutch garrison was to take turns with an English garrison; but it was agreed that this should be a merely illusory formality, and that this port should actually belong to the English. As to the exchange of Cochin for Negapatnam, the English adhered to this point, but without making it a condition *sine quâ non*. The twelve millions were accepted for the ships taken at Toulon. As for the title of King of France, it was agreed that, without formally abdicating, the King of England should cease to assume it.

Such was the point, at which the reciprocal pretensions of the negotiators had stopped. Letourneur, who was left alone with Maret, since the departure of Pleville le Peley, appointed to the ministry of the marine, was

completely ignorant of the secret negotiation. M. Maret indemnified him for his nullity by yielding to him all the external honours, all the matters of state, of which this honest and easy man was very tenacious. M. Maret had communicated all the particulars of the negotiation to the Directory, and awaited its decisions. Never had France and England been so near a reconciliation. It was evident that the negotiation of Lille was wholly unconnected with that of Udine, and that England was acting on her part without seeking any concert with Austria.*

The decision to be adopted on the subject of these negotiations could not fail to agitate the Directory more than any other question. The royalist faction furiously demanded peace without wishing for it; the constitutionalists desired it sincerely, even at the price of some sacrifices; the republicans desired it without sacrifices, and they were tenacious above all of the glory of the republic. They would have insisted on the entire emancipation of Italy, and the restitution of the colonies of our allies, even at the price of a new campaign. The opinions of the five directors were dictated by their position. Carnot and Barthelemy voted for accepting the conditions of Austria and England; the other three directors maintained the contrary opinion. These questions served to complete the rupture between the two parts of the Directory. Barras bitterly censured Carnot for the preliminaries of Leoben, and spoke of him in no very measured terms. Carnot, on his part, said with reference to these conditions, that *it would not be right to oppress Austria*; which meant that, in order to render the peace durable, the conditions ought to be moderate. But his colleagues took these expressions highly amiss, and Rewbel asked him if he was a minister of Austria or a magistrate of the French republic. The three directors, on receiving Bonaparte's despatches, were for breaking immediately and resuming hostilities. But the agitated state of the republic, the fear of giving new arms to the enemies of the government, and of furnishing them with a pretext for saying that the Directory never would make peace, induced the directors to temporize longer. They wrote to Bonaparte, that they must wait till the measure of patience was full, and till the insincerity of Austria should be proved in an evident manner, and the resumption of hostilities could be imputed to her alone.

With respect to the conferences at Lille, the question was not less embarrassing. For France, the decision was easy, since everything was to be restored to her; but, as it concerned Spain, which was to be deprived of Trinidad, and Holland, which was to lose Trincomalee, the question was a difficult one to resolve. Carnot, whose new position obliged him to be always in favour of peace, voted for the adoption of these conditions, though not very generous, towards our allies. As the directors were greatly dissatisfied with Holland and the parties which divided her, Carnot advised that she should be left to herself, and that France should take no farther concern in her fate—a piece of advice equally ungenerous with that of sacrificing the colonies. Rewbel was extremely warm upon this question. A passionate advocate for the interests of France, even to injustice, he wished that, so far from abandoning Holland, the French should make themselves all-powerful in that country, and turn it into a province of the

* "The moderation of the demands made by England on this occasion, was such as to call forth the commendations even of her adversaries; and the negotiations might have terminated in a general pacification had it not been for the revolution of the 18th of Fructidor, which occurred soon after, and the consequent accession of violence and presumption which it brought to the French government."—*Alison*. E.

republic ; and he particularly opposed, with all his might, the adoption of the article by which France renounced possession forever of the Cape of Good Hope. He maintained, on the contrary, that that colony and several others must some day be transferred to us in payment of our services. He defended, as we see, the interest of our allies, much more for our sake than for theirs. Lareveillère, who, from a spirit of equity, was very attentive to their interests, was adverse to the proposed conditions for totally different reasons. He considered it as disgraceful to sacrifice Spain, whom we had drawn into a quarrel, which was, in some measure, foreign to her, and whom we obliged, as the price of her alliance, to sacrifice an important colony. He regarded it as equally dishonourable to sacrifice Holland, who had been hurried by France into the career of revolution, of whose fate she had taken charge, and whom she was about to deprive at once of her richest possessions and to consign to a frightful anarchy. If, in fact, France were to withdraw her hand, Holland must fall into the most dangerous disorders. Lareveillère said that the Directory would be responsible for all the blood that should be spilt. This policy was generous. Perhaps it was not considerate enough. Our allies sustained losses ; the question was, whether they might not suffer still greater by continuing the war. The sequel proved this. But the triumphs of France on the continent then encouraged a hope that, delivered from Austria, she would obtain triumphs as signal upon the seas. The desertion of our allies appeared disgraceful : a different course was adopted. It was resolved to address Spain and Holland, for the purpose of inquiring their intentions. They were to declare if they wished for peace, at the price of the sacrifices required by England ; and, in case they should prefer a continuance of the war, they were, moreover, to declare what forces they proposed to collect for the defence of the common interests. Letters were sent to Lille, stating that no answer could be given to the proposals of England till the allies of France had been consulted.

These discussions completely embroiled the directors. The moment of the catastrophe approached. The two parties pursued their course and became daily more and more exasperated. The commission of the finances in the Five Hundred had retouched its measures, in order to induce the Ancients to pass them with some modifications.

The dispositions relative to the treasury had been slightly changed. The Directory was still to have nothing to do with the negotiation of securities. Without confirming or abolishing the distinction between the ordinary and the extraordinary, it was decided that the expenses relative to the pay of the armies should always have the preference. Anticipations were forbidden, but the anticipations which had already taken place were not revoked. Lastly, the new dispositions relative to the sale of the national domains were again brought forward, with an important modification, it is true ; namely, that the orders of the ministers and the *bons* of the contractors were to be taken in payment for domains, like the *three-quarter bills*. These measures, thus modified, had been adopted ; they were less subversive of the means of the treasury, but still extremely dangerous. All the penal laws against the priests were abolished ; the oath was changed into a mere affirmation by which the priests declared that they submitted to the laws of the republic. Neither the question of the forms of worship nor of the bells was yet taken into consideration. The successions of the emigrants were no longer open in favour of the state, but in favour of the relatives. The families which had already been obliged to account to the

republic for the patrimonial share of an emigrant son or relative were to receive an indemnity in national domains. The sale of the parsonage-houses was suspended. Lastly, the most important of all the measures, the institution of the national guard, had been voted in a few days, on the bases stated above. The composition of this guard was to be effected by way of election. It was on this measure that Pichegru and his partisans reckoned most for the execution of their projects. Accordingly, they had obtained the addition of an article, agreeably to which the work of this organization was to commence ten days after the publication of the law. They were thus sure to have soon collected the Parisian guard, and with it all the insurgents of Vendémiaire.

The Directory, on its part, convinced of the imminence of the danger, and still supposing a conspiracy ready to break out, had assumed the most threatening attitude. Augereau was not alone in Paris. Cherin, chief of Hoche's staff; Generals Lemoine and Humbert, who commanded the divisions which had marched upon Paris; Kleber and Lefebvre, who had leave of absence, and lastly, Bernadotte, whom Bonaparte had sent to carry the colours that were yet to be presented to the Directory, were in Paris. Besides these superior officers, officers of all ranks, out of commission since the reduction of the staffs and looking out for employment, abounded in Paris, and held the most threatening language against the Councils. A great number of revolutionists had thronged thither from the provinces, as they always did when they hoped for a commotion. In addition to all these symptoms, the direction and destination of the troops could scarcely leave any doubt; they were cantoned in the environs of Rheims. It was alleged that, if they had been destined solely for the expedition to Ireland, they would have continued their march to Brest, and not have tarried in the departments contiguous to Paris, that Hoche would not have returned to his head-quarters, and, finally, that so large a body of cavalry would not have been collected for a naval expedition. A commission had been appointed, as we have seen, to investigate and to report upon all these circumstances. The Directory had given only very vague explanations to this commission. The troops, it was said, had been marched for a distant destination, by an order from General Hoche, who had received that order from the Directory, and if they had passed the constitutional limit, that was through the mistake of an army commissary. But the Councils had replied, through Pichegru, that troops could not be transferred from one army to another upon the mere order of the general-in-chief; that he ought to derive his orders from a higher authority; that he could not receive them from the Directory unless through the medium of the minister at war; that Petiet, the minister at war, had not countersigned that order; that, consequently, General Hoche had acted without a formal authority; that, finally, if the troops had received a distant destination, they ought to pursue their march and not to collect around Paris. These observations were well founded, and the Directory had good reasons for not answering them. The Councils decreed, in consequence of these observations, that a circle should be drawn around Paris, having a radius of twelve leagues, that columns should mark on all the roads the circumference of this circle, and that the officers of the troops who should pass it should be considered as guilty of high treason.

But fresh circumstances soon occurred to renew the alarm. Hoche had collected his troops in the departments of the North, around Sedan and Rheims, a few marches from Paris, and he had despatched fresh troops in

the same direction. These movements, the language held by the soldiers, the agitation which prevailed in Paris, and the quarrels of the officers out of commission with the gilded youth, furnished Willot with the subject of a second denunciation. He ascended the tribune, spoke of a new march of troops, of the spirit which manifested itself in their ranks, of the fury excited in them against the Councils; and, while on this subject, he inveighed against the addresses of the army of Italy, and against the publicity given to them by the Directory. In consequence, he proposed that the inspectors of the hall should be directed to collect fresh information, and to make a new report. The deputies, called inspectors of the hall, were charged with the police of the Councils, and consequently it was their duty to provide for their safety.* Willot's proposal was adopted, and, on the suggestion of the commission of inspectors, several embarrassing questions were addressed to the Directory on the 17th of Thermidor (August 4). They reverted to the nature of the orders by virtue of which General Hoche had acted. Could, in short, the nature of those orders be explained? Had means been used to enforce the execution of the constitutional article which forbade the troops to deliberate?

The Directory resolved to reply by an energetic message to the new questions which were addressed to it, without, however, furnishing the explanations which it did not suit it to give. Lareveillère drew it up. Carnot and Barthelemy refused to sign it. This message was presented on the 23d of Thermidor (August 10). It contained nothing more concerning the movements of the troops. The generals of division, said the Directory, had received orders from General Hoche, and General Hoche from the Directory. The channel through which they had been transmitted was not yet mentioned. As to the addresses, the Directory said that the signification of the word *deliberate* was too vague for it to be possible to determine whether the armies had committed a fault in presenting them; that it admitted the danger of allowing armies to express their opinions, and that it would prevent fresh publications of that nature; but that, for the rest, before making a crime of the step which the soldiers of the republic had ventured to take, it was necessary to go back to the causes which had occasioned it; that these causes lay in the general agitation which had for some months past seized all minds; in the deficiency of the public revenue, which left all the departments of the administration in the most deplorable situation, and frequently deprived of their pay the men who for years had been spilling their blood and spending their strength in the service of the republic; in the persecutions and the murders perpetrated on the purchasers of the national domains, on the public functionaries, and on the defenders of the country; in the impunity of crime and the partiality of certain tribunals; in the insolence of the emigrants and the refractory priests, who, openly recalled and favoured, inundated every place, fanned the flame of discord, and excited contempt for the laws; in that multitude of newspapers, which deluged the army and the interior, and preached up nothing but royalty and the overthrow of the republic; in the interest, always ill dissembled and often boldly manifested, for the glory of Austria and England; in the efforts that were made to depreciate the just renown

* "The guard of the Councils, which had been subject to the Directory, was placed under the immediate orders of the inspectors of the hall; and it was proposed that the Councils should decree the removal of the troops. At the point at which the two parties had arrived, a victory was necessary, in order once more to decide the great question between the Revolution and the old government."—*Mignet*. E.

of our warriors ; in the calumnies diffused against two illustrious generals, who had, the one in the West, the other in Italy, added to their exploits the immortal honour of the most admirable political conduct ; finally, in the sinister projects announced by men who possessed more or less influence on the fortunes of the state. The Directory added, that it nevertheless entertained the firm resolution and the well-founded hope of saving France from the new convulsions with which she was threatened. Thus, instead of explaining and excusing its conduct, the Directory, on the contrary, recriminated, and openly manifested an intention to engage in the conflict, and a hope to come off victorious. This message was considered as a real manifesto, and excited an extreme sensation. The Five Hundred immediately appointed a commission to examine and to answer the message.

The constitutionalists began to be alarmed at the state of affairs. They saw, on the one hand, the Directory ready to support itself upon the armies ; on the other, the Clichyans ready to collect the band of Vendémiaire, under pretext of organizing the national guard. Those who were sincerely republicans would rather that the Directory should prove victorious, but they would all have preferred that there should not be any combat ; and they could not perceive how injurious their opposition had been in alarming the Directory and encouraging the reactors. They did not confess their faults, but they deplored the situation, imputing it as usual to their adversaries. Such of the Clichyans as were not in the secret of the counter-revolution, as did not even wish for it, as were actuated solely by an imprudent hatred against the excesses of the revolution, began to be terrified, and feared lest by their contradiction they had awakened all the revolutionary propensities of the Directory. Their ardour was cooled. The absolutely royalist Clichyans were in a great hurry to act, and were afraid of being anticipated. They surrounded Pichegru and urged him with warmth. The latter, with his usual phlegm, made promises to the agents of the Pretender, and still continued to temporize. He possessed, however, no real means ; for a few emigrants, a few Chouans in Paris, did not constitute a sufficient force ; and, until he should have the national guard at his disposal, he could not make any serious attempt. Cold and wary, he took a just view of his situation, and replied to all solicitations that it was requisite to wait. He was told that the Directory was about to strike ; he replied that the Directory durst not. For the rest, giving the Directory no credit for daring, finding his own means yet inadequate,* and having plenty of money at his disposal, it was natural that he should be in no hurry to act.

In this situation, prudent minds sincerely wished that a conflict might be avoided. They wished for an accommodation which, reconciling the constitutionalists and the moderate Clichyans with the Directory, should restore to it a majority which it had lost, and relieve it from the necessity of recurring to violent means of safety. Madame de Staël was so placed as to wish for, and to attempt, such an accommodation. She was the centre of that brilliant and enlightened society, which, though it deemed the government and its chiefs rather vulgar, was attached to the republic. Madame de Staël was fond of that form of government, as the fairest arena for the human mind. She had already placed one of her friends in an elevated post ; she hoped to place them all, and to become

* "The actual force at the command of the councils was extremely small. Their body consisted only of fifteen hundred grenadiers who could not be relied on, as the event soon proved, in a contest with their brethren in arms."—*Alison*. F.

their Egeria. She saw the peril to which this order of things, which had become dear to her, was exposed; she admitted men of all the parties, she listened to them, and could foresee a speedy collision. She was generous, active; she could not keep aloof from events; and it was natural that she should strive to use her influence in uniting men whom no profound antipathy dissevered. She assembled in her drawing-room the republicans, the constitutionalists, and the Clichyans; she endeavoured to soothe the violence of the discussions, by interposing herself between their self-loves with the tact of a kind and superior woman. But she was not more successful than people in general are in effecting party reconciliations; and the men most strongly opposed to one another began to keep away from her house. She strove to see the members of the two commissions appointed to reply to the recent message of the Directory. Some were constitutionalists, as Thibaudeau, Emery, Simeon, Tronçon-Ducoudray, and Portalis; through them it might be possible to exercise an influence on the language of the two reports; and these reports were extremely important, for they were the answer to the manifesto of the Directory. Madame de Staël was extremely active personally, and through her friends. The constitutionalists desired an accommodation, for they were sensible of the danger; but this accommodation required, on their part, sacrifices which it was difficult to wring from them. If the Directory had committed real faults, and had taken culpable measures, then a negotiation might have been opened for the revocation of certain of those measures, and a treaty concluded with reciprocal sacrifices; but, excepting the private misconduct of Barras, the majority of the Directory had conducted itself with as much zeal and attachment to the constitution as could possibly be desired. No arbitrary act, no usurpation of power, could be imputed to it. The administration of the finances, so severely censured, was the forced result of circumstances. The change of the ministers, the movement of the troops, the addresses of the armies, the appointment of Augereau, were the only facts that could be mentioned as indicating formidable intentions. But these were precautions rendered indispensable by the danger; and it was requisite to remove the danger entirely by restoring the majority to the Directory, in order to have a right to require it to renounce these precautions. The constitutionalists, on the contrary, had supported the new members in all their attacks, whether unjust or indiscreet; and it was for them alone to give way. Nothing, therefore, could be required of the Directory, but much of the constitutionalists; which rendered the exchange of sacrifices impossible.

Madame de Staël took great pains, personally and by her friends, to produce a conviction that the Directory was ready to run all hazards, that the constitutionalists would be the victims of their obstinacy, and that the republic would be ruined along with them. But these refused every sort of concession, and insisted that the Directory should give way to them. Rewbel and Lareveillère were spoken to. The latter, without repelling the discussion, entered into a long enumeration of the acts of the Directory, asking, at the mention of each of these acts, whether it was censurable. The interlocutors were without reply. As for sending back Augereau, and the revocation of all the measures which indicated a speedy resolution, Lareveillère and Rewbel were inexorable. They would not yield at all, and proved, by their cold firmness, that a great determination had been taken.

Madame de Staël, and those who seconded her in her laudable but

fruitless undertaking, were very urgent with the members of the two commissions, in order to prevail upon them not to propose too violent legislative measures, and, in particular, not to indulge in dangerous and irritating recriminations when replying to the grievances contained in the message of the Directory. All this trouble was thrown away; for there is no instance of a party having ever taken advice. In the two commissions there were Clichyans, and they very naturally would wish for the most violent measures. They insisted, in the first place, on a special transfer to the criminal jury of Paris of all offences committed against the safety of the legislative body, and the exclusion of all troops from the constitutional circle; they required, in particular, that the constitutional circle should not belong to any military division. The aim of this last measure was to take the command of Paris from Augereau, and to accomplish, by a decree, what could not be obtained by way of negotiation. These measures were adopted by the two commissions. But Thibaudeau and Tronçon-Ducoudray, directed to make the report, the one to the Five Hundred, the other to the Ancients, refused, with equal prudence and firmness, to present the last proposition. It was then given up, and the two former only were retained. Tronçon-Ducoudray made his report on the 3d of Fructidor, Thibaudeau on the 4th. They replied indirectly to the reproaches of the Directory, and Tronçon-Ducoudray, addressing the Ancients, exhorted them to interpose their wisdom and their dignity between the vivacity of the young legislators of the Five Hundred, and the susceptibility of the heads of the executive power. Thibaudeau strove to justify the Councils, to prove that they had not intended either to attack the government or to calumniate the armies. He referred to Dumolard's motion relative to Venice. He insisted that nobody meant to attack the heroes of Italy; but maintained that their creations would not be durable unless they had the sanction of the two Councils. The two insignificant measures proposed were adopted, and these two reports, from which so much had been expected, produced no effect. They clearly expressed the impotence to which the constitutionalists were reduced by their equivocal situation between the royalist faction and the Directory, resolved not to conspire with the one or to make concessions to the other.

The Clichyans complained much of the insignificance of these reports, and declaimed against the weakness of the constitutionalists. The most ardent wished for the combat, and especially for the means of engaging in it, and inquired what the Directory was doing towards organizing the national guard. This was precisely what the Directory had no wish to do, and, in fact, it had resolved not to organize it.

Carnot was in a still more singular position than the constitutional party. He had fairly quarrelled with the Clichyans on observing their conduct; he was useless to the constitutionalists, for he had taken no share in their attempts at accommodation, and he was too irritable to reconcile himself with his colleagues. He was alone, without support, amidst the void, having no longer any aim, for he had missed the aim of self-love which he had once had, and the new majority which he had dreamt of was impossible. Nevertheless, from a ridiculous perseverance in supporting the sentiments of the opposition in the Directory, he formally demanded the organization of the national guard. His presidency of the Directory was about to expire, and he availed himself of this circumstance to bring that subject under discussion. Lareveillère then rose with firmness, and, having never had any personal quarrel with him, he resolved to make one more

effort to reconcile him to his colleagues. Addressing him at once with mildness and assurance, he put several questions to him. "Carnot," said he, "hast thou ever heard us make any proposition tending to abridge the prerogatives of the Councils, to increase our own, to compromise the constitution of the republic!"—"No," replied Carnot, with embarrassment. "Hast thou," resumed Lareveillère, "ever heard us, in a matter of finance, war, or diplomacy, propose a measure that was not conformable with the public interest? As to what is personal to thyself, hast thou ever heard us depreciate thy merit, or deny thy services? Since thou hast separated thyself from us, canst thou accuse us of any disrespect for thy person? Has thy opinion been the less listened to when it appeared to us useful and sincerely proposed? For my own part," added Lareveillère, "though thou hast belonged to a faction which has persecuted both myself and my family, have I ever shown the least resentment against thee?"—"No, no," replied Carnot to all these questions. "Well, then," added Lareveillère, "how canst thou separate from us to attach thyself to a faction which deceives thee, which would make use of thee to ruin the republic, which would ruin thee after making use of thee, and which in ruining, will dishonour, thee?" Lareveillère employed the most friendly and the most persuasive terms to convince Carnot of the error and the danger of his conduct. Rewbel and Barras even did violence to their hatred. Rewbel, from a sense of duty, Barras, from natural suppleness, talked to him almost as friends. But demonstrations of kindness serve only to irritate a certain sort of pride. Carnot remained cold, and, after all the pains taken by his colleagues, he drily repeated his proposal for discussing the organization of the national guard. The directors then broke up the sitting, and retired, convinced, as men easily are on such occasions, that their colleague was betraying them, and that he was acting in concert with the enemies of the government.

It was resolved that the meditated stroke should fall upon him and Barthelemy, as well as upon the principal members of the Councils. The plan definitively adopted was as follows. The three directors still believed that the deputies of Clichy were in the secret of the conspiracy. They had not obtained, either against them or against Pichegru, any fresh evidence that would admit of judicial proceedings. They were, therefore, obliged to have recourse to a stretch of power.

They had in the two Councils a decided minority, which would be joined by all those wavering men, whom half-measures irritate and estrange, but whom great energy overpowers and brings back. They purposed to close the halls in which the Ancients and the Five Hundred met, to appoint some other place for their sittings, to summon thither all the deputies on whom they could rely, to draw up a list containing the two directors, and one hundred and twenty deputies selected from among the most suspected, and to propose their banishment without judicial discussion and by an extraordinary legislative procedure. They meditated no person's death, but the forced removal of all the dangerous men. Many have thought that this stretch of authority had become useless, because the Councils, intimidated by the evident resolution of the Directory, appeared to relax. But this impression was transient. To every one acquainted with the course of the parties and their lively imagination, it is evident that the Clichyans, on seeing the Directory refrain from acting, would have again taken courage. If they had kept themselves quiet till the new election they would have redoubled their ardour on the arrival of the third, and would then have

displayed an irresistible energy. The Directory would not even have then found the conventional minority which remained in the Councils to support it, and to give a sort of legality to the extraordinary measures which it intended to adopt. Lastly, without taking into consideration this inevitable result of a new election, the Directory, in not acting, would have been obliged to execute the laws and to reorganize the national guard; that is, to give the army of Vendémiaire to the counter-revolution, which would have produced a frightful civil war between the national guards and the troops of the line. And, in fact, while Pichegru and a few intriguers had no other means than motions in the Five Hundred, and some emigrants or Chouans in Paris, their schemes were little to be feared; but, supported by the national guard, they would be able to give battle, and to commence the civil war.

In consequence, Rewbel and Lareveillère agreed that it was necessary to act without delay, and not to prolong the state of uncertainty. Barras alone held back, and gave some uneasiness to his two colleagues. They were still apprehensive lest he should treat with the royalist party, or join with the Jacobin faction to excite a commotion. They watched him closely, and still strove to win Augereau, by addressing themselves to his vanity, and endeavouring to render him sensible to the esteem of upright men. Still, some further preparations were requisite, as well to gain the grenadiers of the legislative body, as to prepare the troops, and to obtain funds. It was agreed to wait a few days longer. The directors would not apply to Ramel, the minister, for money, lest they should compromise him, and they were expecting that which Bonaparte had offered, but which had not yet arrived.

Bonaparte had, as we have seen, sent Lavalette, his aide-de-camp, to Paris, in order to obtain accurate information concerning all the intrigues. The aspect of Paris had produced a very unfavourable effect on M. de Lavalette, and he had communicated his impressions to Bonaparte.* So many

* The following statement relative to Lavalette's mission, and to the political intrigues of the period, is extracted from the Memoirs of that personage :

"I arrived in Paris in the month of May. The five members of government were, at that time, Barras, Rewbel, Carnot, La Reveillère, Lépaux, and Barthelemy. The first four had been members of the Convention; and although none of them had been famous during the Reign of Terror for any atrocious act, still the three first had voted the death of the King—a vote which, notwithstanding the fatal though powerful consideration that may be presented in alleviation, placed them amongst the most furious Jacobins, and was prejudicial to the respect with which they ought to have been invested. The people bore impatiently the yoke of men who recalled to their minds such fatal events; and they were especially disliked by the constitutionalists of 1791, who reproached them at once with the destruction of their edifice, and the persecutions which had so long weighed upon them. When I arrived, the contest was violent, and the antagonists of government made no secret of their wish to overthrow the majority. My first visit was to Barras, who seemed to have preserved favourable sentiments for General Bonaparte, and who expressed to me a wish to maintain the friendship which had so long united them. After him I saw Carnot, who spoke to me with a reserve commanded by the intimate connexion of General Bonaparte with Barras. A difference of systems and views on some points of government had created between these two directors an animosity which betrayed itself in invectives and threats, that left no opening for reconciliation. Carnot, however, expressed himself with candour. 'It is impossible,' he said, 'to go on any longer on the revolutionary road. If a lasting system of moderation be not adopted, all is lost. France feels horror for whatever brings to mind the deplorable measures to which the necessity of saving her has carried the country. The public mind is irritated, and, unless great care be taken, the effect will be to involve us again in a confusion, out of which we shall be extricated only to bend under the yoke of the Bourbons. The faction against which I am struggling does not blush to charge me with being a

personal resentments are mingled with political animosities that, on a close view of the parties, the sight becomes repulsive. Frequently too, if we suffer our minds to dwell exclusively on what is personal in political dissensions, we shall be tempted to believe that there is nothing generous, sincere, and patriotic, in the motives which divide men.

Such was precisely the effect likely to be produced by the struggles of the three directors, Barras, Lareveillère, and Rewbel, with Barthelemy and Carnot, and of the Conventionists with the Clichyans. It was a frightful fray, in which wounded vanity and self-interest would appear at first sight to act the principal part. The military officers in Paris added their pretensions to all those which were already at variance. Though irritated against the faction of Clichy, they were not very well disposed towards the Directory. It is usual for men to become importunate and susceptible when they deem themselves necessary. Grouped around Scherer, the minister, these officers were disposed to complain, as if the government had not done enough for them. Kleber, the noblest but the most intractable of these characters, and who has been correctly delineated when it was said that he did not wish to be either the first or the second—Kleber had told the Directory in his original language, “I will fire upon your enemies if they attack you; but in facing them I shall turn my back upon you.” Lefebvre, Bernadotte, and all the others, expressed themselves in the same manner. Struck with this chaos, M. de Lavalette wrote to Bonaparte in such a way as to induce him to remain independent. Thenceforward the latter, satisfied with having communicated the impulse, would not proceed farther, but resolved to await the result. He wrote no more. The Directory then addressed itself to the gallant Hoche, who, having alone a right

royalist; and, nevertheless, nobody is more convinced than I am of Pichegru's treason, and the necessity of punishing him; but they want to govern France as they would a club. Narrow views, a passionate, factious spirit, the prejudices of ignorance and fear, ever suspicious and blind, preside over all our acts; they prefer the violence that irritates, while moderation and firmness would be sufficient to smooth everything. My situation is painful; for I am forced to move with a party in which, exclusive of Pichegru, there are men to whom I am obnoxious, who perhaps conspire with him, and who will ruin the republic, without obtaining the secret aim of their endeavours. I have tried,’ he added, ‘to reclaim Pichegru; I was not personally acquainted with him; but the conversation I had with him convinced me that he is cleverer than I thought, and that he has taken his final resolutions. I do not know what are his means of execution, now that he is no longer with the army; but whatever they may be, they will miscarry when opposed by the firm vigilance of government, and by public opinion, which is strongly declared against the Bourbons.’ This conversation, of which I have only recorded the most remarkable parts, was the only one I had with Carnot. The house of Barras was open to me, and I went there so often that Carnot could not but look upon me as a man entirely devoted to the party of that director: it was, however, not so. All his speeches breathed hatred and vengeance. A month before the catastrophe took place, it was secretly resolved to make it terrible, and the victims were marked out. My position and my duty forbade me taking any part in the contest, but I wrote the truth to General Bonaparte. I observed that he would tarnish his glory if he gave any support to acts of violence, which the situation of government did not justify; that nobody would pardon him if he joined the Directory in their plan to overthrow the constitution and liberty; that proscriptions were about to take place against the national representation, and against citizens whose virtues made them worthy of respect; that punishments would be inflicted without trial, and that the hatred resulting from such measures would extend not only to the Directory, but to the whole system of republican government. Besides, it was not certain that the party they were going to proscribe, really wished the return of the Bourbons; and in any case the legal punishment and banishment of Pichegru would be sufficient to destroy any plans of that sort. These considerations made so much impression on the mind of General Bonaparte, that he soon avoided, in his correspondence with the Directory, all allusion to the interior situation of France, and at last left off writing to them altogether.” E.

to be dissatisfied, sent fifty thousand francs, forming the greatest part of his wife's portion.

It was now the first days of Fructidor. Lareveillère had just succeeded Carnot as president of the Directory; he was commissioned to receive Visconti, the envoy of the Cisalpine republic, and General Bernadotte, the bearer of some colours which the army of Italy had not yet sent to the Directory.* He resolved to speak out in the boldest manner, and thus to force Barras to come to a decision. He made two vehement speeches, in which he replied to the two reports of Thibaudeau and Tronçon-Ducoudray, but without mentioning them. Speaking of Venice and the recently emancipated people of Italy, Thibaudeau had said that their lot would not be fixed, till the legislative body of France should have been consulted. Alluding to this expression, Lareveillère said to Visconti that the people of Italy had wished for liberty, that they had a right to give it to themselves, and for this they had no need of the consent of anybody whatever. "That liberty," said he, "of which some would deprive both you and us, we will defend together, and find means to preserve." The threatening tone of the two speeches left no doubt of the dispositions of the Directory: men who talked in that manner must have their forces quite prepared. It was the 10th of Fructidor. The Clichyans were in the utmost alarm. In their fury, they resumed their design of placing the Directory under accusation. The constitutionalists dreaded such a procedure, because they were aware that it would be a motive for the Directory to break out, and they declared that they would, in their turn, set about procuring evidence of the treason of certain deputies, and demand their accusation. This threat checked the Clichyans, and prevented the preparation of an act of accusation against the five directors.

The Clichyans had long wished to add to the commission of the inspectors Pichegru and Willot, who were considered as the two generals of the party. But this addition of two new members, increasing the number to seven, was contrary to the regulation. They awaited, therefore, the renewal of the commission, which took place at the beginning of every month, and appointed Pichegru, Vaublanc, Delarue, Thibaudeau, and Emery. The commission of the inspectors was charged with the police of the hall; it gave orders to the grenadiers of the legislative body, and it was in some measure the executive power of the Council. The Ancients had a similar commission. It had united itself with that one of the Five Hundred, and both watched together over the common safety. A great number of deputies frequented this commission, without having a right to a seat in it; so that it was transformed into a new Clichy club, in which the most violent and the most useless motions were made. At first, it was proposed to organize a police, in order to gain information of the designs of the Directory. One Dossonville was placed at the head of it. As they had no funds, each contributed his share; but only a small sum was collected. Supplied as he had been, Pichegru could have contributed largely; but it does not appear that he employed on this occasion the funds received from Wickham. These police agents proceeded to pick up false reports in all sorts of places, and then alarmed the commissioners with them.

* "Napoleon's pretence for sending Bernadotte to Paris was, that he wished to transmit to the Directory four flags, which, out of the twenty-one taken at the battle of Rivoli, had been left *by mistake* at Peschiera. Bernadotte, however, did not take any great part in the political intrigues of the capital. He was always a prudent man."—*Bonaparte*. E.

Every day they said, "It is to-day, it is to-night, that the Directory intends to apprehend two hundred deputies, and to have them put to death in the fauxbourgs." These rumours struck terror into the commissions, and this terror gave rise to the most indiscreet schemes. The Directory received through its spies an exaggerated report of all these propositions, and it was filled in its turn with alarm. It was then said in the drawing-rooms of the Directory that it was high time to strike, if it did not mean to be anticipated; and threats were thrown out, which, repeated in their turn, repaid the Clichyans with fright for fright.

The constitutionalists, forming a separate party between the two, were daily more and more aware of their faults and their dangers. They were in the greatest consternation. Carnot, still more isolated than they, embroiled with the Clichyans, odious to the patriots, suspicious even to the moderate republicans, slandered, misunderstood, received daily the most alarming intelligence. He was told that he was about to be put to death by order of his colleagues. Barthelemy, threatened and apprized like him, was filled with consternation.

The same warnings were given to others. Lareveillère had been informed, in such a way as to leave no room to doubt the fact, that Chouans had been hired to assassinate him. Finding him the firmest of the three members of the majority, it was he who was fixed upon to be despatched, for the purpose of dissolving it. Certain it is that his death would have changed everything, for the new director nominated by the Councils would certainly have voted with Carnot and Barthelemy. The evident object of the crime, and the particulars given to Lareveillère, ought to have induced him to be upon his guard. Unmoved, however, he continued his evening walks to the Jardin des Plantes. Malo, *chef d'escadron* of the 21st dragoons, who had sabred the Jacobins at the camp of Grenelle, and afterwards denounced Brottier and his accomplices, was set on to insult him. This Malo was the creature of Carnot and Cochon, and he had, without intending it, inspired the Clichyans with hopes which rendered him suspected. Dismissed by the Directory, he attributed his dismissal to Lareveillère, and went to the Luxembourg to insult him. The intrepid magistrate was not to be daunted by a cavalry officer, and, seizing him by the shoulders, he turned him out of his apartment.

Rewbel, though strongly attached to the common cause, was more violent but less firm. Some one came to tell him that Barras was treating with an emissary of the pretender's, and was ready to betray the republic. The connexion of Barras with all the parties was liable to excite all sorts of apprehensions. "We are undone," said Rewbel; "Barras is betraying us; we shall be murdered; no other course is left us but flight; for it is no longer in our power to save the republic." Lareveillère, more calm, told Rewbel in reply, that, instead of giving way, they ought to go to Barras, talk sharply to him, oblige him to speak out, and overawe him by their firmness. Both of them accordingly went to Barras, questioned him with authority, and asked why he still delayed. Barras, engaged in making preparations with Augereau,* demanded three or four days more, and

* "Bonaparte had made choice of Augereau to second the revolution which was preparing against the Clichy party, because he knew his stanch republican principles, his boldness, and his deficiency of political talent. He thought him well calculated to aid a commotion, which his own presence with the army of Italy prevented him from directing in person; and besides, Augereau was not an ambitious rival who might turn events to his own advantage."—*Bourrienne*. E.

promised that there should be no longer delay. This was the 13th or 14th of Fructidor. Rewbel was satisfied and consented to wait.

Barras and Augereau had, in fact, prepared everything for the execution of the stroke which had been so long meditated. Hoche's troops were disposed around the constitutional limit, ready to cross it and to proceed in a few hours to Paris. A great part of the grenadiers of the legislative body had been gained by means of Blanchard, the second in command, and several other officers, who were devoted to the Directory. A sufficient number of defections in the ranks of the grenadiers to prevent a battle had thus been insured. Ramel, the commander-in-chief, had continued to be attached to the Councils, in consequence of his connexion with Cochon and Carnot; his influence was not much to be feared. One precaution had been taken. Orders were given that the troops of the garrison of Paris, and also the grenadiers of the legislative body, should be exercised in firing. These movements of troops, this din of arms, served to disguise the real day of execution.

The event was expected to take place every day. It was believed that it would be on the 15th of Fructidor, then on the 16th; but the 16th corresponded with the 2d of September, and the Directory would not have chosen that day of dreadful memory. Meanwhile, the terror of the Clichyans was extreme. The police of the inspectors, deceived by false indications, had persuaded them that the event was fixed for the night between the 15th and 16th. They assembled tumultuously in the evening in the hall of the two commissions. Rovère, the fierce reactor, one of the members of the commission of the Ancients, read a police report, according to which two hundred deputies were to be apprehended in the night. Others came, in breathless haste, to report that the barriers were closed, that four columns of troops were entering Paris, and that the directing committee had joined the Directory. They said, also, that the hotel of the minister of the police was completely illuminated. The tumult was at its height. The members of the two commissions, who ought to have been but ten, and who were about fifty, complained that they could not deliberate. At length, messengers were sent to the barriers and to the hotel of the police to verify the reports of the agents, and it was ascertained that the greatest tranquillity prevailed everywhere. It was stated that the police agents could not be paid on the following day for want of funds; each emptied his pockets to furnish the requisite sum. They then broke up. The Clichyans surrounded Pichegru, to persuade him to act. They proposed, in the first place, to make the Councils permanent, then to collect the emigrants and the Chouans whom they had in Paris, to add a number of young men to them, to march against the Directory, and to secure the three directors. Pichegru declared all these plans ridiculous and impracticable, and again repeated that there was nothing to be done. The silly heads of the party, nevertheless, resolved to commence on the following day with obtaining a declaration of the permanence.

The Directory was apprized by its police of the alarm of the Clichyans and of their desperate designs. Barras, who had in his hands all the means of execution, resolved to employ them that very night. Everything was so arranged that the troops could traverse the constitutional circle in a few hours. It was expected that, in the mean time, the garrison of Paris would be sufficient. Great manœuvres of troops were ordered for the next day, that a pretext might not be wanting. Neither the ministers, nor the directors, Rewbel and Lareveillère, nor any other person, were apprized

of the moment, so that everybody was ignorant of the event which was about to take place. That day, the 17th, passed off quietly; no proposition was made to the Councils. Many of the deputies absented themselves, in order to escape the catastrophe which they had so imprudently provoked. The sitting of the Directory was held as usual. The five directors were present. At four in the afternoon, at the moment when the sitting was over, Barras took Rewbel and Lareveillère aside, and told them that it would be necessary to strike the blow that very night, in order to anticipate the enemy. He had asked them for four days more, but would not wait that time lest he should be surprised. The three directors then went to Rewbel's, where they established themselves. It was agreed to summon all the ministers to Rewbel's, to shut themselves up there till the event was consummated, and not to allow any one to leave the place. They were to have no communication with any person outside excepting Augereau and his aides-de-camp.

This arrangement being decided upon, the ministers were convoked for the evening. All of them being assembled with the three directors, they fell to work to prepare the requisite orders and proclamations. The plan was, to surround the palace of the legislative body, to take from the grenadiers the posts which they occupied, to dissolve the commissions of the inspectors, to shut up the halls of the two Councils, to appoint another place of meeting, to summon thither such deputies as could be relied on, and to cause them to pass a law against those of whom the directors wished to rid themselves. They made sure that such as were enemies to the Directory would not venture to repair to the new place of meeting. In consequence, proclamations were drawn up, stating that a great plot had been formed against the republic; that its principal authors were members of the two commissions of inspectors; that it was from these two commissions that the conspirators were to set out; that, to prevent their attempt, the Directory commanded the halls of the legislative body to be closed, and fixed upon another place for the meeting of the deputies who remained faithful to the republic. The Five Hundred were to meet in the Odeon theatre, and the Ancients in the amphitheatre of the School of Medicine. An account of the conspiracy, supported by the declaration of Duverne de Presle and the paper found in the portfolio of d'Entraigues, was added to these proclamations. The whole was printed immediately, and was to be posted in the night on the walls of Paris. The ministers and the three directors remained shut up at Rewbel's, and Augereau set out with his aides-de-camp to execute the plan agreed upon.

Carnot and Barthelemy, having retired to their apartments in the Luxembourg, knew not what was preparing. The Clichyans, still greatly agitated, thronged the hall of the commissions. But Barthelemy, deceived, sent word that nothing could happen that night. Pichegru, on his part, had just left Scherer, and assured him that nothing was yet ready. Some movements of troops had been observed, but these, it was said, were occasioned by the exercises, and no alarm was felt on that account. Every one went home with renewed confidence. Rovère alone remained in the hall of the inspectors, and retired to a bed provided for the member on duty.

About midnight,* Augereau placed all the troops of the garrison about

* "On the night of the 17th of Fructidor the Directory moved all the troops in the neighbourhood into the capital, and the inhabitants at midnight beheld with breathless anxiety twelve thousand armed men defile in silence over the bridges with forty pieces of cannon, and occupy all the avenues to the Tuileries. Not a sound was to be heard

the palace, and brought forward a numerous artillery. The greatest tranquillity pervaded Paris, where nothing was heard but the footfalls of the soldiers and the rolling of the gun-carriages. It was requisite, without striking a blow, to take from the grenadiers of the legislative body the posts which they occupied. About one in the morning, orders were transmitted to Ramel, the commandant, to go to the minister at war. He refused, guessing what was going forward, ran to waken Rovère, the inspector, who would not yet believe the danger, and then hastened to the barracks of his grenadiers, to get the reserve under arms. Nearly four hundred men occupied the different posts of the Tuileries; the reserve amounted to eight hundred. It was immediately put under arms, and drawn up in order of battle, in the garden of the Tuileries. The greatest order and the most profound silence prevailed in the ranks.

Nearly ten thousand troops of the line occupied the environs of the palace, and were preparing to force it. The firing of a cannon charged with powder, about three o'clock in the morning, served for a signal. The commandants of the columns presented themselves at the different posts. An officer went, in the name of Augereau, to order Ramel to give up the post of the Pont Tournant, which communicated between the garden and the Place Louis XV.; but Ramel refused. Fifteen hundred men having advanced to this post, the grenadiers, most of whom were gained over, surrendered it. The same thing occurred at other posts. All the outlets of the garden and of the Carrousel were given up, and the palace was surrounded on all sides by numerous bodies of infantry and cavalry. Twelve pieces of cannon, ready harnessed, were pointed at the palace. There was now left only the reserve of the grenadiers, eight hundred strong, drawn up in order of battle, and headed by Ramel, its commandant. Part of the grenadiers were disposed to do their duty; the others, won by the agents of Barras, were inclined, on the contrary, to join the troops of the Direc-

but the marching of the men and the rolling of the artillery, till the Tuileries were surrounded, when a signal-gun was discharged, which made every heart that heard it beat with agitation. Instantly the troops approached the gates, and commanded them to be thrown open. Murmurs arose among the guards of the Councils; the railings were closed, and every preparation made for resistance. But no sooner did the staff of Augereau appear at the gates than the soldiers of the adverse party seized their commander, and delivered him over to the assailants. By six o'clock in the morning all was concluded. Several hundreds of the most powerful of the party of the Councils were in prison; and the people, waking up from their sleep, found the streets filled with troops, the walls covered with proclamations, and military despotism established!"—*Alison*. E.

"I spent the night of the 17th, in beholding the preparations for the awful scene which was to take place in a few hours. None but soldiers appeared in the streets. The cannon brought to surround the palace where the legislative body assembled, were rolling along the pavements; but, except their noise, all was silence. No hostile assemblage was seen anywhere; nor was it known against whom all this apparatus was directed. Liberty was the only power vanquished in that fatal struggle. It might have been said that she was seen to fly, like a wandering spirit, at the approach of the day which was to shine upon her destruction."—*Madame de Staël*. E.

"At length came that terrible day, the 17th of Fructidor. I call it terrible, because the establishment of a republic in France, such as the fond dreams of our hearts represent it, may be impracticable; still we had one, even in the Directory. After the institution of this dictatorship—or of this royalty in five volumes—tatters of the republic had daily fallen under the blows of the Directory itself and the anarchists; at any rate, however, some part of it was left. But this awful day utterly destroyed it. The republic, whose foundations had been cemented by the pure and glorious blood of the martyrs of the Gironde, had vanished—was dispelled like a dream. The peal that gave the signal for this revolution came from Italy. It was the hand of Bonaparte that rang it."—*Duchess d'Angoulême*. E

tory. Murmurs arose in the ranks. "We are not Swiss," exclaimed several voices. "I was wounded by the royalists on the 13th of Vendémiaire," said an officer; "I will not fight for them on the 18th of Fructidor." Defection was thus introduced among these troops. Blanchard, second in command, excited it by his words and his presence. Ramel, the commandant, was still determined to do his duty, when he received an order, issued from the hall of the inspectors, forbidding him to fire. At that moment, Augereau arrived at the head of a numerous staff. "Commandant Ramel," said he, "do you recognise me as chief of the 17th military division?"—"Yes," replied Ramel. "Well, then, as your superior officer, I order you to place yourself under arrest." Ramel obeyed; but he was ill-treated by some furious Jacobins mingled among the staff of Augereau. The latter extricated him, and ordered him to be conducted to the Temple. The report of the cannon and the investment of the palace had awakened the whole city. It was five o'clock in the morning. The members of the commissions had hastened to their post and repaired to their hall. They were surrounded; and could no longer doubt the danger. A company of soldiers placed at their door, had orders to allow all who should present themselves with the medal of deputy, to enter, but to permit none to depart. They saw their colleague Dumas coming to his post; but they threw a note to him out of the window, to apprize him of the danger and to exhort him to escape. Augereau ordered the swords of Pichegru and Willot to be delivered to him, and sent them both to the Temple, as well as several other deputies, seized in the commission of the inspectors.

While this operation was being executed against the Councils, the Directory had ordered an officer to put himself at the head of a detachment, and to secure Carnot and Barthelemy. Carnot, warned in time, had left his apartments, and, having the key of a small door of the garden of the Luxembourg, had contrived to escape. As for Barthelemy, he had been found in his own room, and seized. His apprehension was an embarrassing circumstance for the Directory. The directors, with the exception of Barras, were delighted at the escape of Carnot; they sincerely wished that Barthelemy had done the same. They sent to propose to him to flee. Barthelemy answered that he would comply, if they would order him to be conveyed ostensibly and by his own name to Hamburg. The Directory could not engage to take such a step. As it purposed to banish several members of the legislative body, it could not show such favor to one of its colleagues. Barthelemy was conveyed to the Temple; he arrived there at the same time as Pichegru, Willot, and the other deputies, seized in the commission of the inspectors.

It was eight o'clock in the morning; many deputies, though forewarned, resolved courageously to repair to their post. Simeon, president of the Five Hundred, and Lafond-Ladebat, president of the Ancients, reached their respective halls, which were not yet closed, and took the chair in the presence of several deputies. But some officers arrived and brought them orders to retire. They had only time to declare that the national representation was dissolved. They retired to the residence of one of their number, and the most courageous meditated a new attempt. They resolved to meet a second time, to traverse Paris on foot, and to present themselves, with their president at their head, at the gates of the Legislative Palace. It was nearly eleven in the forenoon. All Paris was apprized of the event; the tranquillity of that great city was not disturbed by it

It was not now the passions that produced a commotion. It was a methodical act of authority against some of the representatives. A crowd of curious persons thronged the streets and the public places, without saying a word. Some detached groups from the fauxbourgs alone, composed principally of Jacobins, passed through the streets, shouting, *The Republic for ever! Down with the Aristocrats!* They found no echo, no resistance, in the mass of the population. It was around the Luxembourg that the groups were most numerous. They shouted, *The Directory for ever!* and some, *Barras for ever!*

The group of deputies passed in silence through the crowd collected in the Carrousel, and presented itself at the gates of the Tuileries. They were refused admittance; on their *demanding* entrance, a detachment drove them back, and pursued them till they were dispersed—a sad and deplorable spectacle, which betokened the speedy and inevitable domination of the Pretorians! Why was it decreed that a perfidious faction should oblige the Revolution to invoke the aid of bayonets? The deputies, thus pursued, retired some to the residence of Lafond-Ladebat, the president, and others to a neighbouring house. They there deliberated tumultuously, and were engaged in drawing up a protest, when an officer came with an order for them to separate. A certain number of them were apprehended and conveyed to the Temple; these were Lafond-Ladebat, Barbé-Marbois, Trouçon-Ducoudray, Bourdon of the Oise, Goupil of Prefeln, and some others. They were carried to the Temple, whither they had been preceded by the members of the two commissions.

Meanwhile, the directorial deputies had repaired to the new place assigned for the meeting of the legislative body. The Five Hundred went to the Odeon, the Ancients to the School of Medicine. It was nearly noon, and they were still far from numerous; but the number increased every moment, either because the tidings of this extraordinary convocation were communicated by one to another, or because all the waverers, fearful of declaring their dissent, were eager to repair to the new legislative body. From time to time the members present were counted; and, at length, when the Ancients amounted to one hundred and twenty-six, and the Five Hundred to two hundred and fifty-one, being one more than half of both Councils, they began to deliberate. Both assemblies were under some embarrassment, for the act which they were called upon to legalize was a manifest stretch of power. The first thing done by both Councils, was to declare themselves permanent, and reciprocally to apprise one another that they were constituted. Poulain-Grandpré, a member of the Five Hundred, was the first who spoke. “The measures which have been taken,” said he, “the building which we occupy, all indicate that the country has incurred, and is still incurring great dangers. Let us thank the Directory, for to it we owe the salvation of the country.* But it is not enough that

* That the Directory were not the sort of men qualified to legislate for, or save, France, is evident from the following graphic sketch of one of their sittings about a fortnight previous to the decisive movement of Fructidor. The sketch is from the pen of Lavalette, who about that time had frequent communication with them. Though somewhat highly coloured, it bears the stamp of truth in every line:—“I saw our five kings dressed in the robes of Francis I., his hat, his pantaloons, and his lace; the face of Lavalette looked like a cork upon two pins, with the black and greasy hair of Clodion. M. de Talleyrand, in pantaloons of the colour of wine-lees, sat in a folding chair at the feet of the Director Barras, in the court of the Petit Luxembourg; and gravely presented to his sovereigns an ambassador from the Grand-duke of Tuscany, while the French were eating his master's dinner, from the soup to the cheese. At the right hand there were fifty musicians, and singers of the Opera; and the actresses, now all dead of old

the Directory watches over it. It is our duty also to take measures, capable of insuring the public welfare and the constitution of the year III. To this end, I move the formation of a commission of five members."

This motion was adopted, and the commission was composed of deputies devoted to the system of the Directory. These were, Sieyes, Poulain-Grandpré, Villers, Chazal, and Boulay of La Meurthe. Notice was given, that at six o'clock, a message would be sent by the Directory to the two Councils. This message contained an account of the conspiracy, as far as it was known to the Directory, the two documents which we have already mentioned, and fragments of letters found among the papers of the royalist agents. These papers contained nothing more than the proofs acquired; they proved that Pichegru was in negotiation with the pretender; that Imbert Colomès corresponded with Blankenburg, that Mersan and Lemerer were the agents of the conspiracy with the deputies of Clichy; and that a vast association of royalists extended throughout all France. There were no other names in them than those already mentioned. These papers, nevertheless, excited a great sensation. In producing the moral conviction, they proved the impossibility of proceeding in a judicial way, from the insufficiency of direct or positive evidence. The commission of Five had immediately to speak on the subject of this message. The Directory not having the initiative of propositions, it was for the commission of Five to take it; but that commission was in the secret of the Directory, and meant to propose the legalization of the stroke of policy determined beforehand. Boulay of La Meurthe, appointed to speak in the name of the commission, gave the reasons with which extraordinary measures are usually accompanied, reasons which, under the circumstances, were unfortunately but too well-founded. After observing that they were at that moment on a field of battle; that it was necessary to take a prompt and decisive measure; and without spilling a drop of blood to put it out of the power of the conspirators to do mischief; he made the propositions agreed upon. The principal consisted in annulling the electoral operations of forty-eight departments, in thus clearing the legislative body of deputies devoted to a faction, and in selecting from the number the most dangerous, who were to be banished. The Council had scarcely the option in regard to the measures to be taken; the circumstances admitted of no others than those which were proposed to it, and, besides, the Directory had assumed such an attitude that the assembly would not have dared to refuse them. The wavering portion of the members, those whom in a popular assembly energy always subdues, were ranged on the side of the directorialists, and ready to vote whatever they pleased. Chollet, however, demanded a delay of twelve hours, in order to examine the propositions. Cries of *Vote, vote*, imposed silence upon him. The assembly merely erased a few names from the list of persons destined to banishment, such as Thibaudeau, Doucet de Pontécoulant, Tarbé, Crécy, Detorcy, Normand, Dupont de Nemours, Remusat, and Bailly, some as being good patriots notwithstanding their

age, roaring a patriotic cantata. Facing them, on another elevation, there were two hundred young and beautiful women, with their arms and bosoms bare, all in ecstasy at the majesty of our Pentarchy and the happiness of the republic. They also wore tight, flesh-colour pantaloons, with rings on their toes! That was a sight that never will be seen again. A fortnight after this magnificent fête, thousands of families wept over their banished fathers; forty-eight departments were deprived of their representatives; and forty editors of newspapers were forced to go and drink the waters of the Elbe, the Sinnamari, or the Ohio. It would be a curious disquisition to seek to discover what really were at that time the republic and liberty!" E.

opposition, others as too insignificant to be dangerous. After these retrenchments, the proposed resolutions were immediately voted. The electoral operations of forty-eight departments were cancelled. These departments were: Ain, Ardèche, Ariège, Aube, Aveyron, Bouches-du-Rhône, Calvados, Charante, Cher, Côte-d'Or, Côtes-du-Nord, Dordogne, Eure, Eure-et-Loire, Gironde, Hérault, Isle-et-Vilaine, Indre-et-Loire, Loiret, Manche, Marne, Mayenne, Mont Blanc, Morbihan, Moselle, Deux-Nethes, Nord, Oise, Orne, Pas-de-Calais, Puy-de-Dôme, Bas-Rhin, Haut-Rhin, Rhône, Haute-Saône, Saône-et-Loire, Sarthe, Seine, Seine-Inférieure, Seine-et-Marne, Seine-et-Oise, Somme, Tarn, Var, Vaucluse, and Yonne.* The deputies returned by these departments were excluded from the legislative body. All the functionaries, such as judges or municipal administrators, elected by these departments were also deprived of their functions. The following persons were condemned to banishment to a place to be chosen by the Directory; in the Council of Five Hundred, Aubry, Job Aymé, Bayard, Blain, Boissy-d'Anglas, Borne, Bourdon of the Oise, Cadroi, Couchery, Delahaye, Delarue, Doumère, Dumolard, Duplantier, Duprat, Gilbert Desmolières, Henri Larivière, Imbert Colomès, Camille Jordan, Jourdan of the Bouches-du-Rhône, Gau, Lacarrière, Lemarchant-Gomicourt, Lemerer, Mersan, Madier, Maillard, Noailles, André, Mac-Curtin, Pavée, Pastoret, Pichégu, Polissart, Prairie-Montaud, Quatremère-de-Quincy, Saladin, Simeon, Vauvilliers, Vaublanc, Villaret-Joyeuse, Willot; in the Council of the Ancients, Barbé-Marbois, Dumas, Ferraut-Vaillant, Lafond-Ladebat, Laumont, Muraire, Murinais, Paradis, Portalis, Rovère, and Tronçon-Ducoudray.

Carnot and Barthelemy, the two directors, Cochon, the ex-minister of the police, Dossonville, his clerk, Ramel, commandant of the guard of the legislative body, and the three royalist agents, Bröttier, Laville-Heurnois, and Duverne de Presle, were also condemned to banishment. The directors did not stop there. The journalists had been not less dangerous than the deputies, and they possessed no more means of punishing them judicially. It was resolved to proceed revolutionarily in regard to them, as in regard to the members of the legislative body. The proprietors, editors, and publishers of forty-two newspapers, were condemned to banishment; for, no restrictions being then imposed on the political journals, their number was immense. Among the forty-two, figured *La Quotidienne*. To these dispositions against individuals, were added others for strengthening the authority of the Directory, and re-establishing the revolutionary laws which the Five Hundred had abolished or modified. Thus the Directory was to have the appointment of all the judges and municipal magistrates, whose election was annulled in the forty-eight departments. As for the places of deputies, they were left vacant. The articles of the noted law of the 3d of Brumaire, which had been repealed, were again put in force and even extended. The relatives of emigrants, excluded by this law from public functions until the peace, were excluded by the new law for the space of four years after the peace. They were deprived, moreover, of the electoral privileges. The emigrants, who had returned upon pretext of applying for their erasure, were to leave the communes in which they were within twenty-four hours, and the French territory in a fortnight. Such of them as should be taken in contravention, were to be subjected to the

* Though the author mentions forty-eight departments, he names only the above forty six. E.

application of the laws, within twenty-four hours. The laws which recalled the banished priests, which released them from the oath, and imposed on them a mere declaration, were repealed. All the laws relative to the police of religious worship were re-established. The Directory was empowered to banish, by a mere ordinance, such priests as they knew to misconduct themselves. As for the newspapers, it was to have, in future, the power to suppress such as should appear dangerous to it. The political societies, that is, the clubs, were re-established, but the Directory was armed against them with the same power as had been given to it against the journals. It could shut them up whenever it pleased. Lastly, and this was a point not less important than any of the others, the organization of the national guard was suspended and deferred till other times.

None of these dispositions were sanguinary, for the time for spilling blood was past; but they invested the Directory with a wholly revolutionary power.* They were voted in the evening of the 18th of Fructidor, in the Five Hundred. No voice was raised against their adoption. Some deputies applauded, but the majority was silent and submissive. The resolution which contained them was then carried to the Ancients, who were in permanence, like the Five Hundred, and waiting to be furnished with a subject for deliberation. The mere reading of the resolution and of the report, occupied them till the morning of the 19th. Wearied with too long a sitting, they adjourned for a few hours. The Directory, impatient to obtain the sanction of the Ancients, and to be enabled to support by a law the blow which it had struck, sent a message to the legislative body. "The Directory," it said, "has devoted itself to save liberty, but it relies on you to support it. This day is the 19th, and you have not yet done anything to second it." The resolution was immediately adopted as a law, and was sent to the Directory.

No sooner was it furnished with this law, than it made haste to use it, being determined to execute its plan with despatch, and immediately afterwards to restore everything to order. A great number of those who were condemned to banishment had fled; Carnot had secretly gone towards Switzerland. The Directory would have wished Barthelemy to escape also, but he refused for reasons which have been already stated. Out of the list of persons to be banished, it selected fifteen, who were considered as the most dangerous or the most culpable, and destined them for a transportation, which, to some of them, was as fatal as death itself. They were sent off the same day in grated carriages for Rochefort, whence they were to be conveyed in a frigate to Guiana. These were, Barthelemy, Pichegru,† and Willot, on account of their importance or their culpability; Rovère, on

* The Directory made a tyrannical use of the power which they obtained by their victory. They spilled, indeed, no blood, but otherwise their measures against the defeated party were of the most illegal and oppressive character. During this whole revolution the lower portion of the population, which used to be so much agitated on like occasions, remained perfectly quiet.—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† "Astonishment was excited by the little respect which the soldiers showed for a general who had so often led them to victory; but he had been successfully represented as a counter-revolutionist—a name, which, when the public opinion is free, exercises in France a kind of magical power. Besides, Pichegru had no means of producing an effect on the imagination. He was a man of good manners, but without striking expression either in his features or his words. It has often been said that he was guided in war by the counsels of another. This is at least credible, for his look and conversation were so dull, that they suggested no idea of his being fit for becoming the leader of any enterprise."—*Madame de Staël*. E.

account of his known connexion with the royalist faction; Aubry, on account of the part which he had performed in the reaction; Bourdon of the Oise, Murinais, and Delarue, on account of their conduct in the Five Hundred; Ramel, on account of his conduct at the head of the grenadiers; Dossouville, on account of the functions which he had held under the commission of the inspectors; Tronçon-Ducoudray, Barbé-Marbois, and Lafond-Ladebat, on account, not of their culpability, for they were sincerely attached to the republic, but their importance in the Council of the Ancients; lastly, Brottier and Laville-Heurnois, on account of their conspiracy. Their accomplice, Duverne de Presle, was spared in consequence of his revelations. Hate had, no doubt, its usual share in the selection of the victims, for among these fifteen persons, Pichegru alone was really dangerous. The number was increased to sixteen, by the attachment of Letellier, Barthelemy's servant, who insisted on accompanying his master. They were despatched without delay, and exposed, as it always happens in such cases, to the brutality of the subalterns. The Directory, however, having been informed that General Dutertre, who commanded the escort, behaved ill towards the prisoners, immediately superseded him. These exiles on account of royalism, were bound for Sinamari, where they would find themselves in the company of Billaud-Varennes and Collot-d'Herbois. The destination of the others was the isle of Oleron.

During these two days, Paris continued perfectly quiet. The patriots of the fauxbourgs deemed the punishment of transportation too mild; they were accustomed to revolutionary measures of a different kind. Relying upon Barras and Augereau, they expected something more. They formed groups beneath the windows of the Directory, and shouted: *The Republic for ever! The Directory for ever! Barras for ever!* They attributed the measure to Barras, and desired that the suppression of the aristocrats might be committed to him for a few days. These groups, however, which were far from numerous, disturbed not in the least the peace of Paris. The sectionaries of Vendémiaire, who, but for the law of the 19th, would soon have been reorganized as national guards, had no longer sufficient energy to take up arms spontaneously. They suffered the stroke of policy to be carried into effect without opposition. For the rest, public opinion continued uncertain. The sincere republicans clearly perceived that the royalist faction had rendered an energetic measure inevitable, but they deplored the violation of the laws and the intervention of the military power. They almost doubted the culpability of the conspirators on seeing such a man as Carnot mingled in their ranks. They apprehended that hatred had too strongly influenced the determinations of the Directory. Lastly, even though considering its determinations as necessary, they were sad, and not without reason; for it became evident that that constitution, on which they had placed all their hope, was not the termination of our troubles and our discord. The mass of the population submitted and detached itself much on that day from political events. It had been seen on the 9th of Thermidor passing from hatred against the old *régime* to hatred against the system of terror. If it had since attempted to interfere in public affairs, it was only for the purpose of reacting against the Directory, which it confounded with the Convention and the committee of public welfare; dismayed on this occasion by the energy of the Directory, it regarded the 18th of Fructidor as a warning to keep itself aloof from public events. Accordingly, from that day, political zeal began to cool.

Such were the consequences of the stroke of policy accomplished on the

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18th of Fructidor. It has been asserted that it had become useless at the moment when it was executed; that the Directory, in frightening the royalist faction, had already succeeded in overawing it; that, by persisting in this stretch of power, it paved the way to military usurpation by setting an example of violation of the laws. But, as we have observed, the royalist faction was intimidated but for a moment; on the junction of the new third, it would infallibly have overturned everything, and mastered the Directory. Civil war would then have ensued between it and the armies. The Directory, in foreseeing this movement and timely repressing it, prevented a civil war; and, if it placed itself under the protection of the military, it submitted to a melancholy but inevitable necessity. Legality is an illusion in the train of such a revolution as ours. It was not under the shelter of the legal power that all the parties could lie down and rest themselves; it required a stronger power to repress them, to unite them, to blend them together, and to protect them all against Europe in arms; and that power was the military power. The Directory, therefore, by the 18th of Fructidor, prevented civil war, and substituted in its stead, a stroke of policy, executed with energy, but with all the calmness and moderation possible in times of revolution.

THE DIRECTORY.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE 18TH OF FRUCTIDOR—TARDY REVELATIONS AND DISGRACE OF MOREAU—DEATH OF HOCHÉ—REPAYMENT OF TWO-THIRDS OF THE DEBT—LAW AGAINST THE CI-DEVANT NOBLES—RUPTURE OF THE CONFERENCES AT LILLE WITH ENGLAND—CONFERENCES OF UDINE—OPERATIONS OF BONAPARTE IN ITALY; FOUNDATION OF THE CISALPINE REPUBLIC; ARBITRATION BETWEEN THE VALTELINE AND THE GRISONS; LIGURIAN CONSTITUTION; ESTABLISHMENT IN THE MEDITERRANEAN—TREATY OF CAMPO-FORMIO—RETURN OF BONAPARTE TO PARIS; TRIUMPHAL FESTIVAL.

THE 18th of Fructidor struck terror into the ranks of the royalists. The priests and the emigrants, who had already returned in great numbers, quitted Paris and the large towns to regain the frontiers. Those who were ready to re-enter France fled back into Germany and Switzerland. The consternation was profound and universal.* The Directory had just been re-armed with all the revolutionary power by the law of the 19th, and no one durst any longer defy it. It began by reforming the administrations, a course almost always pursued upon every change of system, and appointed decided patriots to most of the public offices. It had to nominate all the elective functions in forty-eight departments, and it had thus opportunity for greatly extending its influence and multiplying its partisans. Its attention was first directed to the appointment of two directors in the place of Carnot and Barthelemy. Rewbel and Lareveillère, whose influence was singularly increased by the recent event, were unwilling to furnish a pretext for accusing them of having excluded two of their colleagues, in order that they might remain masters of the government. They insisted, therefore, that the legislative body should be immediately desired to nominate two new directors. This course was not approved by Barras, and still less by Augereau. That general was delighted with the proceedings of the 18th, and quite proud of having managed matters so well. By mingling in public events he had acquired a taste for politics and power, and had become ambitious of obtaining a seat in the Directory. He was desirous that the directors, without applying to the legislative body for colleagues, should call him to sit among them. As they would not gratify this pretension, he

* "The chief result of this last movement was the return of the revolutionary government a little modified. The two ancient privileged classes were again driven from society; the refractory priests were a second time exiled. The old nobles, as well as those recently created, were rendered incapable of exercising the rights of citizens until the expiration of seven years, after having served, as it were, their apprenticeship to the republic. Thus did this party, in its thirst for rule, bring back the dictatorship."—*Mignet*. E.

had no means left for becoming director but to obtain the majority in the Councils. But in this hope also he was disappointed. Merlin of Douai and François de Neufchâteau, minister of the interior, distanced all their competitors by a very considerable number of votes. Next to them, the two candidates who had most votes were Massena and Augereau. Massena had a few more than Augereau. The two new directors were installed with the accustomed formalities. They were republicans, rather after the manner of Rewbel and Lareveillère than after the manner of Barras; they had, besides, different habits and different manners. Merlin was a lawyer, François de Neufchâteau a literary man. Both of them lived in a style consistent with their profession, and they were fitted to agree with Rewbel and Lareveillère. Perhaps it would have been desirable, for the influence and the consideration of the Directory with the armies, that one of our celebrated generals had been called to a seat in it.

The Directory appointed two excellent administrators from the provinces to succeed the two ministers removed to its own body. It thus hoped to compose the government of men more foreign to the intrigues of Paris and less accessible to favour. It called to the department of justice Lambrechts, who was commissioner to the central administration of the department of the Dyle, that is to say, prefect. He was an upright magistrate. It appointed to the interior Letourneur, commissioner to the central administration of the Loire-Inférieure, an able, active, and honest public functionary, but so utter a stranger to the capital and its ways, as sometimes to appear ridiculous at the head of a great administration.

The Directory had reason to congratulate itself on the manner in which the events had passed off. It was only uneasy at the silence of General Bonaparte, who had neither written for a long time nor sent the promised funds. Lavalette, his aide-de-camp, had not appeared at the Luxembourg during the event, and it was suspected that he had prejudiced his general against the Directory, and given him false particulars concerning the state of things. M. de Lavalette had, in fact, never ceased to advise Bonaparte to hold back, to take no part in the meditated blow, and to confine himself to the aid which he had afforded to the Directory by his proclamations. Barras and Augereau sent for M. de Lavalette, threatened him, and said that he had no doubt deceived Bonaparte; they declared that, but for the regard due to his general, they would have caused him to be arrested. Lavalette set out immediately for Italy. Augereau lost no time in writing to General Bonaparte and to his friends in the army, in order to represent the circumstance in the most favourable colours.

The Directory, dissatisfied with Moreau, had resolved to recall him, when it received from him a letter which produced the greatest sensation. Moreau, in crossing the Rhine, had taken the papers of General Klinglin, among which he had found the whole correspondence of Pichegru with the Prince of Condé. This correspondence he had kept secret, but, on occasion of the 18th of Fructidor, he resolved to communicate it to the government. He asserted that he had decided on this step before he was acquainted with the events of the 18th, and in order to furnish the Directory with the evidence which it needed for confounding formidable enemies. But we are assured that Moreau had received by telegraph, intelligence of the events of the 18th on the very same day, and that he had then hastened to write, in order to make a denunciation which would not compromise Pichegru more than he was already compromised, and which would relieve himself from a heavy responsibility. Whatever ground there may be for

these different conjectures, it is clear that Moreau had long kept an important secret, and had not made up his mind to reveal it till the very moment of the catastrophe. Every body said that, not being republican enough to denounce his friend, he had not been a friend faithful enough to keep the secret to the end. Herein his political character showed itself as it really was, that is to say, weak, vacillating, and uncertain. The Directory summoned him to Paris to account for his conduct. On examining this correspondence, it found the confirmation of all that it had heard concerning Pichegru, and could not but regret not being sooner informed of it. In these papers it found also evidence of the fidelity of Moreau to the republic; but it punished him for his lukewarmness and his silence by taking his command from him and leaving him unemployed in Paris.

Hoche, still at the head of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, had passed a whole month in the most painful anxiety. He was at his headquarters in Wetzlar, having a carriage completely ready to start with his young wife for Germany, if the party of the Five Hundred should gain the ascendant. It was on that occasion that he had thought, for the first time, of his own interests, and of collecting a sum of money to supply his wants during his absence. We have seen that he had lent to the Directory the greatest part of his wife's portion. The news of the 18th of Fructidor filled him with joy, and relieved him from all apprehension on his own account. The Directory, to reward his zeal, united the two large armies of the Sambre and Meuse and of the Rhine into one, by the name of the army of Germany, and gave him the command of it. It was the most extensive command under the republic. Unfortunately, the health of the young general scarcely allowed him to enjoy the triumph of the patriots, and the testimonies of confidence bestowed by the government. For some time, a dry and frequent cough and nervous convulsions had alarmed his friends and his medical attendants. An unknown disease was consuming this young man, lately in such robust health, and who united with superior talents the advantage of the most manly beauty and strength. Notwithstanding the state of health, he set about organizing into one the two armies with the command of which he had just been invested, and he still meditated his expedition to Ireland, by means of which the Directory hoped to alarm England. But, towards the end of Fructidor, his cough became more violent, and he began to suffer excruciating pains. He was requested to suspend his operations, but he would not. He sent for his physician. "Give me," said he, "a remedy for fatigue, but let it not be rest." Overcome by illness, he betook himself to his bed, on the first complementary day of the year VI, and expired on the following day, amidst the most intense pains. The army was filled with consternation, for it adored its young general. The tidings spread with rapidity, and deeply afflicted all the republicans, who reckoned upon the talents and patriotism of Hoche. A report that he was poisoned was immediately circulated.* People could not believe that a man possessing such youth, such strength, such health,

* "Hoche," said the Emperor, "died suddenly, and under singular circumstances, and as there existed a party who seemed to think that all crimes belonged to me of right, endeavours were made to circulate a report that I had poisoned him. There was a time when no mischief could happen, that was not imputed to me. Thus, when in Paris, I caused Kleber to be assassinated in Egypt; I blew out Desaix's brains at Marengo; I strangled and cut the throats of persons who were confined in prisons; I seized the Pope by the hair of his head; and a hundred similar absurdities"—*Las Cases*. E.

could have died a natural death. On a post-mortem examination by the faculty, the stomach and intestines were found full of black spots, and though the medical men did not declare these to be symptoms of poison, they seemed at least to believe them to be so. The poisoning was attributed to the Directory, which was absurd, for none of the Directory was capable of that crime so foreign to our manners, and, moreover, none had an interest in perpetrating it. Hoche was in fact the strongest support of the Directory, as well against the royalists as against the ambitious conqueror of Italy. It was conjectured, with much greater probability, that he had been poisoned in the West. His physician recollected, as he thought, that an alteration had taken place in his health ever since his last stay in Bretagne, whither he had gone to embark for Ireland. It was supposed, though without any proof, that the young general had been poisoned at an entertainment which he gave to persons of all parties, for the purpose of bringing them together.

The Directory ordered a magnificent funeral to be prepared. It took place in the Champ de Mars, and was attended by an immense concourse of people. A considerable army followed the corpse, headed by the aged father of the general, as chief mourner. This solemnity produced a profound impression, and was one of the most interesting of our heroic age.

Thus terminated the life of one of the most glorious and most interesting characters of the Revolution. In this instance, at least, it was not by the scaffold. Hoche was twenty-nine years old. A soldier in the French guards, he had educated himself in a few months. With the physical courage of the soldier, he united an energetic character, a superior understanding, great knowledge of mankind, skill in political matters, and, lastly, the all-powerful spring of the passions. His were ardent, and they were perhaps the sole cause of his death. A particular circumstance heightened the interest excited by his qualities. His fortune had always been interrupted by unforeseen accidents. Conqueror of Weissenburg, and just entering upon the most glorious career, he was all at once consigned to a dungeon; released from confinement, he went to waste his life in La Vendée, where he played a most useful political part; at the moment when he was about to execute a grand plan against Ireland, he was again stopped short by a storm and misunderstandings; removed to the army of the Sambre and Meuse, he gained a splendid victory, and found his progress suspended by the preliminaries of Leoben; lastly, while at the head of the army of Germany, and in the dispositions of Europe at that time, he had a grand prospect before him, he was suddenly seized in the midst of his career, and carried off by an illness of forty-eight hours. If a glorious memory, however, be any compensation for life, he could not be better compensated for having died so young. Victories, an important pacification, universality of talents, unimpeachable integrity, the idea entertained by all republicans that he would have singly opposed the conqueror of Rivoli and of the Pyramids, that his ambition would have continued republican, and would have proved an invincible obstacle to the great ambition which aspired to the throne—in short, brilliant exploits, noble plans, and twenty-nine years, such are the elements of which his memory is composed.* It is indeed glorious enough. Let us not pity him for

* "To-day, in the course of conversation, the name of Hoche having been mentioned, some one observed that at a very early age he had inspired great hope. 'And what is still better,' said Napoleon, 'you may add that he fulfilled that hope. Hoche possessed a hostile, provoking kind of ambition. He was the sort of man who could conceive the

having died young. It will always be much more to the glory of Hoche, of Kleber, of Desaix, that they did not live to be marshals. They had the honour to die citizens and free men, without being obliged, like Moreau, to seek an asylum in foreign armies.

The government gave the army of Germany to Augereau, and thus got rid of his turbulence, which began to be annoying in Paris.

The Directory had made in a few days all the arrangements which circumstances required; but it had yet to direct its attention to the finances. The law of the 19th of Fructidor, by delivering it from its most formidable adversaries, by re-establishing the law of the 3d of Brumaire, by giving it new means of severity against the emigrants and the priests, by arming it with the power of suppressing the journals and shutting up the political societies whose spirit it disapproved, by permitting it to fill all the vacant places after the annulling of the elections, by adjourning indefinitely the reorganization of the national guards—the law of the 19th of Fructidor had given to it all that the two Councils intended to wrest from it, and had even added a kind of revolutionary omnipotence. But the Directory had advantages quite as important to recover in the department of finances; for the Councils had been not less desirous to reduce it in that respect than in every other. A vast project had been presented to it for the expenditure and the income of the year VI. The first thing to be done was to restore to the Directory the powers of which it had been deprived relative to negotiations of the treasury, the order of payments, in short, the management of the funds. All the articles on this subject adopted by the Councils before the 18th of Fructidor were repealed. It was necessary, in the next place, to think of the creation of new taxes, to relieve landed property which was too heavily burdened, and to raise the receipts to a level with the expenditure. The establishment of a lottery was authorized, a toll was imposed upon the roads, and a tax upon mortgages. The duty on registration was so regulated as to increase the produce considerably; and the duty on foreign tobacco was raised. Owing to these new sources of income, the land-tax could be reduced to 228 millions, and the personal tax to 50, and yet the total amount of the revenue for the year VI raised to 616 millions. In this sum the presumed sales of national domains were estimated at no more than 20 millions.

The receipts being raised to 616 millions by these different means, it became necessary to reduce the expenditure to the same sum. It was supposed that the war would not cost this year more than 283 millions even in case of a new campaign. The other general services were estimated at 247 millions, making a total of 530 millions. The service of the debt amounted alone to 258 millions; and if it had been entirely provided for, the expense would have amounted to a sum far superior to the means of the republic. It was therefore proposed to pay only one-third of it, or 86 millions. In this manner the war, the general services, and the debt, would raise the expenditure to no more than 616 millions, the precise amount of the receipts. But, in order to confine it within these limits, it would be requisite to take a decisive measure in regard to the debt. Since the abolition of paper money, and the return to specie, the payment of the

idea of coming from Strasburg with twenty-five thousand men to seize the reins of government by force.' The Emperor added that Hoche would ultimately either have yielded to him, or must have subdued him; and, as he was fond of money and pleasure, he doubted not he would have yielded to him."—*Las Cases*. E.

interest could not be very strictly kept up. One-fourth had been paid in cash, and the other three-fourths in bills on the national domains, called *three-quarter bills*. This was, in some respects, like paying one-fourth in money, and three-fourths in assignats. The debt, therefore, had hitherto been provided for only with resources arising from the national domains, and it became necessary to adopt some measure for the benefit of the state and of the creditors. A debt whose annual charge amounted to 258 millions was really enormous for that period. The resources of credit and the power of the sinking fund were not yet known. The revenue was much less considerable than it has since become; for there had not yet been time to reap the benefits of the Revolution, and France, which has since been enabled to furnish 1000 millions in general contributions, could then scarcely supply 616 millions. Thus the debt was overwhelming, and the state was in the situation of an individual who was insolvent. It was resolved, therefore, to continue to pay part of the interest of the debt in cash, and, instead of paying the remainder in *bons* upon the national domains, to pay off the capital itself in national domains. It was proposed to retain one-third only: the third retained was to be called *consolidated third*, and to remain on the great book with the quality of a perpetual *rente*. The other two-thirds were to be paid off at the rate of twenty times the *rente*, and in *bons* receivable in payment for national domains. It is true that these *bons* fell in commerce to less than one-sixth of their value, and that for those who did not wish to purchase lands it was an absolute bankruptcy.

Notwithstanding the quietness and the docility of the Councils since the 18th of Fructidor, this measure excited a strong opposition. The adversaries to the scheme of paying off the two-thirds maintained that it was a downright bankruptcy; that the debt, at the commencement of the Revolution, had been placed under the safeguard of the national honour, and that it was dishonouring the republic to pay off the two-thirds; that the creditors who would not buy domains would lose nine-tenths by negotiating their *bons*, for the issue of so large a quantity of paper would considerably lower its value; that even, without entertaining prejudices against the origin of the domains, most of the creditors of the state were too poor to buy lands; that associations for buying them jointly were impossible; that consequently, the loss of nine-tenths of their capital was real for most of them; that the third, said to be consolidated and secure from reduction in future, was only promised; that one-third promised was worth less than three-thirds promised; that, lastly, if the republic could not at the moment provide for the whole interest of the debt, it would be better for the creditors to wait as they had hitherto done, but to wait in the hope of seeing their lot ameliorated, rather than find themselves all at once stripped of their credit. There were even many persons who could have wished that a distinction should be made between the different species of *rentes* inscribed in the great book, and that those only should be liable to be paid off which had been acquired at a low rate. Some of them had actually been sold at the rate of 10 and 15 francs, and those who had bought them would still be considerable gainers by the reduction to one-third.

The partisans of the plan of the Directory replied that a state had a right, like a private individual, to give up its property to its creditors, when it could no longer pay them; that the debt far exceeded the means of the republic, and that, under these circumstances, it had a right to give up to them the pledge itself of this debt, that is, the domains; that, in buying

lands, they would lose very little; that these lands would rise rapidly in their hands, till they regained their former value, and that they would recover in this way as much as they had lost; that there would still be left domains to the amount of 1300 millions (the thousand millions promised to the armies having been transferred to the creditors of the state); that peace was near at hand; that, at the peace, the *bons* in which the debt had been paid off would alone be received in payment for national domains; that, consequently, the part of the capital paid off, amounting to about 3000 millions, would find wherewith to purchase 1300 millions worth of domains, and lose at most two-thirds, instead of nine-tenths; that, moreover, the creditors had not hitherto been treated otherwise; that they had always been paid in domains, whether assignats had been given to them or *three-quarter bills*; that the republic was obliged to give them what it had; that they would not be gainers by waiting, for it would never be in its power to provide for the whole debt; that, in being paid off, their lot was fixed; that the payment of the consolidated third would commence immediately, because there existed means of providing for it, and that the republic, on her part, would be relieved from an enormous burden; that she would enter upon regular ways; that she would present herself before Europe with a lightened debt, and that she would thus be more imposing and stronger for obtaining peace; that, lastly, it was impossible to make a distinction between the different *rentes* according to the price of acquisition, and that they must be all treated alike.

This measure was inevitable. The republic did in this instance as she had always done: all engagements beyond her ability she had fulfilled with lands, at the price to which they had fallen. It was in assignats that she had paid the old charges, as well as all the expenses of the Revolution, and it was with lands that she had paid off the assignats. It was in assignats, that is, with lands, that she had discharged the interest of the debt, and it was with lands that she now finished by discharging the capital itself. In short, she gave what she had. The debt of the United States had been liquidated in the same manner. The creditors had received nothing but the shores of the Mississippi in payment. Measures of this nature inflict, like revolutions, much individual hardship; but people must submit to them when they have become inevitable.

The measure was adopted. Thus by means of the new taxes, which raised the revenue to 616 millions, and the reduction of the debt, which allowed the expenditure to be limited to the same sum, the balance was re-established in our finances; and there was reason to hope that somewhat less embarrassment would be experienced for the year VI (September 1797 to September 1798).

To all these measures, the consequences of victory, the republican party wished to add another. It alleged that the republic would always be in danger, while a hostile caste, that of the *ci-devant* nobles, should be tolerated in her bosom; it proposed that all the families which had formerly been noble, or which had passed themselves off as such, should be exiled from France; that the value of their possessions should be given to them in French commodities, and that they should be obliged to carry their prejudices, their passions, and their persons, to other countries. This plan was warmly supported by Sieyès, Boulay of La Meurthe, and Chasal, all decided republicans, but was as strongly opposed by Tallien and the friends of Barras. Barras was a noble; the commander of the army of Italy was of gentle birth; many of the friends who shared the pleasures of Barras and

who filled his drawing-rooms, had also been nobles; and, though an exception was made in favour of those who had rendered services to the republic, the saloons of the director were highly incensed against the proposed law. Without all these personal reasons it would have been easy to demonstrate the danger and the severity of that law. It was, nevertheless, submitted to the two Councils, and excited a sort of commotion, which obliged it to be withdrawn, that it might undergo great modifications. It was reproduced in another form. The *ci-devant* nobles were no longer to be doomed to exile, but to be considered as foreigners, and required, in order to recover the quality of citizens, to go through the formalities and submit to the terms of naturalization.* An exception was made in favour of those who had usefully served the republic either in the armies or in the assemblies. Barras, his friends, and the conqueror of Italy, whose birth people affected to call to mind on all occasions, were thus exempted from the consequences of this measure.

The government had resumed an energy absolutely revolutionary. The Opposition, which affected to become clamorous for peace in the Directory and the Councils, being removed, the government showed itself more firm and more exacting in the negotiations at Lille and Udine. It immediately ordered all soldiers having leave of absence to return; it replaced everything on the war footing, and sent fresh instructions to its negotiators. Maret at Lille had succeeded, as we have seen, in reconciling the pretensions of the maritime powers. Peace was concluded, provided that Spain would sacrifice Trinidad, and Holland Trincomalee, and provided that France would engage never to take the Cape of Good Hope for herself. Nothing more then was requisite than the consent of Spain and Holland. The Directory thought Maret too conciliating, and resolved to recall him. It sent Bonnier and Treilhard to Lille, with fresh instructions. According to these instructions, France required the unconditional restitution not only of her own colonies, but of those of her allies. With respect to the negotiations at Udine, the Directory was equally short and positive. It would no longer adhere to the preliminaries of Leoben, which gave Austria the limit of the Oglio in Italy; it insisted that all Italy as far as the Isonzo should be emancipated, and that Austria should be content to indemnify herself by the secularization of various ecclesiastical states in Germany. It recalled Clarke, who had been chosen and sent by Carnot, and who, in his correspondence, had not spared the generals of the army of Italy reputed to be the most republican. Bonaparte remained invested with the powers of the republic for treating with Austria.

The ultimatum delivered at Lille, agreeably to the orders of the Directory, by the new negotiators, Bonnier and Treilhard, broke off the negotiation when nearly brought to a close. Lord Malmesbury was extremely disconcerted at it, for he was desirous of peace, either to make a glorious finish to his career, or to procure a momentary respite for his government. He expressed the deepest regret, but it was impossible for England to

* "Two hundred thousand persons at once fell under the lash of these severe enactments. Their effect upon France was to the last degree disastrous. The miserable emigrants fled a second time in crowds from the country of which they were beginning to taste the sweets; and society, which was reviving from the horrors of Jacobin sway, was again prostrated under its fury. Finally, the Councils openly avowed a national bankruptcy: they cut off for ever two-thirds of the national debt of France; closing thus a sanguinary revolution by the extinction of freedom, the banishment of virtue, and the violation of public faith."—*Alison*. E.

renounce all her maritime conquests without obtaining anything in exchange. So sincere was Lord Malmesbury in his desire to treat, that he desired M. Maret to make inquiry in Paris whether it was not possible to influence the determination of the Directory, and he even offered several millions to purchase the vote of one of the directors. M. Maret refused to undertake any negotiation of this kind, and left Lille. Lord Malmesbury and Mr. Ellis set out immediately, and did not return.* Though the Directory laid itself open on this occasion to the charge of having rejected a certain and advantageous peace for France, still its motive was honourable. It would have been discreditable to us to forsake our allies and to impose sacrifices upon them, in return for their attachment to our cause. The Directory, flattering itself that it should shortly conclude peace with Austria, or at least that it should impose peace on that power by a movement of its armies, hoped soon to get rid of its continental enemies, and to be able to turn its whole force against England.

The ultimatum transmitted to Bonaparte displeased him exceedingly, for he had no hope of being able to obtain its acceptance. It would be difficult, in fact, to force Austria to renounce Italy entirely, and to be content with the secularization of a few ecclesiastical states in Germany, or to march upon Vienna. Now, Bonaparte could no longer pretend to that honour, for he had all the forces of the Austrian monarchy on his hands, and it was the army of Germany which would have the advantage of pushing on first, and penetrating into the hereditary dominions. To this cause of discontent was added another, when he learned the suspicions that were conceived of him in Paris. Augereau had sent one of his aides-de-camp with letters for many of the officers and generals of the army of Italy. This aide-de-camp appeared to be charged with some special mission, and to be sent to correct the opinion of the army concerning the 18th of Fructidor. Bonaparte soon perceived that he was an object of distrust: he lost no time in assuming the tone of an offended person, and complaining with the warmth and bitterness of a man who knows himself to be indispensable. He said that the government treated him with horrible ingratitude; that it behaved towards him as it had done towards Pichegru after Vendémiaire; and he applied for his dismissal.† This man, with a mind so great and so resolute, and who could assume so noble an attitude, here gave way to a gust of passion, like an unruly and froward child. The Directory took no notice of the application for his dismissal, and merely assured him that it had nothing to do with the letters or with the sending of the aide-de-camp. Bonaparte was pacified, but again applied to be reinstated in his functions of negotiator, and in those of organizer of the Italian republics. He repeated incessantly that he was ill, that he could no longer endure the fatigue of riding, and that it would be impossible for him to make another campaign. Still, though he was really ill, and overwhelmed by the prodigious toils in which he had been engaged for two years past, he had no wish to be superseded in any of his employments, and he was very sure of finding in his

* "Lord Malmesbury demanded his passports and returned to England, leaving Europe convinced that, on this occasion at least, the cabinet of St. James's had evinced more moderation than a Directory whose proceedings were worthy of the days of Robespierre."—*Jomini*. E.

† "It is evident," said Napoleon, in his letter to the Directory, "that the government is resolved to act by me as they did by Pichegru. I beseech you then to appoint a successor to me, and accept my resignation. No power on earth shall make me continue to serve a government which has given me such a scandalous proof of ingratitude, which I was far indeed from expecting."—*Napoleon's Confidential Despatches*. E.

mind, in case of emergency, that strength in which his body seemed to be deficient.

He resolved to prosecute the negotiation, and to add the glory of pacificator to that of first captain of the age. The ultimatum of the Directory annoyed him; but he was not more decided on this occasion than on many others, to obey his government implicitly. His labours, at this moment, were immense. He was organizing the Italian republics, creating a navy in the Adriatic, forming grand projects relative to the Mediterranean, and treating with the plenipotentiaries of Austria.

He had begun to organize the provinces which he had emancipated in Upper Italy in two distinct states. He had long since formed the Cispadane republic out of the duchy of Modena and the legations of Bologna and Ferrara. His plan was to unite this little state with revolutionized Venice, and thus to indemnify her for the loss of her continental provinces. He purposed to organize Lombardy separately, under the appellation of the Transpadane republic. But he soon changed his intentions, and preferred forming a single state out of the emancipated provinces. The spirit of locality which at first opposed the union of Lombardy with the other provinces, now on the contrary recommended their incorporation. Romagna, for instance, objected to be united with the legations and the duchy of Modena, but consented to be dependent on the central government established in Milan. Bonaparte soon perceived that, as each of these states detested its neighbour, it would be easier to subject them all to a single authority. Lastly, the difficulty of deciding upon the supremacy between Venice and Milan, and of preferring one of the two and making it the seat of government—that difficulty had ceased to be such for him. He had resolved to sacrifice Venice.* He disliked the Venetians; he saw that the change of government had not produced among them a change in opinion. The nobility, high and low, and the populace, were enemies of the French and of the Revolution, and well-wishers to the Austrians. A very small number of wealthy citizens approved the new order of things. The democratic municipality manifested the worst disposition towards the French. Almost every person in Venice seemed to desire that a turn of fortune would permit Austria to re-establish the late government. The Venetians, moreover, excited no esteem in Bonaparte in regard to another point which was important in his eyes—power. Their canals and ports were almost choked up; their navy was in the most deplorable state; they were themselves rendered effeminate by pleasure, and incapable of energy. “It is a soft, effeminate, and cowardly race,” he wrote, “without land or water, and we can do as we please with it.” He conceived the idea, therefore, of ceding Venice to Austria, on condition that Austria, renouncing the boundary of the Oglio, stipulated in the preliminaries of Leoben, would go back to the Adige. That river, which forms an excellent boundary, would then separate Austria from the new republic. The important fortress of Mantua, which, according to the preliminaries, was to be restored to Austria, would then belong to the Italian republic, and Milan would become the capital without any dispute. Bonaparte deemed it much better to form a single state, having Milan for its capital, and to give to this state the frontier of the Adige and Mantua, than to keep Venice; and it was for the interest

* “The whole infamy of the treaty which was so fatal to Venice, rests on the head of Napoleon. The French Directory is entirely blameless, except in not having had the courage to disown the treaty to which his signature was affixed.”—*Alison*. E.

of Italian liberty itself that he should do so. Unless he could emancipate all Italy as far as the Isonzo, it would be better to sacrifice Venice than the frontier of the Adige and Mantua. Bonaparte had perceived, in conversing with the Austrian negotiators, that the new arrangement was likely to be accepted. In consequence, he formed out of Lombardy, the duchies of Modena and Reggio, the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, the Bergamasco, the Bresciano, and the Mantuan, a state extending to the Adige, which possessed excellent fortresses, as Pizzighitone and Mantua, a population of three million six hundred thousand inhabitants, an admirable soil, rivers, canals, and harbours.

He immediately set about organizing it into a republic. He would have preferred a different constitution from that given to France. In that constitution he considered the executive power as too weak; and, even without having yet a decided partiality for any particular form of government, still, merely for the sake of composing a strong state, capable of combating the neighbouring aristocracies, he would have wished for a more concentric and more energetic organization. He desired that Sieyes should be sent to him, that he might confer with him on this subject; but the Directory did not approve his ideas, and insisted that the French constitution should be given to the new republic. It was obeyed, and our constitution was immediately adapted to Italy. The new republic was called the Cisalpine. It was proposed in Paris to call it the Transalpine: but that would have been taking Paris, as it were, for the centre, and the Italians desired to have it at Rome, because all their wishes tended to the emancipation of their country, to its unity, and to the re-establishment of the ancient metropolis. The term Cisalpine, therefore, was best adapted to it.* It was deemed most prudent not to leave to the choice of the Italians the first composition of the government. For this first time, Bonaparte appointed himself the five directors and the members of the two Councils. He took great pains to select the fittest persons, in so far, at least, as his situation permitted him. He appointed Serbelloni, one of the highest nobles of Italy, director; he caused national guards to be everywhere organized, and collected thirty thousand of them at Milan, for the federation of the 14th of July. The presence of the French army in Italy, its exploits, its glory, had begun to diffuse a military enthusiasm in that country, too unaccustomed to arms. Bonaparte strove to excite it by all possible means. He was well aware how weak the new republic was in a military point of view. The Piedmontese army was the only one in Italy that he esteemed, because the court of Piedmont alone had been engaged in war during the course of the century. He wrote to Paris that a single regiment of the King of Sardinia's would overthrow the Cisalpine republic; that it was necessary to give to that republic warlike manners; that then it would be an important power in Italy; but that this must be a work of time, and that such revolutions were not to be effected in a few days. He began, however, to succeed in his efforts, for he possessed in the highest degree the art of communicating to others the strongest of his partialities—fondness for arms. No one knew better how to employ his glory in order to make military success fashionable, and to direct to that point every species of vanity and ambition. From

* "The Cisalpine republic was the name fixed upon to designate the united commonwealth. It would have destroyed all classical propriety, and have confused historical recollections, if what had hitherto been called the ultra-montane side of the Alps, had, to gratify Parisian vanity, been termed the *Further* side of the same chain of mountains."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

that time a change of manners commenced in Italy. "The long loose coat, which was the fashionable dress for young men, was superseded by the uniform. Instead of passing their lives at the feet of the women, the young Italians frequented the riding-schools, the fencing-rooms, and the exercises of troops. The boys no longer played at chapel: they had tin soldiers, and imitated in their sports the events of war. In the comedies and in the street farces, there had always been represented an Italian, a great coward, though witty, and a sort of blustering captain, sometimes French, more frequently German, very strong, very brave, and very brutal, who finished by giving a sound drubbing to the Italian, amidst the applause of the spectators. The people would no longer suffer such allusions: dramatists introduced upon the stage, to the satisfaction of the public, brave Italians, putting foreigners to flight in support of their honour and their rights. A national spirit was formed. Italy had her songs, both patriotic and martial. The women rejected with contempt the homage of men who affected effeminate manners in order to please them." *

The revolution, however, had only just begun. The Cisalpine could not yet be strong except by the aid of France. The plan was to leave part of the army there, as in Holland, to rest from its fatigues, to enjoy its glory in quiet, and to animate the whole country with its martial ardour. Bonaparte, with that foresight which embraced everything, had formed a vast and magnificent project for the Cisalpine. That republic was to be an advance post for France. It was requisite that our armies should be able to reach it rapidly. Bonaparte had formed the plan of a road from France to Geneva, and running from Geneva through the Valais, crossing the Simplon, and descending into Lombardy. He was already in treaty with Switzerland on this subject; he had sent engineers to make an estimate of the expense, and he arranged all the details of execution with that precision which he displayed even in the most extensive and apparently chimerical projects. He meant this high-road, the first that should cross the Alps in a direct line, to be broad, safe, and magnificent—a masterpiece of liberty, and a monument of French power.

While he was thus engaged with a republic which owed its existence to him, he administered justice also, and was chosen as arbiter between two states. The Valteline had revolted against the sovereignty of the Grison league. The Valteline consists of three valleys, which belong to Italy, for they pour their waters into the Adda. They were subject to the yoke of the Grisons—a yoke which they found insupportable, for there is none so heavy as that which one people imposes upon another. There was more than one tyranny of this kind in Switzerland. That of Berne over the Pays de Vaud was notorious. The people of the Valteline rose, and desired to form part of the Cisalpine republic. They solicited the protection of Bonaparte, and, in order to obtain it, they appealed to ancient treaties, which placed the Valteline under the protection of the sovereigns of Milan. The Grisons and the people of the Valteline agreed to refer the matter to the tribunal of Bonaparte. With the permission of the Directory, he accepted the mediation. He advised the Grisons to recognise the rights of the people of the Valteline, and to associate them with themselves as a new member of the Grison league. They refused to comply, and insisted on pleading the cause of their tyranny. Bonaparte fixed a time for hearing their arguments. At the appointed time, the Grisons, at the instigation of

* *Mémoires de Napoleon*, by Count de Montholon, tom. iv., p. 196.

Austria, refused to appear. Bonaparte, then, taking his stand on the acceptance of the arbitration and on ancient treaties, gave judgment against the Grisons in default, declared the people of the Valteline free, and permitted them to unite themselves with the Cisalpine republic. This sentence, founded in law and equity, excited a strong sensation in Europe. It terrified the aristocracy of Berne, delighted the Vaudois, and added to the Cisalpine a wealthy, brave, and numerous population.

Genoa took him at the same time for her adviser in the choice of a constitution. Genoa was not conquered. She had a right to choose her own laws, and on this point was wholly independent of the Directory. The two parties, aristocratic and democratic, were at variance there. An insurrection had broken out, in the first instance, as we have seen, in the month of May; there had been a second, more general, in the valley of La Polcevera, which had nearly proved fatal to Genoa. It was excited by the priests against the new constitution. The French general, Duphot, who was there with some troops, restored order. The Genoese addressed themselves to Bonaparte, who answered them in a severe letter, full of sound advice, in which he reproved their democratic intemperance. He made alterations in their constitution; instead of five magistrates invested with the executive power, he left only three. The Councils were far from numerous; the government was organized in a less popular, but in a stronger manner.* Bonaparte caused more advantages to be granted to the nobles and to the priests, to reconcile them with the new order of things; and, as it had been proposed to exclude them from public functions, he condemned that idea. "You would do," he wrote to the Genoese, "what they have done themselves." He took care to publish the letter containing this expression. It was a censure directed against the course pursued in Paris in regard to the nobles. He was delighted with the opportunity of thus interfering indirectly in politics, of giving an opinion, of giving it against the Directory, and, above all, of separating himself immediately from the victorious party; for he affected to remain independent, to approve, to serve none of the factions, to despise them, and to be above them all.

While he was thus the legislator, the arbiter, and the adviser, of the people of Italy, he was engaged in other plans not less vast, and which showed a foresight still more profound. He had seized the navy of Venice, and summoned Admiral Brueys to the Adriatic to take possession of the Greek islands belonging to Venice. He had thus been led to reflect on the Mediterranean, on its importance, and on the part which we might act there. He had thence concluded that, if we were doomed to meet with our masters on the ocean, we ought not to have any in the Mediterranean. Whether Italy should be entirely emancipated or not, whether Venice should be ceded to Austria or not, he desired that France should keep the Ionian islands, Corfu, Zante, St. Maura, Cerigo, and Cephalonia. The inhabitants of those islands were solicitous to become our subjects. Malta, the most important post in the Mediterranean, belonged to an obsolete order, which the influence of the French Revolution could not fail to sweep away. Malta must soon fall into the hands of the English, if France did not take possession of it. Bonaparte had caused the property of the knights in Italy

* "The deputies from the Genoese senate signed a convention at Montebello, which put an end to Doria's constitution and established the democratical government of Genoa. The people burned the *Golden Book*, and broke the statue of Doria to pieces. This outrage on the memory of that great man displeased Napoleon, who required the provisional government to restore it."—*Montholon*. E.

to be seized, with a view to complete their ruin. He had set on foot intrigues in Malta itself, which was guarded only by a few knights and a slender garrison, and his plan was to send thither his little squadron, and to make himself master of it. From these different posts, he wrote to the Directory, "we shall command the Mediterranean, we shall keep an eye upon the Ottoman empire, which is everywhere falling to pieces, and we shall be at hand to support it, or to secure our share of it. We shall be able to do more," added Bonaparte; "we shall have it in our power to render the dominion of the ocean almost useless to the English. They have disputed with us at Lille the possession of the Cape of Good Hope. We can do without it. Let us occupy Egypt. We shall be in the direct road for India, and it will be easy for us to found there one of the finest colonies in the world."

Thus it was in Italy, while turning his attention to the Levant, that he conceived the first idea of that celebrated expedition which was equipped in the following year. "It is in Egypt," he wrote (in a letter dated the 29th of Thermidor, year V—August 16th, 1797) "that we must attack England."

To attain these ends, he had caused Admiral Brueys to be sent into the Adriatic, with six sail of the line and some frigates and cutters. He had, moreover, devised means for getting possession of the Venetian navy. According to the treaty concluded, he was to be paid three millions in naval stores. Upon this pretext, he took all the hemp, iron, and other materials, which constituted the sole wealth of the Venetian arsenal. After seizing these stores on account of the three millions, Bonaparte took possession of the ships, upon pretext of sending them to occupy the islands on behalf of democratic Venice. He ordered those which were building to be finished, and thus succeeded in fitting out six sail of the line, six frigates, and several cutters. These he joined to the squadron which Admiral Brueys had brought from Toulon. He replaced the million which the treasury had stopped, furnished Brueys with funds for enrolling excellent seamen in Albania and on the coasts of Greece, and thus created a naval force capable of awing the whole Mediterranean. He fixed its principal station at Corfu, for excellent reasons, and which were approved by the government. From Corfu, this squadron could sail up the Adriatic, and act in concert with the army of Italy, in case of new hostilities; it could go to Malta, where it would overawe the court of Naples; and it would be easy for it, if it were wanted in the ocean to concur in any project, to fly to the Straits more speedily than from Toulon. Lastly, at Corfu the squadron might be trained and learn to manœuvre better than at Toulon, where it generally lay motionless. "You will never have seamen," wrote Bonaparte, "while you leave them in your ports."

Such was the way in which Bonaparte employed his time during the wilful delays to which Austria subjected him. He thought also of his military position in regard to that power. She had made immense preparations since the signature of the preliminaries of Leoben. She had transferred the greater part of her forces to Carinthia, in order to protect Vienna and to secure it against the impetuosity of Bonaparte. She had ordered a levy *en masse* in Hungary. Eighteen thousand Hungarian horse had been training for three months past on the banks of the Danube. Thus she possessed the means of supporting the negotiations of Udine. Bonaparte had scarcely more than seventy thousand troops, a very small portion of which was cavalry. He applied to the Directory for reinforcements; that

ne might be able to face the enemy, and he particularly urged the ratification of the treaty of alliance with Piedmont, in order to obtain ten thousand of those Piedmontese soldiers, of whom he had so high an opinion. But the Directory would not send him reinforcements, because the removal of troops would have occasioned numerous desertions. It deemed it better, by accelerating the march of the army of Germany, to extricate the army of Italy than to reinforce it; and it still hesitated to sign the alliance with Piedmont, because it would not guarantee a throne, the natural fall of which it hoped and wished for. It had merely sent a few dismounted cavalry. In Italy there were abundant means of mounting and equipping them.

Deprived of the resources on which he had reckoned, Bonaparte saw himself exposed to a storm from the quarter of the Julian Alps. He had endeavoured to supply himself in all possible ways with the means that were refused him. He had armed and fortified Palma Nova with extraordinary activity, and had made it a fortress of the first order, which would of itself require a long siege. This circumstance alone produced a material change in his position. He had caused bridges to be thrown over the Isonzo, and *têtes de pont* constructed, in order to be ready to cross with his accustomed promptness. If the rupture should take place before snow fell, he hoped to surprise the Austrians, to throw them into disorder, and, in spite of the superiority of their forces, to be very soon at the gates of Vienna. But, if the rupture should not happen till after the fall of snow, he should not be able to anticipate the Austrians, but be obliged to receive them in the plains of Italy, where the weather allowed them to debouch in all seasons, and then the disadvantage of number would no longer be balanced by that of the offensive. In this case he considered himself as being in danger.

Bonaparte was therefore desirous that the negotiations should be brought speedily to a close.* After the ridiculous note of the 18th of July, in which the plenipotentiaries had anew insisted on a congress at Berne, and remonstrated against what had been done at Venice, Bonaparte had replied in a vigorous manner, which proved to Austria that he was ready to dash again upon Vienna. Messrs. de Gallo, de Meerveldt, and a third negotiator, M. de Degelmann, had returned with fresh powers, and with authority to negotiate at Udine. They arrived there on the 31st of August (14th of Fructidor), and the conferences had immediately begun. But the object evidently was to gain time; for, while accepting a separate negotiation at Udine, they still reserved to themselves the right to revert to a general congress at Berne. They intimated that the congress of Rastadt, for peace with the Empire, was about to open immediately; that the negotiations would be carried on there at the same time as those at Udine, which

* "Napoleon's resolution to sign the treaty was accelerated from his having observed, when he looked out from his windows, the summits of the Alps covered with snow; a symptom which too plainly told him that the season for active operations that year was drawing to a close, and he had no confidence in the ability of France to resume the contest the ensuing spring. He then shut himself up in his cabinet, and, after reviewing his forces, said, 'Here are eighty thousand effective men; but I shall not have above sixty thousand in the field. Even if I gain the victory, I shall have twenty thousand killed and wounded; and how, with forty thousand, can I withstand the whole forces of the Austrian monarchy, who will advance to the relief of Vienna? The armies of the Rhine could not advance to my succour before the middle of November, and before that time arrives the Alps will be impassable from snow. It is all over; I will sign the peace, let the government and the lawyers say what they choose.'"
Bourrienne. E.

could not fail to complicate interests exceedingly, and to give rise to as many difficulties as a general congress at Berne. Bonaparte observed that peace with the Empire was not to be negotiated till after the peace with the emperor; he declared that, if the congress were opened, France would not send envoys to it; and he added that, if on the 1st of October peace were not concluded with the emperor, the preliminaries of Leoben should be considered as null.

Things were at this point, when the 18th of Fructidor (September 4) dispelled all the false hopes of Austria. M. de Cobentzel immediately hastened from Vienna to Udine. Bonaparte repaired to Passeriano, a very beautiful country-seat at some distance from Udine, and everything indicated a sincere desire to treat. The conferences took place alternately at M. de Cobentzel's, at Udine, and at Passeriano, the residence of Bonaparte. M. de Cobentzel * was a man of a shrewd, fertile, but not logical mind. He was haughty and morose. The other three negotiators kept silence. Bonaparte was the only representative of France since the dismissal of Clarke. He had sufficient arrogance, and sufficient fluency and keenness of language, to reply to the Austrian negotiator. Though it was evident that M. de Cobentzel really intended to treat, he nevertheless made a parade of the most extravagant pretensions. He said that if Austria ceded the Netherlands to us, that was all we had to expect; that she would not undertake to secure to us the limit of the Rhine; and that it was for the Empire to make this concession. As an indemnification for the rich and populous provinces of the Netherlands, Austria required possessions not in Germany but in Italy. The preliminaries of Leoben had given her the Venetian states as far as the Oglio, that is to say, Dalmatia, Istria, the Friule, the Bresciano, the Bergamasco, and the Mantuan, with the fortress of Mantua; but these provinces would not half indemnify her for what she lost in ceding the Netherlands and Lombardy. It would not be too much, said M. de Cobentzel, to leave her Lombardy as well as to give her Venice and the legations, and to reinstate the Duke of Modena in his duchy.

To all the eloquence of M. de Cobentzel, Bonaparte replied only by unbroken silence, and to his extravagant pretensions by pretensions equally extravagant, uttered in a firm and decisive tone. He demanded the line of the Rhine, including Mayence, for France, and the line of the Isonzo for Italy. Between these opposite pretensions it was requisite to take a middle course. Bonaparte, as we have already observed, had reason to believe that, by ceding Venice to Austria—a concession not included in the preliminaries of Leoben, because he had then no thought of destroying that republic—he could induce the emperor to remove his boundary from the Oglio to the Adige, so that the Mantuan, the Bergamasco, and the

* "Count Cobentzel was a native of Brussels; a very agreeable man in company, and distinguished by studied politeness; but positive and intractable in business. There was a want of propriety and precision in his mode of expressing himself, of which he was sensible; and he endeavoured to compensate for this by talking loud and using imperious gestures."—*Montholon*. E.

"Count Cobentzel was middle-aged, very ugly, and is truly reported to have resembled Mirabeau. He had the same sallow face, and his eyes were equally small. He had also the same enormous head of hair. Though really agreeable, he was much less so than he would have been, had he permitted his own good sense and information to direct his manners instead of servilely copying those of Prince Kaunitz and Prince Potemkin, to both of whom he affected to bear a personal resemblance, and whose frivolity and morality he assumed, together with an exclusive predilection for the great world. This world was the court, beyond the luminous circle of which all to him was chaos."—*Duchess d'Angoulême*. E.

Bresciano, might be given to the Cisalpine, which would thus have the frontier of the Adige and Mantua; to guarantee to France the boundary of the Rhine and the possession of Mayence; and, lastly, to consent to leave her the Ionian islands. Bonaparte resolved to treat on these conditions. He saw in this arrangement many advantages, and all those which France could obtain at the moment. The emperor, in accepting Venice, would compromise himself in the opinion of Europe, for it was for him that Venice had betrayed France. By relinquishing the Adige and Mantua, the emperor would give great consistence to the new republic: by leaving us the Ionian islands, he would pave the way for us to the empire of the Mediterranean; by guaranteeing to us the boundary of the Rhine, he would put it out of the power of the Empire to refuse it; by delivering Mayence to us, he would virtually put us in possession of that boundary, and would again compromise himself with the Empire in the most serious manner, by giving up to us a fortress belonging to one of the Germanic princes. It is true that, in another campaign, France would be sure either to overturn the Austrian monarchy, or to compel it to renounce Italy. But Bonaparte had more than one personal reason for avoiding a new campaign. It was now the month of October, and too late to penetrate into Austria. The army of Germany, commanded by Augereau, must have all the advantage, for there was nothing to oppose it. The army of Italy would have all the Austrian forces upon its hands; it would be reduced to the defensive; and it could no longer act the brilliant part and be first at Vienna. Lastly, Bonaparte was fatigued. He wished to enjoy for a while his immense glory. One battle more would add nothing to the marvels of his two campaigns, and, in signing the peace, he should crown himself with a double glory. To that of the warrior he should add that of the negotiator, and he would be the only general of the republic who had combined both, for none of them had yet signed treaties. He should satisfy one of the most ardent wishes of France, and return to her bosom with all sorts of distinction. It is true that he would be guilty of formal disobedience in signing a treaty on those bases, for the Directory required the entire emancipation of Italy; but Bonaparte felt confident that the Directory would not refuse to ratify the treaty, as it would then be setting itself in opposition to the public opinion in France. The Directory had shocked it already by breaking off the negotiations at Lille; he should shock it much more by breaking off those at Udine; and he should justify himself against the reproaches of the royalist faction, which accused him of wishing for everlasting war. Bonaparte, therefore, felt that, in signing the treaty, he should oblige the Directory to ratify it.

He boldly delivered his ultimatum to M. de Cobentzel. It gave Venice to Austria, but the Adige and Mantua to the Cisalpine, the Rhine and Mayence to France, with the Ionian islands into the bargain. On the 16th the last conference was held at M. de Cobentzel's, at Udine. The negotiators on both sides declared themselves ready to break off: M. de Cobentzel intimated that his carriages were ready. They were seated at an oblong square table; the four Austrian negotiators being on one side, Bonaparte by himself on the other. M. de Cobentzel recapitulated all that he had said, insisted that the emperor, in giving up the keys of Mayence, ought to receive those of Mantua; that he could not do otherwise without disgracing himself; that, moreover, France had never made a more glorious treaty, and certainly she could not desire one more advantageous; that she wished above all things for peace and would severely judge the conduct

of the negotiator who should sacrifice the interest and the repose of his country to his military ambition. Bonaparte, cool and collected during this insulting apostrophe, suffered M. de Cobentzel to finish speaking; then stepping up to a sideboard upon which stood a porcelain tea-service, a present from the great Catherine to M. de Cobentzel,* and displayed as an article of peculiar value, he took it up and dashed it upon the floor with these words: "War is declared, but remember that, in less than three months, I will demolish your monarchy as I dash in pieces this porcelain." This act and these words struck the Austrian negotiators with astonishment. He bowed to them, withdrew, and getting immediately into his carriage, ordered an officer to go and acquaint the Archduke Charles that hostilities would recommence in twenty-four hours. M. de Cobentzel, alarmed, instantly sent the ultimatum signed to Passeriano. One of the conditions of the treaty was the release of M. de Lafayette, who had for five years heroically endured his imprisonment at Olmütz.

Next day, October the 17th (26th of Vendémiaire), the treaty was signed at Passeriano. It was dated from a small village situated between the two armies, to which, however, the negotiators did not repair, because there was no place in it fit for their reception. This village was Campo Formio. It gave its name to this celebrated treaty, the first concluded between the emperor and the French republic.

It was agreed that the emperor, as sovereign of the Netherlands, and as a member of the Empire, should guarantee to France the boundary of the Rhine; that he should deliver Mayence to our troops; and that the Ionian islands should remain in our possession. It was further agreed that the Cisalpine republic should have Romagna, the legations, the duchy of Modena, Lombardy, the Valteline, the Bergamasco, the Bresciano, and the Mantuan, with the Adige and Mantua for its boundary. The emperor subscribed, moreover, to various conditions resulting from this treaty and from anterior treaties by which the republic was bound. In the first place, he engaged to give the Brisgau to the Duke of Modena, as a compensation for his duchy. He also engaged to use his influence for the purpose of

* The following characteristic anecdote of Count Cobentzel is extracted from the entertaining Memoirs of the Duchess d'Abrantes: "M. de Cobentzel had been for a long time Austrian ambassador at the court of Catherine II., and retained an enthusiastic admiration of that sovereign, who kept a theatre, played herself, and carried her condescension so far as to write comedies for the amusement of her court. Count Cobentzel had had a little theatre constructed in the Austrian ambassador's palace at St. Petersburg, principally with the object of acting himself. One day he was to play the part of the Countess d'Escarbagnas. The empress had promised to be present, and the count-countess was dressed early to be in readiness for appearing on the stage the moment the czarina had taken her seat. She arrived, the ambassador was sought for, but neither he nor the countess could be found. At length, after a tiresome search, he was discovered in his cabinet, in male attire indeed, but with his hair puffed, in high-heeled shoes, and so suffocated with passion, that he could scarcely articulate the words, 'Hang that villain for me!' pointing to a man who was praying to all the saints in heaven to defend him from that madman. This was a courier from Vienna, arrived in haste with important despatches, and specially ordered to deliver them into the ambassador's own hands. He arrived at seven in the evening, just as the count, having finished his toilet, as the Countess d'Escarbagnas, was complacently surveying in a looking-glass a figure which has, perhaps, never since been paralleled, and repeating the most striking passages of his part. The young courier, on observing this grotesque figure, was persuaded of his insanity, and refused to deliver the despatches, till the ambassador was growing seriously angry, when, to complete his fury, the empress's arrival was announced to him. The secretary to the embassy explained this strange scene to the courier, and persuaded him at length to give his despatches into the hands of Count Cobentzel." E

obtaining for the stadtholder a compensation in Germany for the loss of Holland, and for the King of Prussia a compensation for the loss of the little territory which he had ceded to us on the left bank of the Rhine. In virtue of these engagements, the voice of the emperor was insured at the congress of Rastadt for the solution of all questions that specially interested France. The emperor received, in return for all that he had granted, the Friule, Istria, Dalmatia, and the mouths of the Cattaro.

France had never made, since she existed, so glorious a peace. She had, at length, obtained her natural limits, and obtained them with the consent of the continent. A great revolution had taken place in Upper Italy. There an ancient state had been destroyed and a new state founded. But the state destroyed was a despotic aristocracy, an irreconcilable enemy of liberty. The state founded was a republic liberally constituted, and which might possibly communicate liberty to all Italy. It was to be regretted, it is true, that the Austrians had not been driven beyond the Isonzo, that all Upper Italy and the city of Venice itself had not been united with the Cisalpine: with another campaign that result would have been obtained. Particular considerations had prevented the young warrior from making that campaign. Personal interest began to affect the calculations of the great man, and to attach a stain to the first and perhaps the brightest act of his life.

Bonaparte could scarcely doubt the ratification of the treaty; yet he was not without anxiety, for this treaty was a formal contravention of the instructions of the Directory. He selected Berthier, the faithful and complaisant chief of his staff, whom he was very fond of, and whom he had not yet sent to France to enjoy the applauses of the Parisians, to be the bearer of it. With his usual tact, he gave the military officer a scientific man for his companion. This was Monge, who had been upon the commission appointed to select the objects of art in Italy, and who, notwithstanding his geometrical and rank demagogue spirit, had been won, like many others, by genius, grace, and glory.

Monge and Berthier reached Paris in a few days. They arrived there in the middle of the night, and roused Lareveillère-Lepeaux, president of the Directory, from his bed. Though the bearers of a treaty of peace, the two messengers were far from feeling the joy and confidence usual under such circumstances; they were embarrassed, like men who have to commence with a painful confession; they were obliged, in fact, to say that the government had been disobeyed. They employed the greatest rhetorical precautions to intimate the tenor of the treaty, and to excuse the general. Lareveillère treated them with all the attention which two such distinguished persons, and one of them an illustrious man of science, deserved; but he said nothing more concerning the treaty than that the Directory would decide upon it. He laid it in the morning before the Directory. The news of the peace had already spread throughout Paris; joy was at its height; people were not acquainted with the conditions, but, whatever they were, they made sure that they were brilliant. They extolled Bonaparte and his double glory. As he had foreseen, they were delighted to find in him the pacificator and the warrior; and a peace which he had signed from selfishness was vaunted as an act of military disinterestedness. The young general, it was said, has refused the glory of a new campaign for the sake of giving peace to his country.

The burst of joy was so prompt, that it would have been very difficult for the Directory to check it by rejecting the treaty of Campo Formio. This

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treaty was the result of a formal disobedience; the Directory, therefore, had excellent reasons for refusing its ratification; and it would have been very important to give a severe lesson to the audacious negotiator who had violated its express orders. But how disappoint the general expectation? How venture to refuse peace a second time, after having refused it at Lille? It would thus justify all the reproaches of the victims of Fructidor, and give great dissatisfaction to the public. There would be another danger equally formidable to encounter in rejecting the treaty. Bonaparte would resign his command, and reverses must inevitably follow the resumption of hostilities in Italy. What a responsibility would not the government take upon itself in this case! Besides, the treaty was attended with immense advantages. It opened splendid prospects, it gave Mayence and Mantua in addition to the cessions of Leoben; lastly, it left all the forces of France at liberty to fall upon England.

The Directory, therefore, approved of the treaty. The general joy now became the more lively and the more profound. The Directory skilfully sought to avail itself of this event for turning the public opinion against England. The hero of Italy and his invincible companions were to fly from one enemy to another, and the very day on which the treaty was published, an ordinance appointed Bonaparte commander-in-chief of the army of England.

Bonaparte prepared to leave Italy, in order to obtain a few moments' rest, and to enjoy a glory the highest known among the moderns. He was appointed plenipotentiary at Rastadt, with Bonnier and Treilhard, to treat for peace with the Empire. It was also agreed that he should meet M. de Cobentzel at Rastadt, and exchange with him the ratifications of the treaty of Campo Formio. At the same time, he was to superintend the execution of the conditions relative to the occupation of Mayence. With his usual foresight, he had taken care to stipulate that the Austrian troops should not enter Palma Nova till he should have entered Mayence.

Before he set out for Rastadt, he resolved to put a finishing hand to the affairs of Italy. He nominated to the last appointments which yet remained to be filled in the Cisalpine; he arranged the conditions of the continuation of the French troops in Italy, and their relations with the new republic. These troops were to be commanded by Berthier, and to form a corps of thirty thousand men, to be maintained at the expense of the Cisalpine. They were to remain there till a general peace in Europe. He withdrew the corps which he had at Venice, and delivered up that city to an Austrian corps. The Venetian patriots, on finding themselves transferred to Austria, were indignant. Bonaparte had caused an asylum to be secured for them in the Cisalpine, and had stipulated with the Austrian government that they should be at liberty to sell their possessions. They were not grateful for these attentions, and poured forth vehement and very natural imprecations against the conqueror by whom they were sacrificed. Villetard, who seemed to have entered into an engagement with them in the name of the French government, wrote to Bonaparte, and was treated by him with extraordinary harshness. But it was not the patriots alone who manifested profound grief on this occasion. The nobles and the populace, who so lately preferred Austria to France, because they liked the principles of the one and abhorred those of the other, felt all their natural sentiments rekindled within them, and showed an attachment to their ancient country, which rendered them worthy of an interest that they had not yet excited. The despair became general. A noble lady poisoned herself; and the old

doge fell motionless at the feet of the Austrian officer to whom he was taking the oath of allegiance.*

Bonaparte addressed a proclamation to the Italians, in which he took leave of them and gave them his parting advice. It breathed that noble, firm, and somewhat rhetorical tone, which he had the art of giving to his public language. "We have given you liberty," said he to the Cisalpines; "take care to preserve it. To be worthy of your destiny, make only discreet and moderate laws; cause them to be executed with energy. Favour the diffusion of knowledge, and respect religion. Compose your battalions not of disreputable men, but of citizens imbued with the principles of the republic and closely linked to its prosperity. You have in general need to impress yourselves with the feeling of your strength, and with the dignity which befits the free man. Divided and bowed down for ages by tyranny, you would not have conquered your liberty; but, in a few years, were you to be left to yourselves, no power on earth will be strong enough to wrest it from you. Till then the great nation will protect you against the attacks of your neighbours; its political system will be united with yours. I shall leave you in a few days. The orders of my government and an imminent danger to the Cisalpine republic will alone bring me back among you."

This last sentence was a reply to those who asserted that he aimed at making himself King of Lombardy. There was nothing that he preferred to the title and the character of first general of the French republic. One of the Austrian negotiators had offered him, in the name of the emperor, a state in Germany. He replied that he was determined to owe his fortune to the gratitude of the French people alone. Had he a glimpse of what was to happen? Assuredly not; but had he been only the first citizen of the republic, it is easy to conceive that he would have preferred it. The regret of the Italians accompanied him, and they watched with pain the disappearance of this bright apparition. Bonaparte travelled rapidly through Piedmont, intending to proceed by way of Switzerland to Rastadt. Magnificent entertainments, and presents for himself and his wife, awaited him on his route. Princes and people were anxious to see that celebrated warrior, that arbiter of so many destinies. At Turin the king had caused presents to be prepared, in token of his gratitude for the support which he had given him with the Directory. In Switzerland the enthusiasm of the Vaudois for the liberator of the Valteline was extreme. Young damsels, in dresses of the three colours, presented him with crowns. Everywhere this maxim so dear to the Vaudois was inscribed; *One people cannot be the subject of another people.* At Murten, Bonaparte desired to see the bone-house; he found there a multitude of inquisitive persons, who followed wherever he went. The cannon fired in the towns through which he passed. The government of Berne, which observed with vexation the enthusiasm excited by the liberator of the Valteline, forbade its officers to fire the guns. It was not obeyed. On reaching Rastadt, he found all the German princes impatient to see him. He immediately made the French negotiators assume the attitude befitting their mission and their character. He refused to receive M. de Fersen, whom Sweden had sent to represent her at the congress of the Empire, and who, from his connexion with the former court of France, was not a proper person to treat with the French

* "The most remarkable incident of the final transfer of Venice to the Austrians was, that the aged doge, Marini, dropped down senseless as he was about to take the oath of allegiance to the Imperial commissioner, and died shortly after."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

republic. This refusal produced a strong sensation, and proved Bonaparte's constant solicitude to keep up the dignity of the *great nation*, as he called it in all his harangues. Having exchanged the ratifications of the treaty of Campo Formio, and made the necessary arrangements for the delivery of Mayence, he resolved to set out for Paris. He foresaw nothing of importance to be discussed at Rastadt, and above all he foresaw interminable delays, before all these petty German princes could be brought to agree. Such a part was not to his liking. Besides, he was fatigued, and some impatience to reach Paris and to ascend to the Capitol of modern Rome was very natural.

He left Rastadt, travelled incognito through France, and arrived in Paris on the evening of the 15th of Frimaire, year VI (December 5th, 1797). He went to conceal himself in a very modest house, which he had desired to be bought for him in the Rue Chanteraine. This man, whose pride was unbounded, had all the address of a female in hiding himself. On the surrender of Mantua, he had hastened away from the honour of seeing Wurmser and the garrison file off; and in Paris he determined to bury himself in the most obscure abode. In his language, in his dress, and in all his habits, he affected a simplicity which surprised the imagination of men, and impressed it the more deeply from the effect of the contrast. All Paris, apprized of his arrival, was impatient to see him. This was only natural, especially in Frenchmen.* M. de Talleyrand, the minister for foreign affairs, for whom, while at a distance, he had conceived a strong partiality, meant to call upon him the same evening. Bonaparte apologized for not being able to see him, and went to the minister on the following morning. The saloon of the hotel of foreign affairs was full of distinguished persons, anxious to see the hero.† Reserved towards everybody, he perceived Bougainville,‡ and went

* "In a metropolis where all is welcome that can vary the tedium of human life, the arrival of any remarkable person is a species of holiday; but such an eminent character as Bonaparte—the conqueror—the sage—the politician—the undaunted braver of every difficulty—the invincible victor in every battle—who had carried the banners of the republic from Genoa till their approach scared the pontiff at Rome, and the emperor in Vienna, was no every-day wonder. His youth too added to the marvel. Napoleon's general manner in society during this part of his life, has been described by an observer of first-rate power; according to whom he was one for whom the admiration, which could not be refused to him, was always mingled with a portion of fear. He was different in his manner from other men, and neither pleased nor angry, kind nor severe after the common fashion of humanity. He estimated his fellow-mortals no otherwise than as they could be useful to his views; and, with a precision of intelligence which seemed initiative from its rapidity, he penetrated the sentiments of those whom it was worth his while to study. Bonaparte did not then possess the ordinary tone of light conversation in society; and there was a stiffness and reserve in his manner, which was, perhaps, adopted for the purpose of keeping people at a distance. His look had the same character. When he thought himself closely observed, he had the power of discharging from his countenance all expression, save that of a vague and indefinite smile, and presenting to the curious investigator the fixed eyes and rigid features of a bust of marble."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† "The leaders of all parties were anxious to see the hero—all called upon him; but he refused to listen to them. The streets and squares through which he was expected to pass, were constantly crowded, but Napoleon never showed himself. He had no habitual visitors, except a few men of science."—*Montholon*. E.

‡ "Louis Antoine de Bougainville, Count of the Empire, senator, and member of the Institute in 1796, was born in 1729, and died in 1811. He was remarkable for energy of character, and fought bravely under Montcalm in Canada. He afterwards entered the navy, and became one of the greatest naval officers in France. He made a voyage round the world, and enriched geography by many new discoveries. After the year 1790, he devoted himself exclusively to science. He was a man of engaging manners, and worthy of the greatest esteem."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

straight up to him, and addressed him in terms which, falling from his lips, could not fail to produce profound impressions. He already affected the attention of a sovereign to the useful and celebrated man. M. de Talleyrand introduced him to the Directory. Though there were many reasons for dissatisfaction between the general and the directors, yet the interview was full of apparent cordiality. It suited the Directory to affect satisfaction, and the general to show deference. Besides, his services were so important, his glory so resplendent, that dissatisfaction was forced to give way to enthusiasm. The Directory prepared a triumphal festival for the delivery of the treaty of Campo Formio. It was not held in the grand audience chamber of the Directory, but in the great court of the Luxembourg. Every arrangement was made for rendering this solemnity one of the most imposing of the Revolution. The directors were seated on a raised platform at the farther end of the court, at the foot of the altar of the country, and habited in the Roman costume. Around them, the ministers, the ambassadors, the members of the two Councils, the magistrates, the chiefs of the administrations, were placed on seats, ranged amphitheatrically. Magnificent trophies, composed of numberless colours taken from the enemy, rose at a little distance from one another all round the court; beautiful tricoloured hangings adorned the walls. The galleries were filled with the best company of the capital; bands of musicians were placed in the area; and a numerous artillery was drawn up around the palace, to add its thunders to the sound of the music and the din of acclamations. Chenier composed one of his finest hymns for this occasion.*

It was the 20th of Frimaire, year VI (December 10th, 1797). The Directory, the public functionaries, and the spectators, having taken their places, waited with impatience for the illustrious man whom few of them had ever seen. He appeared, accompanied by M. de Talleyrand, who was commissioned to introduce him, for it was the negotiator who was congratulated at the moment. All who were present, struck by that slender figure, that pale Roman visage, that piercing eye, still talk to this day of the effect which he produced, and of the indescribable impression of genius and authority which he left upon the imagination. The sensation was extreme. Unanimous acclamations burst forth at the sight of so simple a person surrounded by such renown. Shouts of *The Republic for ever! Bonaparte for ever!* arose on all sides. M. de Talleyrand then addressed the assembly, and, in a neat and concise speech, strove to refer the glory of the general, not to himself, but to the Revolution, to the armies, and to the *great nation*. He seemed desirous to spare the modesty of Bonaparte, and with his accustomed intelligence, to divine how the hero would like to be spoken of before his face. M. de Talleyrand then adverted to what might, he said, be called his ambition; but, in alluding to his antique love of simplicity, to his fondness for the abstract sciences, to his favourite books, to that sublime Ossian with whom he learned to detach himself from the earth, M. de Talleyrand observed that it would perhaps be necessary to solicit him to tear himself some day from his studious retirement.† What

* "All the authorities gave Napoleon magnificent entertainments. The Directory, in particular, exhibited itself in all its burlesque pomp of mantles and hats with feathers, which rendered the meeting of the five members of the supreme power sufficiently ridiculous. But in other respects the fêtes were fine, and they had the special charm attached to things which are supposed to be lost, and are recovered. Money circulated, and the result of all this was, that everybody was pleased."—*Duchess d'Angoulême*. E.

† "Bonaparte arrived, dressed very simply, followed by his aides-de-camp, all taller than himself, but nearly bent by the respect which they paid him. M. de Talleyrand,

M. de Talleyrand had said was upon all lips, and was repeated in all the speeches delivered at this great solemnity. Everybody declared, over and over again, that the young general was without ambition, so afraid were they that he had it. When M. de Talleyrand had finished, Bonaparte spoke, and delivered, in a firm tone, the following broken sentences :

“ Citizens,

“ The French people, in order to be free, had kings to combat.

“ To obtain a constitution founded on reason, it had the prejudices of eighteen centuries to overcome.

“ The constitution of the year III and you have triumphed over all obstacles.

“ Religion, feudalism, royalty, have successively, for twenty centuries past, governed Europe ; but from the peace which you have just concluded dates the era of representative governments.

“ You have succeeded in organizing the great nation, whose vast territory is circumscribed only because Nature herself has fixed its limits.

“ You have done more. The two finest countries in Europe, formerly so renowned for the arts, the sciences, and the great men whose cradle they were, see with the greatest hopes genius and freedom issuing from the tomb of their ancestors.

“ These are two pedestals on which the destinies are about to place two powerful nations.

“ I have the honour to deliver to you the treaty signed at Campo Formio and ratified by his majesty the emperor.

“ Peace insures the liberty, the prosperity, and the glory of the republic.

“ When the happiness of the French people shall be seated on better organic laws, all Europe will become free.”

Fresh acclamations succeeded this speech. Barras, president of the Directory, answered Bonaparte. In a long, rambling, irrelevant address, he highly extolled the modesty and the simplicity of the hero ; and he introduced a clever tribute to Hoche, the supposed rival of the conqueror of Italy. “ Why is not Hoche here,” said the president of the Directory, “ to see and to embrace his friend ? ” Hoche had, in fact, in the preceding year defended Bonaparte with generous warmth. Agreeably to the new direction given to all minds, Barras held forth a prospect of new laurels to the hero, and exhorted him to go and gather them in England.*

After these three speeches, Chenier's hymn was sung in full chorus, accompanied by a magnificent orchestra. Two generals then advanced, attended by the minister at war. These were the brave Joubert, the hero of the Tyrol, and Andreossy,† one of the most distinguished officers of the

in presenting him to the Directory, called him the Liberator of Italy, and assured them that he detested luxury and splendour, the ambition of vulgar souls, and that he loved the poems of Ossian particularly, because they detach us from the earth.”—*Madame de Staël*. E.

* “ ‘ Crown,’ said Barras, ‘ so illustrious a life by a conquest which the great nation owes to its outraged dignity. Go, and by the punishment of the cabinet of London, strike terror into the hearts of all who would miscalculate the powers of a free people. Let the conquerors of the Po, the Rhine, and the Tiber, march under your banners ; the ocean will be proud to bear them ; it is a slave still indignant, who blushes for his fetters. Hardly will the tricolour standard wave on the blood-stained shore of the Thames, ere a unanimous cry will bless your arrival, and that generous nation will receive you as its liberator.’ ”—*Napoleon's Memoirs*. E.

† “ General Andreossy served with distinction in Italy during the campaign of 1796. He accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt, and was one of those who returned with him, and supported him on the 18th of Brumaire. On the peace of Amiens, the First Consul

artillery. They came forward, bearing an admirable standard. It was that which the Directory had just given at the conclusion of the campaign to the army of Italy, the new oriflamme of the republic. It was covered with numberless letters in gold, and these letters formed the following inscriptions :

"The army of Italy has taken one hundred and fifty thousand prisoners, it has taken one hundred and seventy pair of colours, five hundred and fifty pieces of siege artillery, six hundred pieces of field artillery, five bridge equipages, nine sail of the line, twelve frigates, twelve cutters, eighteen galleys.—Armistices with the Kings of Sardinia, Naples, the Pope, the Dukes of Parma and Modena.—Preliminaries of Leoben.—Convention of Montebello, with the republic of Genoa.—Treaties of peace of Tolentino and Campo Formio.—Given liberty to the people of Bologna, Ferrara, Modena, Massa-Carrara, La Romagna, Lombardy, Brescia, Bergamo, Mantua, Cremona, part of the Veronese, of Chavenna, of Bormio, and of the Valteline ; to the people of Genoa, to the Imperial fiefs, to the people of the departments of Corcyra, the Egean Sea, and Ithaca. Sent to Paris the masterpieces of Michael Angelo, Guercino, Titian, Paul Veronese, Corregio, Albano, the Caracci, Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci, &c.—Triumphed, in eighteen pitched battles, MONTENOTTE, MILLESIMO, MONDOVI, LODI, BORGHETTO, LONATO, CASTIGLIONE, ROVEREDO, BASSANO, ST. GEORGE, FONTANA NIVA, CALDIERO, ARCOLE, RIVOLI, LA FAVORITA, THE TAGLIAMENTO, TARVIS, NEUMARKT.—Fought sixty-seven actions."

Joubert and Andreossi spoke in their turn and received a flattering reply from the president of the Directory. After all these speeches, the generals went to receive the embrace of the president of the Directory. The moment that Bonaparte had received it from Barras, the other four directors threw themselves, as if by an involuntary impulse, into the arms of the general. Unanimous acclamations rent the air: the people who thronged the streets joined their shouts, and the cannon their thunders. All heads were overcome with the intoxication. Thus it was that France threw herself into the arms of an extraordinary man. Let us not censure the weakness of our fathers. That glory reaches us only through the clouds of time and adversity, and yet it transports us! Let us say with Æschylus: "How would it have been had we seen the monster himself!"

appointed him minister of France at the court of St James's. In 1804 he was appointed grand officer of the Legion of Honour, and accompanied the Emperor on his German campaign in 1805. Andreossi has written several memoirs relative to Egypt."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

THE DIRECTORY.

GENERAL BONAPARTE IN PARIS; HIS RELATIONS WITH THE DIRECTORY—PLAN OF AN INVASION OF ENGLAND—POLITICAL RELATIONS OF FRANCE WITH THE CONTINENT—CONGRESS OF RASTADT—REVOLUTIONS AT ROME AND IN SWITZERLAND—INTERNAL STATE OF FRANCE, ELECTIONS OF THE YEAR VI; ELECTORAL SCHISMS—EXPEDITION TO EGYPT SUBSTITUTED BY BONAPARTE FOR THE PROJECTED INVASION; PREPARATIONS FOR THAT EXPEDITION.

THE triumphal reception which the Directory had prepared for Bonaparte was followed by splendid entertainments given to him individually by the directors, the members of the Councils, and the ministers. Each strove to surpass the other in magnificence. The hero of these festivities was struck with the taste displayed on his account by the minister for foreign affairs, and felt a strong liking for ancient French elegance. Amidst this pomp, he appeared simple, affable, but severe, almost insensible to pleasure, seeking among the crowd the useful and celebrated man, in order to converse with him on the art or science in which he had signalized himself.* Men of the highest renown felt honoured at having been distinguished by General Bonaparte.

The acquirements of the young general were but those of an officer who had recently quitted the military schools. But, owing to the instinct of genius, he could converse on subjects the most foreign to his profession, and throw out some of those bold, but original ideas, which, in general, are but the impertinences of ignorance, but which, coming from superior men, and expressed in their style, produce illusion, and captivate even those who have made a special study of the subjects to which they relate. That facility of treating all subjects was remarked with surprise. The newspapers, which gave the most trifling particulars respecting the person of General Bonaparte, which reported with what personage he had dined, how he had looked, whether he was cheerful or sad, stated that, in dining with François de Neufchâteau, he had talked of mathematics with Lagrange and Laplace, of metaphysics with Sieyès, of poetry with Chenier, and of legislation and political economy with Daunou. In general, people durst not question him much when they were in his company, but they were particularly desirous to lead him to talk of his campaigns. Whenever he did advert to them, he never spoke of himself, but of his army, of his

* “‘Mankind,’ said Napoleon, ‘are, in the end, always governed by superiority of intellectual qualities, and none are more sensible of this than the military profession. When, on my return to Paris from Italy, I assumed the dress of the Institute, and associated with men of science, I knew what I was doing; I was sure of not being misunderstood by the lowest drummer of the army.’”—*Thibaudeau*. E.

soldiers, and of republican bravery; he described the bustle, the din, of battles; he drew a lively picture of the decisive moment, showed in what manner it was requisite that it should be seized, and transported all who heard him by his clear, striking, and dramatic recitals. If his exploits had proclaimed a great commander, his conversations revealed a mind original and fertile, by turns comprehensive and precise, and always persuasive when he chose to display it.* He had conquered the multitude by his glory; by his conversation he began to conquer, one by one, the most distinguished men in France. The infatuation, already great, became still greater when they had seen him. There was nothing about him, not even the traces of a foreign extraction, which time had not effaced, but contributed to the effect. Singularity always adds to the spell of genius, especially in France, where, with the greatest uniformity of manners, people are passionately fond of eccentricity. Bonaparte affected to shun the crowd, and to conceal himself from observation. Sometimes he even manifested displeasure at too strong demonstrations of enthusiasm. Madame de Staël, who was, and who had a right to be, fond of greatness, genius, and glory, was impatient to see Bonaparte, and to pay him the tribute of her admiration. Like an imperious man, who wishes every body to keep his place, he was angry with her for sometimes leaving hers; he thought her too clever, too enthusiastic; he had even a presentiment of her independence amidst all her admiration; he was cold, harsh, and unjust. She asked him one day, with too little address, who was, in his estimation, the first of women. "She who has borne most children," he replied, drily. From this moment commenced that reciprocal antipathy which brought upon her such unmerited persecutions, and which led him to commit acts of petty and brutal tyranny. He went abroad but little; lived in his humble dwelling in the Rue Chantierine, which had changed its name, and which the department of Paris had ordered to be called Rue de Victoire. He admitted only a few men of science, Monge, Lagrange, Laplace, Berthollet; a few generals, Desaix, Kleber, Caffarelli; a few artists, and especially the celebrated actor, Talma, for whom he already manifested an extraordinary partiality. When he went abroad, it was generally in a very simple carriage; at the theatre, he was always in a private box; and he seemed not to participate at all in his wife's fondness for dissipation. For her he showed extreme affection. He was enthralled by that peculiar grace which, either in private life or upon the throne, never forsook Madame Beauharnais, and which in her made amends for beauty.

A place having become vacant in the Institute by the banishment of Carnot, it was immediately offered to Bonaparte. He eagerly accepted it. At the meeting held for his reception, he took his seat between Lagrange and Laplace, and thenceforth, in his public ceremonies, he assumed the dress of a member of the Institute, affecting thus to conceal the warrior under the habit of the man of science.†

* "When he talked with the purpose of pleasing, Bonaparte often told anecdotes of his life in a very pleasing manner; when silent, he had something disdainful in the expression of his face; when disposed to be quite at ease, he was, in Madame de Staël's opinion, rather vulgar. His natural tone of feeling seemed to be a sense of internal superiority, and of secret contempt for the world in which he lived, the men with whom he acted, and even the very objects which he pursued. His character and manners were, upon the whole, strongly calculated to attract the attention of the French nation, and to excite a perpetual interest even from the very mystery which attached to him, as well as from the splendour of his triumphs."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† On this occasion Napoleon addressed the following note to Camus: "The suffrage of the distinguished men who compose the Institute, honours me. I feel sensibly that,

So much glory could not fail to give umbrage to the heads of the government, who, having on their side neither antiquity of rank nor personal greatness, were wholly eclipsed by the warrior peacemaker. They, nevertheless, paid him the highest respect, to which he replied by demonstrations of deference. The sentiment that most engrosses, is the one that is least talked of. The Directory was far from expressing any of its fears. It received numerous reports from its spies, who went to the barracks and to the public places to listen to the language used concerning Bonaparte. Bonaparte, it was said, would soon put himself at the head of affairs, overthrow an enfeebled government, and thus save France both from the royalists and the Jacobins. The Directory, with a feigned frankness, showed him these reports, and affected to treat them with contempt, as if it had deemed the general incapable of ambition. The general, an equally clever dissembler, was thankful for these testimonies, and declared that he was worthy of the confidence reposed in him. But on either side there was extreme distrust. If the spies of the police talked to the Directory of plans of usurpation, the officers who surrounded the general talked to him of plans for poisoning. The death of Hoche had given rise to absurd suspicions; the general, who, though exempt from puerile apprehensions, was, nevertheless, prudent, was extremely cautious when he dined with a certain director; he ate little, and only of such dishes as he had seen the director himself eat of, and drank no wine of which he had not seen him drink.

Barras was fond of encouraging a belief that he was the author of Bonaparte's fortune, and that, being no longer his protector, he had continued to be his friend. He paid him extraordinary personal attentions, strove, with his usual suppleness, to convince him of his attachment, took every opportunity of blaming the conduct of his colleagues to him, and affected to keep himself apart from them. Bonaparte received, without cordiality, the testimonies of this director, which he held of no account, and did not repay his servility with any sort of confidence.

Bonaparte was frequently consulted on certain questions. A minister was sent to call him to the Directory; he would go, take his seat beside the directors, and give his opinions with that superiority of tact which distinguished him in matters of administration and government as well as those of war. He affected in politics a direction of ideas depending upon the position which he had assumed. Immediately after the 18th of Fructidor, we have seen him, when the impulse was once given and the fall of the royalist faction assured, stop short all at once, with the resolution of lending the government no more than the support absolutely necessary for preventing the restoration of monarchy. This point obtained, he wished not to appear to attach himself to the Directory. He chose to show all parties that he kept aloof from them, neither connected nor embroiled with any. The attitude of a censor was the position which suited his ambition. This part is an easy one in regard to a government assailed in contrary directions by factions, and always liable to be overthrown. It is advantageous, because it soon rallies around you all the discontented, that is, all the parties that soon become universally disgusted with the government that

before I can become their equal, I must long be their pupil. The only true conquests, those which awaken no regret, are those we obtain over ignorance. The most honourable, as the most useful pursuit of nations, is that which contributes to the extension of human intellect. The real greatness of the French republic ought, henceforth, to consist in not permitting the existence of one new idea which has not been added to the national stock." E.

attempts to repress, without having strength sufficient to crush them. The proclamations of Bonaparte to the Cisalpines and the Genoese, relative to the laws which they had proposed to pass against the nobles, had sufficed to indicate the present direction of his sentiments. It was perceived, and his language rendered it obvious enough, that he censured the conduct pursued by the government subsequently to the 18th of Fructidor. It was natural that the patriots should have regained somewhat of their old ascendancy since that occurrence. The Directory was not controlled, but slightly impelled by them. This was evident in its appointments, in its measures, and in its spirit. Bonaparte, though keeping up considerable reserve, manifested disapprobation of the direction which the government was pursuing. He appeared to consider it as feeble, incapable, suffering itself to be beaten by one faction after having been beaten by another. It was obvious, in short, that he would not hold the same sentiments with it. He even conducted himself in such a manner, as to prove that, though determined to oppose the return of royalty, he would not undertake equally to answer for the safety of the Revolution and its acts. The anniversary of the 21st of January was at hand; it was necessary to negotiate, to prevail on him to appear at the festival, which was about to be celebrated for the fifth time. He had arrived in Paris in December, 1797. The year 1798 was commencing. He refused to attend the ceremony, as if he disapproved of the act that was celebrated, or as though he wished to do something for those whom his proclamations of the 18th of Fructidor, and the slaughter of the 13th of Vendémiaire, had alienated from him. It was intended that he should figure at it under all his titles. Lately, commander-in-chief of the army of Italy, and plenipotentiary of France at Campo Formio, he was now one of the plenipotentiaries of the congress of Rastadt, and general of the army of England; he ought, therefore, to be present at the solemnities of his government. He said that those were not qualities which obliged him to attend, and that, therefore, his presence being voluntary, would have the appearance of an assent which he would not give. A compromise took place. The Institute was to attend the ceremony in a body. He mingled in its ranks, and seemed to perform a duty imposed on him as a member. Among all the qualities already heaped upon him, that of member of the Institute was certainly the most convenient, and he contrived to make a well-timed use of it.

Rising power is soon divined. A number of officious persons and sycophants already surrounded Bonaparte. They asked him if he was going to be content for ever with the command of armies, and if he would not, at length, take that part in the government of affairs, which his ascendancy and his political genius insured to him. On observing the influence of Pichegru in the Five Hundred, and that of Barras in the Directory, he was authorized to believe, that he might play an important political part; but, at the moment, he had none to perform. He was too young to be a director; for that office the age of forty years was required, and he was not thirty.* People certainly talked of a dispensation in regard to age, but this was a concession which would alarm the republicans, make them raise a great outcry, and certainly not compensate for the annoyances that it would bring upon him. In order to be associated, as a fifth member, in the government, to have but his voice in the Directory, to wear himself out in struggles with the Councils

* "Napoleon made an effort to obtain a dispensation of the law which required the age of forty for one of the Directory; but, failing in that attempt, his whole thoughts and passions centred in the East--the original theatre of his visions of glory."--*Alison*. E

which were still independent, it would not be worth while to violate the law in his favour. France had yet a powerful enemy to combat—England; and, though Bonaparte was covered with glory, it was better for him to go and gather fresh laurels, and to leave the government to spend itself still more in its arduous struggle with the various parties.

We have seen that, on the very day that the signature of the treaty of Campo Formio was known in Paris, the Directory, with a view to turn the public mind against England, immediately created an army, called the army of England, and gave the command of it to General Bonaparte. The government thought frankly and sincerely of taking the shortest way for attacking England, and purposed to land an army in that country. The boldness of opinions, at this period, caused such an enterprise to be considered as extremely practicable. The expedition already attempted against Ireland proved that it was possible to cross over under favour of a fog or of a gale of wind. It was conceived that the English nation, which had not yet created for itself an army, would not, with all its patriotism, be able to withstand the admirable soldiers of Italy, and of the Rhine, and, above all, the genius of the conqueror of Castiglione, Arcole, and Rivoli. The government purposed to leave only twenty-five thousand men in Italy, and to bring back all the rest into the interior. As for the grand army of Germany, composed of the two armies of the Rhine and of the Sambre and Meuse, it meant to reduce that to the force necessary for overawing the Empire during the congress of Rastadt, and to march off the rest towards the sea-coasts. The same direction was given to all the disposable troops. The generals of engineers inspected the coasts to select the best points for embarking: orders were given to collect considerable flotillas in the ports; and extreme activity prevailed in the naval department. It was hoped that a gale would at length drive off the English squadron, which was blockading the harbour of Cadiz, and that then the Spanish fleet would be able to come out and join that of France. As for the Dutch fleet, which the French government had flattered itself with the prospect of uniting with its own, it had just sustained a severe check within sight of the Texel, and its wrecks only had returned to the ports of Holland. But the Spanish and French fleet would be sufficient to cover the passage of a flotilla, and to insure the transport of sixty or eighty thousand men to England. To second all these preparations, care had been taken to provide new means of finance. The budget, fixed, as we have seen, at 616 millions for the year VI, was inadequate to an extraordinary armament. The government, in order to gain the concurrence of commercial men in an enterprise most favourable to their interests, proposed a voluntary loan of eighty millions. It was to be secured upon the state. Part of the profits of the expedition were to be changed into prizes, for which lots were to be drawn by the lenders. At the instigation of the Directory, the principal merchants applied to it to open this loan. The plan of it was submitted to the legislative body, and it appeared to obtain immediate favour. Subscriptions to the amount of fifteen or twenty millions were received. The Directory exerted not only all its efforts, but all its severity, against England. A law prohibited the introduction of English goods: it obtained authority to have recourse to domiciliary visits to discover them, and caused them to be carried into effect throughout all France on the same day, and at the same hour.

Bonaparte seemed to approve and to second this great movement, but at heart he disliked the plan. To land sixty thousand men in England, to march to London, and to enter that capital, did not appear to him the most

difficult part of the business. He was aware that it would be impossible to conquer the country, and to establish himself there; that he could at most ravage it, despoil it of part of its wealth, throw it back, annul it, for half a century; but that he must sacrifice the army which he had brought over, and return almost alone after a sort of barbarian incursion. At a later period, with a more extensive power, with greater experience of his means, with a wholly personal irritation against England, he thought seriously of engaging her hand to hand, and staking his fortune against hers. But at this time he had different ideas and different plans. One reason, in particular, decided him. The preparations that were making would take several months; the fine season was approaching, and it would be necessary to wait for the fogs and the storms of the ensuing winter, in order to attempt a landing. Now, he was not disposed to remain a year idle in Paris, adding nothing to his exploits, and sinking in public opinion precisely because he was not rising in it.* He meditated, therefore, a plan of a different kind, a plan quite as gigantic as the invasion, but more singular, more vast in its consequences, more conformable with his imagination, and, above all, more speedy. We have seen that in Italy he turned his particular attention to the Mediterranean; that he had created a sort of navy there; that, in the partition of the Venetian states, he had reserved the Greek islands for France; that he had set on foot intrigues in Malta, in the hope of wresting that island from the knights and from the English; that, finally, he had frequently extended his views to Egypt, as the intermediate point which France ought to occupy between Europe and Asia, to secure either the commerce of the Levant or that of India. This idea had taken possession of his imagination and wholly engrossed it. In the office of the minister for foreign affairs, there were some valuable documents concerning Egypt, and its colonial, maritime, and military importance. These were, at his request, sent to him by M. de Talleyrand, and he set about devouring them. Obligated to make a tour of the sea-coasts, on account of the execution of the project against England, he filled his carriage with travels in, and memoirs concerning, Egypt.† Thus, while apparently obeying the commands of the Directory, he was planning another enterprise. He was in person on the strand and beneath the sky of ancient Batavia, while his imagination was wandering on the shores of the East. He had a confused glimpse of an immense future. To penetrate into those countries of light and glory, where Alexander and Mahomet had conquered and founded empires, to make them ring with his name, and to send it back to France repeated by the echoes of Asia—this was to him an intoxicating prospect.

He set about, therefore, his inspection of the coasts, during the months of Pluviose and Ventose (January and February), giving an excellent

* "‘If I remain long unemployed in Paris,’ said Napoleon, ‘I am undone. The renown of one in this great Babylon speedily supplants that of another. If I am seen three times at the Opera, I shall no longer be an object of curiosity. You need not talk of the desire of the citizens to see me; crowds at least as great would go to see me led out to the scaffold. I am determined not to remain in Paris. There is nothing to be done here. Everything here passes away. My glory is already declining. I must go to the East. All the great men of the world have there acquired their celebrity.’”
—*Bourrienne*. E.

† "‘So completely had the idea of Egypt taken possession of Napoleon’s mind, that all the books brought from the Ambrosian library to Paris, after the peace of Campo Formio, which related to Egypt, were submitted to his examination, and many bore extensive marginal notes in his own handwriting, indicating the powerful grasp and indefatigable activity of his mind.’” —*Alison*. E

direction to the preparations for invasion, but engrossed by other thoughts and other projects.

While the republic was turning all her forces against England, she had other important interests to attend to on the continent. Her political task there was immense. She had to treat with the Empire at Rastadt, that is, with feudalism itself; she had to direct into the new track three republics, her offspring, the Batavian, the Cisalpine, and the Ligurian republics. Placed at the head of the democratic system, and in presence of the feudal system, she had to prevent collisions between these systems, that she might not have to recommence the struggle which she had just finished so gloriously, but which had cost her such arduous efforts. Such was the task, and it was not less difficult than that of attacking and ruining England.

The congress of Rastadt had been sitting for two months. Bonnier, a very intelligent man, and Treilhard, who was upright but coarse, were the representatives of France. Bonaparte, in the few days which he had passed at the congress, had secretly settled with Austria the arrangements necessary for the occupation of Mayence and the *tête de pont* of Mannheim. It had been agreed that the Austrian troops should retire on the approach of the French troops, and leave the troops of the Empire to themselves. The French were then to take possession of Mayence, and the *tête de pont* of Mannheim, either by intimidating the troops of the Empire, when left to themselves, or by making a sudden assault. This was accordingly done. The troops of the elector, finding themselves abandoned by those of Austria, surrendered Mayence. Those which were at the *tête de pont* of Mannheim attempted to resist, but were obliged to yield. Several hundred men, however, were sacrificed. It was evident from these two circumstances that Austria had, by the secret articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, insured to the republic the line of the Rhine, since she consented to put into her hands its two most important points. It was agreed, moreover, that, during the negotiations, the French army should quit the right bank of the Rhine, and return to the left bank, from Basle to Mayence; that from this point it might continue to occupy the right bank, but must confine itself to the boundary of the Mayn. The French army, bordering the Rhine and the Mayn, and blockading Ehrenbreitstein, would hold the Empire in its grasp. As for the Austrian armies, they were to retire beyond the Danube, and as far as the Lech, and to evacuate the fortresses of Ulm, Ingolstadt, and Philipsburg. Their position with respect to the Empire would be nearly the same as that of the French armies. The deputation of the Empire would thus have to deliberate between a double line of soldiers. Austria did not honestly execute the secret articles, for, under favour of a deception, she left garrisons in Philipsburg, Ulm, and Ingolstadt. France winked at this infraction of the treaty, in order not to disturb the good understanding. It was then proposed that ambassadors should be mutually sent. Austria replied, that for the moment the two powers might content themselves with corresponding through the ministers whom they had at the congress of Rastadt. This was not showing any great eagerness to commence amicable relations with France; but, after her defeats and humiliations, it was easy to account for and to forgive this lurking relic of spleen on the part of Austria.

The first explanations between the deputation of the Empire and the ministers of Austria were warm. The states of the Empire complained, in fact, that Austria aided in despoiling them, by granting the line of the Rhine to the republic, and giving up in a perfidious manner Mayence and the

tête de pont of Mannheim. They complained, also, that Austria, after drawing the Empire into the quarrel, deserted it, and was delivering up its provinces in order to obtain possessions in Italy in exchange.* The ministers of the emperor replied that he had been involved in the war on account of the interests of the Empire, and for the defence of the princes who had possessions in Alsace; that, after taking up arms for their interest, he had made extraordinary efforts for six consecutive years; that he had found himself abandoned successively by all the states of the confederation; that he had almost singly sustained the whole burden of the war; that he had lost in this conflict part of his dominions, and especially the rich provinces of Belgium and Lombardy; that, after such efforts, attended with such bitter fruit, he had a right to expect gratitude, and not to be assailed with complaints. The truth was, that the emperor had assumed the interests of the princes having possessions in Alsace as a pretext for making war; that he had carried it on for the gratification of his sole ambition; that he had hurried the Germanic confederation into it against its inclination; and that now he was betraying it in order to indemnify himself at its expense. After sharp altercations, which led to nothing, the envoys were obliged to proceed to the discussions of the basis of the negotiations. The French wanted the left bank of the Rhine, and proposed the expedient of secularizations, in order to indemnify the princes dispossessed of their dominions. Austria, who, not content with having acquired the greater part of the Venetian territory, wished to obtain a few bishoprics to boot, and who, moreover, had secret conventions with France; Prussia, who had agreed with France to indemnify herself on the right bank for the duchy of Cleves, which she had lost on the left bank; the dispossessed princes, who desired rather to acquire states on the right bank, out of the neighbourhood of the French, than to recover their old principalities—Austria, Prussia, the dispossessed princes, all voted alike for ceding the line of the Rhine, and for recurring to secularizations as the means of indemnity. The Empire, of course, could scarcely defend itself against such a concurrence of determinations. As, however, the powers given to the deputation made the integrity of the Germanic Empire an express condition, the French plenipotentiaries declared these powers insufficient, and required others. The deputation obtained fresh powers from the diet. Though it had then the privilege of conceding the line of the Rhine and renouncing the left bank, it nevertheless persisted in claiming the latter. It alleged many reasons, for reasons are always plentiful. The Germanic Empire, said the deputation, had not been the first to declare war. Long before the diet of Ratisbon had issued the declaration, Custine had surprised Mayence and overrun Franconia. It had, therefore, merely defended itself. The deprivation of part of its territory would overthrow its constitution and compromise its existence, which was of importance to all Europe. The provinces on the left bank, which it was proposed to take away, were of very little consequence to a state which had become so extensive as the French republic. Some other military line, the Moselle, for instance, might be substituted for the line of the Rhine. Lastly, the republic was renouncing, for very paltry advantages

* "Great was the consternation in Germany, when, at length, it could no longer be concealed that the line of the Rhine had been abandoned. It was the more difficult for the Austrian plenipotentiaries at Rastadt to reconcile the dispossessed proprietors to this step, as the emperor had previously announced in the Diet, that an armistice had been concluded for the empire, on the basis of the integrity of the Germanic body." — Alison. E.

the glory which was so brilliant, so pure, and so useful for her, of political moderation. In consequence, the deputation proposed to cede all that the Empire had possessed beyond the Moselle, and to take that river for the boundary. France had excellent reasons to oppose to these. She had taken the offensive, it was true, and begun the war *de facto*; but the real war, the war of intention, of machinations, and of preparations, had been begun by the Empire. It was at Treves and at Coblenz that the emigrants had been collected and organized; it was from those places that the legions commissioned to humble, to brutalize, to dismember France were to start. France, instead of being vanquished, was victorious; she availed herself of her position, not to do all the injury that others had meant to do to her, but to indemnify herself for the war which had been made upon her, by requiring her true natural boundary—the line of the Rhine.

They disputed, therefore, for even when concessions are inevitable, people will still contest them. But it was evident that the deputation was about to cede the left bank, and that it made this resistance merely to obtain better conditions on other disputed points. Such was the state of the negotiations at Rastadt in the month of Pluviose, year VI (February, 1798).

Augereau, to whom the Directory had given the command of the army of Germany, in order to get rid of him, had surrounded himself with the most violent Jacobins. He could not fail to give umbrage to the Empire, which particularly dreaded the contagion of the new principles, and complained of the inflammatory publications circulated in Germany. So many heads in Europe were in a state of excitement, that there was no necessity for supposing French interference in order to account for the circulation of revolutionary publications. But it was of consequence to the Directory to obviate all complaints; besides, it was dissatisfied with the turbulent conduct of Augereau; it deprived him of his command, and sent him to Perpignan, upon pretext of collecting there an army destined, so it said, to act against Portugal. That court had, at the instigation of Pitt, declined to ratify the treaty concluded with the republic, and France threatened to strike in her an ally of England. In reality this was but an empty demonstration, and the commission given to Augereau was a disguised disgrace.

France, in addition to the direct relations which she began to renew with the powers of Europe, had, as we have observed, to direct the new republics. They were naturally agitated by contrary parties. It was the duty of France to spare them the convulsions by which she had herself been torn. Besides, it was for this purpose that she was called in and paid. She had armies in Holland, in the Cisalpine, and in Liguria, maintained at the expense of those republics. If, in order to avoid the appearance of interfering with their independence, she were to leave them to themselves, either a counter-revolution or an outburst of Jacobinism would be likely to ensue. In the one case, there would be danger for the republican system; in the other, for the universal repose and for the maintenance of the general peace. The Jacobins, if they gained the ascendancy in Holland, might indispose Prussia and Germany; if they made themselves masters in Liguria and the Cisalpine, they might convulse Italy, and call Austria back into the lists. It was requisite, therefore, to moderate the march of these republics, but, in so doing, the government exposed itself to another inconvenience. Europe complained that France, so far from having allies in the Dutch, the Cisalpines, and the Genoese, had subjects, and reproached her with aiming at universal dominion. It was expedient, therefore, to choose agents who had precisely the shade of opinion adapted to the country

in which they were to reside, and who had tact enough to make the hand of France felt without suffering it to be perceived. There were, as we see, difficulties of all sorts to overcome, in order to keep in presence, and to keep so without collision, the two systems which had of late been arrayed against one another in Europe. We have seen them warring for six years. We are about to see them during a year of negotiation, and that year will prove, more than war itself, their natural incompatibility.

We have already described the different parties that divided Holland. The moderate and prudent party, which desired a uniform and temperate constitution, had to combat the Orangists, the creatures of the stadtholder; the federalists, the partisans of the old provincial divisions, aspiring to authority in their provinces, and willing to suffer only a feeble federal bond; lastly, the democrats, or Jacobins, wishing for pure unity and democracy. The Directory, of course, deemed it right to support the first party in opposition to the other three; because it was solicitous, without any of the contrary extremes, to reconcile the old federative system with a sufficient concentration of the government. The Directory has been frequently accused of wishing to establish everywhere the republic *one and indivisible*, and people in general have argued very unfairly concerning its system in this particular. The republic *one and indivisible*, conceived in 1793, would have been a profound idea, if it had not been the offspring of a mighty instinct. A state so homogeneous, so solidly founded, as France, cannot admit the federal system. A state so threatened as France would have been undone by admitting that system. It was not adapted either to its geographical configuration, or to its political situation. To have attempted to introduce unity and indivisibility everywhere in the same degree as in France would certainly have been absurd; but the Directory, placed at the head of a new system, obliged to create powerful allies for itself, would naturally seek to give strength and consistence to its new allies, and there is no strength or consistence without a certain degree of concentration and unity. Such was the idea, or more correctly speaking, the instinct, which governed and could not help governing, almost unknown to themselves, the heads of the French republic.

Holland, with its former federative system, would have been reduced to complete impotence. Its national assembly had not yet been able to give it a constitution. It was still cramped by all the regulations of the ancient states of Holland; federalism ruled there; the partisans of unity and of a moderate constitution demanded the abolition of these regulations, and the speedy establishment of a constitution. Noël, the envoy, was accused of favouring the federalists. France could no longer delay siding with one party. She sent Joubert, who had been one of Bonaparte's lieutenants in Italy, celebrated for his march into the Tyrol, modest, disinterested, brave, and a warm patriot, to command the army of Holland. She superseded Noël by Delacroix, formerly minister for foreign affairs. She might have made a better choice. The Directory was unfortunately in want of persons qualified for the diplomatic career. Among the members of the past or present assemblies, there were certainly many enlightened and clever men, but they were not habituated to diplomatic forms. They were dogmatic and supercilious, and it was difficult to find among them persons combining firmness of principles with suppleness of manners, which it was nevertheless requisite that our envoys to foreign countries should possess, in order to be capable of at once commanding respect for our doctrines, and of sparing the prejudices of old Europe. Delacroix, on his arrival in Holland,

attended a dinner given by the diplomatic committee. All the foreign ministers were invited to it. After he had held in their presence the most violent language, Delacroix, glass in hand, exclaimed, "Why is there not a Batavian daring enough to stab the regulations on the altar of his country?" It is easy to conceive what an effect such sallies must produce on foreigners. It was not long, in fact, before the regulations were *stabbed*.* Forty-three deputies had already protested against the operations of the National Assembly. They met on the 3d of Pluviose (January 22d, 1798), at the hotel of Haarlem, and there, supported by our troops, they followed the example set them four months before, on the 18th of Fructidor. They excluded from the national assembly a certain number of suspected deputies, put some of them into confinement, abolished the regulations, and organized the assembly into a kind of convention. In a few days, a constitution closely resembling that of France was framed and put in force. In imitation of the Convention, the new leaders composed the government of the members of the existing assembly, and constituted themselves into a directory and legislative body. Those who come forward to effect movements of this kind are always the most vehement of their party. It was to be feared that the new Batavian government would be strongly imbued with democracy, and that, under the influence of an ambassador like Delacroix, it would overstep the line which the Directory would fain have traced for it. This kind of 18th of Fructidor did not fail to cause European diplomatists, and those of Prussia in particular, to remark that France governed Holland, and extended in fact to the Texel.

The Ligurian republic was in a very good train, though secretly excited, like all new states, by two equally intemperate parties. As for the Cisalpine, it was a prey to the most vehement passions. The spirit of locality divided the Cisalpines, who belonged to old states dismembered by Bonaparte. Besides this spirit of locality, the agents of Austria, the nobles, the priests, and the furious democrats, violently agitated the new republic. But the democrats were the most dangerous, because they had a powerful support in the army of Italy, composed, as we have seen, of the most fiery patriots in France. The Directory had as much trouble to direct the spirit of these armies in foreign countries as that of its ministers, and in this particular it had as many difficulties to surmount as in every other. It had not yet appointed any minister to the new republic. Berthier, in quality of commander-in-chief, still represented the French government. It was requisite to fix by a treaty of alliance the relations of the new republic with the mother state. This was drawn up in Paris, and sent for the ratification of the Councils. The two republics formed an alliance offensive and defensive for all cases; and, till the Cisalpine should have a military establishment, France was to grant the succour of twenty-five thousand men on the following conditions. The Cisalpine was to furnish buildings for barracks, hospitals, and magazines, and ten millions per annum for the subsistence of the twenty-five thousand men. In case of war, she was to furnish an extraordinary subsidy. France gave up to the Cisalpine great part of the

* "At a public dinner Delacroix exclaimed, 'Is there no Batavian who will plunge a poniard into the Constitution, on the altar of his country?' Amid the fumes of wine and the riot of intoxication, the plan for its assassination was soon adopted; on the night of the 22d of January, the barriers were closed, the French troops were called out, and, early the next day, the Assembly, under the dictation of French bayonets, introduced a form of government on the model of that already established in France."

Alison. E.

artillery taken from the enemy for the purpose of arming her fortresses. These conditions were not exorbitant; yet many of the Cisalpine deputies in the Council of the Ancients, who were unfavourably disposed towards the republican system and France, pretended that this treaty was too burdensome, that advantage was taken of the dependence in which the new state was placed, and they rejected the treaty. In this there was evident malice. Bonaparte, being obliged to select the persons composing the councils and the government, had not been able to ascertain the sentiments of them all, and it became necessary to make some changes. The existing councils, nominated according to martial law by Bonaparte, were modified in a similar manner by Berthier. The latter removed some of the most obstinate members, and then submitted the treaty, which was immediately accepted. It was unlucky that France was again obliged to suffer her hand to be seen; for Austria instantly asserted that, notwithstanding all the promises made at Campo Formio, the Cisalpine was not an independent republic, but evidently a French province. She raised difficulties concerning the admission of Marescalchi, the minister accredited to her by the Cisalpine.

The territory formed by France and the new republics dovetailed with yet feudal Europe in a most dangerous manner for the peace of both systems. Switzerland, still wholly feudal, though republican, was encircled by France, Savoy which had become a French province, and the Cisalpine. Piedmont, with which France had contracted an alliance, was enclosed by France, Savoy, the Cisalpine, and Liguria. The Cisalpine and Liguria enveloped the Parmesan and Tuscany, and might communicate their fever to Rome and Naples. The Directory had recommended the greatest reserve to its agents, and had forbidden them to hold out any hopes to the democrats. Guingéné in Piedmont, Caccia in Tuscany, Joseph Bonaparte* at Rome, Trouvé at Naples, had express orders to testify the most amicable dispositions towards the princes in whose capitals they resided. They were to assure them that the Directory had no intention whatever to propagate revolutionary principles; that it would content itself with maintaining the republican system where it was already established, but that it would take no steps to extend it to powers who behaved honourably to France. The intentions of the Directory were sincere and discreet. Its wishes, it is true, were favourable to the progress of the Revolution, but it meant no

* "Joseph Bonaparte, the eldest brother of Napoleon, was born at Ajaccio, in 1768. He was designed for his law, but the invasion of Corsica by the English in 1793, compelled him, with the rest of his family, to seek refuge in France. When his brother seized the imperial sceptre, Joseph was laden with honours both civil and military, raised to the throne of Naples; and afterwards, in 1808, to that of Spain. He was, however, compelled to fly from the kingdom, in consequence of the decisive overthrow he met with at Vittoria. In 1814, after his brother's abdication, he retired to Switzerland, where he bought a valuable estate. In the following year, he returned to Paris, but after the battle of Waterloo, escaped to the United States, and established himself in the vicinity of Philadelphia, under the name of Count Survilliers."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*.—After the overthrow of Charles X., Joseph returned to Europe, and is still, we believe, residing on the continent. E.

"You would seldom see a better countenance than that of Joseph Bonaparte. With masculine strength and expression, it combines a mild, intelligent smile. Joseph is well read, not only in our literature, but in that of Italy and England. He loves poetry and the belles lettres, and takes pleasure in surrounding himself with learned and scientific men. It has been said that his character is weak and false. He has goodness of heart, gentleness, clemency, and accuracy of judgment. His conduct, during his unfortunate reign in Spain, was, on the whole, admirable. He left France with great regret; and entreated his brother not to force a crown on him."—*Duchess d'Angoulême*. E.

longer to propagate it by arms. It was desirous, if revolution should break out in fresh states, to afford no occasion to reproach France with an active participation. Besides, Italy was full of princes, relatives or allies of the great powers, whom it was impossible to injure without running the risk of new hostilities. Austria would not fail to interfere in behalf of Tuscany, of Naples, and, perhaps, of Piedmont; Spain would certainly interfere on account of the Prince of Parma. It was requisite, therefore, to make a point, if new events should break out, of not having the responsibility of them.

Such were the instructions of the Directory; but the passions are not to be governed, and especially the passion for liberty. Could France prevent the French, Ligurian, and Cisalpine democrats from corresponding with the Piedmontese, Tuscan, Roman and Neapolitan democrats, and from communicating to them the warmth of their opinions, their encouragement, and their hopes? They told them that policy forbade the French government to interfere ostensibly in the revolutions which were everywhere preparing, but that it would protect them when once effected; that they must have the courage to attempt them, and succours would immediately arrive.

Agitation pervaded all the Italian states. Arrests were multiplied there, and the accredited ministers of France confined themselves to the duty of claiming, occasionally, the persons unjustly confined. In Piedmont, the apprehensions were numerous, but the intercession of France was frequently successful. In Tuscany, great moderation prevailed. At Naples, there was a class of men who shared the new opinions; but the court, equally malicious and senseless, combated those opinions by chains and punishments. Trouvé, our ambassador, was overwhelmed with humiliations. He was sequestered, like one infected with the plague. The Neapolitans were forbidden to visit him. He had even found great difficulty in procuring a physician for himself. Those who have accused of having had communication with the French legation, and who wore their hair cropped, and without powder, were thrown into prison. The letters of the French ambassador were seized, unsealed, and kept by the Neapolitan police for ten or twelve days. Frenchmen had been assassinated. Even when Bonaparte was in Italy, he had great difficulty in restraining the fury of the court of Naples, and now that he was no longer there, it is easy to conceive what it must have been capable of. The French government was strong enough to punish it severely for its faults; but to avoid disturbing the general peace, it had directed Trouvé, its minister, to observe the utmost moderation, to confine himself to remonstrances, and to strive to bring it back to reason.

The government that was nearest to its ruin was the Papal Government. This was not for want of defending itself; it ordered arrests also; but an aged Pope, whose pride was humbled, and aged, incapable cardinals, could scarcely uphold a state tottering on all sides. Already, at the suggestion of the Cisalpines, the March of Ancona had revolted, and formed itself into the Anconitan republic. Thence the democrats excited rebellion throughout the whole of the Roman states. They had, indeed, no great number of partisans there, but they were strongly seconded by the public discontent. The papal government had lost that splendour which dazzled the eyes of the people, since the contributions imposed at Tolentino had obliged it to give up even the valuable moveables and the precious stones belonging to the Holy See. The new taxes, the creation of paper-money, which are fallen more than two-thirds of its value, and the aliena-

tion of one-fifth of the property of the clergy, had dissatisfied all classes, and even the ecclesiastics themselves. The grandees of Rome, who had acquired some of the knowledge diffused throughout Europe during the eighteenth century, loudly murmured against a feeble, silly government, and said that it was high time the temporal rule of the Roman states should be transferred from the hands of ignorant, incapable monks, unacquainted with secular affairs, to those of real citizens, experienced in the business of life and possessing a knowledge of the world. Thus the dispositions of the Roman people were by no means favourable to the Pope. The democrats, however, were far from numerous. They inspired prejudices on the score of religion, to which they were supposed to be enemies. The French artists at Rome excited them much; but Joseph Bonaparte strove to repress them, saying that they were not strong enough to attempt a decisive movement; that they would ruin themselves and compromise France to no purpose; that, besides, she would not support them, but leave them exposed to the consequences of their imprudence.

On the 6th of Nivose (December 26, 1797), they came to apprise him that there would be a movement. He sent them away, exhorting them to keep quiet, but they paid no attention to the French minister. The system of all the dabblers in revolutions was that they ought to be daring, and to involve France even against her will. They assembled accordingly, on the 8th of Nivose (December 28), to attempt a movement. Dispersed by the Pope's dragoons, they sought refuge in the jurisdiction of the French ambassador, and under the piazza of the Corsini palace where he resided. Joseph hastened thither with some French military men, and among them General Duphot, a very distinguished young officer of the army of Italy. His intention was to interpose between the papal troops and the insurgents, in order to prevent a massacre. But the papal troops, regardless of the ambassador, fired and killed the unfortunate Duphot by his side.* This young man was on the point of marriage with a sister-in-law of Joseph. His death produced an extraordinary commotion. Several foreign ambassadors, particularly the Spanish minister, d'Azara, hastened to Joseph's residence. The Roman government alone waited fourteen hours without sending to the minister of France, though he had written to it repeatedly during the day. Joseph indignantly demanded passports. They were given to him, and he set out immediately for Tuscany.

This event produced a strong sensation. It was evident that the Roman government might have prevented this commotion, which was foreseen at Rome two days before, but that it purposely suffered it to break out, in order that it might inflict a severe chastisement on the democrats; and that in the tumult it had not been careful to take such precautions as to prevent a violation of the law of nations and an assault upon the French legation. In the Cisalpine, and among all the Italian patriots, great indignation was immediately manifested against the Roman government. The army of Italy loudly insisted on marching for Rome.

The Directory was extremely embarrassed. It regarded the Pope as the

* "General Duphot, indignant at being restrained by the pontifical troops within the palace of the French ambassador, drew his sword, rushed down the staircase, and put himself at the head of one hundred and fifty armed Roman democrats, who were contending with the dragoons in the courtyard of the palace; he was immediately killed by a discharge ordered by a sergeant commanding the patrol of the papal troops; and the ambassador himself, who had followed to appease the tumult, narrowly escaped the same fate."—*Alison*. E.

spiritual head of the party inimical to the Revolution. It was strongly tempted to destroy the pontiff of that ancient and tyrannical Christian religion, in spite of the danger of offending the powers and provoking their interference. But, how great soever might be the inconveniences of a hostile determination, the revolutionary passions triumphed on this occasion, and the Directory ordered General Berthier, who commanded in Italy, to march upon Rome. It hoped that, as the Pope was neither the kinsman nor the ally of any court, his fall would not provoke any powerful interference.

Great was the joy of all the republicans and partisans of the new French philosophy. On the 22d of Pluviose (February 10, 1798), Berthier came in sight of the ancient capital of the world, which the republican armies had not yet visited. Our soldiers paused for a moment to survey the old and magnificent city. The Spanish minister, d'Azara, the usual mediator of the Italian powers with France, hastened to the head-quarters to negotiate a convention. The Castle of St. Angelo was delivered up to the French on the natural condition between civilized nations, to respect religion, the public establishments, persons, and property. The Pope was left in the Vatican, and Berthier, introduced at the Porta di Popolo, was conducted to the Capitol, like the Roman generals of old in their triumphs. The democrats, at the summit of their wishes, assembled in the Campo Vaccino, in sight of the remains of the ancient Forum, and, surrounded by a senseless rabble, ready to applaud all new events, proclaimed the Roman republic. A notary drew up an act by which the populace, calling itself the Roman people, declared that it resumed its sovereignty and constituted itself a republic. The Pope had been left alone in the Vatican. Messengers were sent to demand the abdication of his temporal sovereignty, for there was no intention of meddling with his spiritual authority. He replied with dignity that he could not divest himself of a property which was not his, but which had devolved on him from the apostles, and was only a deposit in his hands. This logic had little effect upon our republican generals. The Pope, treated with the respect due to his age, was removed in the night from the Vatican and conveyed into Tuscany, where he received asylum in a convent. The Roman people seemed to feel little regret for this sovereign, who had nevertheless reigned more than twenty years.

Unfortunately, outrages, not against persons but against property, sullied the entry of the French into the ancient capital of the world. There was no longer at the head of the army that severe and inflexible commander, who, not so much from virtue as from a horror of disorder, had so severely punished plunderers. Bonaparte alone could have curbed rapacity in so wealthy a country. Berthier had set out for Paris. Massena had succeeded him. This hero, to whom France will owe everlasting gratitude for having saved her at Zurich from apparently inevitable ruin, was accused of having set the first example. It was soon followed. The French proceeded to plunder the palaces, the convents, and the rich collections. Jews in the train of the army purchased at a low price the magnificent objects placed in their hands by the depredators. The pillage was revolting. It is right to observe that it was neither the subaltern officers nor the soldiers who were guilty of these disorders, but the superior officers. All the articles which they took away, and which were ours by right of conquest, ought to have been collected in a *depôt* and sold for the benefit of the army, which had not received pay for five months. It had come from

the Cisalpine, the defective financial organization of which had hitherto prevented it from paying the subsidy agreed upon by our treaty. The soldiers and the inferior officers were in the most deplorable state of destitution; they were indignant at seeing their chief gorged with spoils, and compromising the glory of the French name, without any advantage to the army. A mutiny broke out against Massena. The officers assembled in a church, and declared that they would serve under him no longer.* Part of the population, unfavourably disposed towards the French, prepared to seize the moment of this misunderstanding to attempt a movement. Massena withdrew the army from Rome, leaving a garrison in the Castle of St. Angelo. The danger put an end to the mutiny, but the officers persisted in continuing united, and in demanding the punishment of the plunderers, and the recall of Massena.†

We thus see that to the difficulty of moderating the march of the new republics, and of choosing and directing our agents, was added that of curbing the armies, and all this at immense distances for the administrative communications. The Directory recalled Massena, and sent to Rome a commission composed of four upright and enlightened men, to organize the new republic. These were Daunou, Monge, Florent, and Faypoult. The latter, an able and honest administrator, was charged with every thing connected with the finances. The army of Italy was divided into two; that which had just dethroned the Pope, was called the army of Rome.

The next point was to justify the new revolution to the foreign powers. Spain, whose piety might have afforded cause for apprehension, but who was under French influence, said nothing. But self-interest is more intractable than religious zeal. Hence the two most discontented courts were those of Vienna and Naples. That of Vienna saw with pain the influence of France spreading in Italy. In order not to aggravate her grievances, it was resolved not to incorporate the new republic with the Cisalpine. It was, therefore, constituted separately. To have united the two would have too rudely awakened the idea of Italian unity, and afforded ground for believing in the plan for democratising all Italy. Though the emperor had not yet sent a minister to Paris, Bernadotte was despatched to give him explanations, and to reside in Vienna. As for the court of Naples, its rage was extreme on beholding the revolution at its doors. It demanded nothing less than two or three Roman provinces to pacify it. It coveted, in particular, the duchy of Benevento and the territory of Ponte Corvo, which

* "The third cause of the general discontent, said the army, at a meeting of the officers held at the Pantheon, is the arrival of General Massena. The soldiers have not forgotten the extortions and robberies he has committed wherever he has been invested with the command. The Venetian territory, and above all, Padua, are a district teeming with proofs of his immorality."—*Prince Hardenberg's Memoirs*. E.

† "To such a height did the disorders rise, that they excited the indignation of the army itself; for while the agents of the Directory were enriching themselves, and sullying the name of France by unheard-of spoliation, the inferior officers and soldiers were suffering the greatest privations. For several months they had been without pay, their clothes were worn out, their feet bare, their knapsacks empty. Indignant at the painful contrast which their condition offered to that of the civil agents, and comparing their penury with the luxurious condition of the corps stationed in the Cisalpine republic, the officers and soldiers in and round Rome, broke out into open and unmeasured terms of vituperation. The discontents wore so alarming an aspect that Massena, who had assumed the command, ordered all the troops, excepting three thousand, to leave the capital. But they refused to obey, and he was compelled to abandon the command"—*Alison*. E.

ay very conveniently for it. Garat was sent to arrange matters with that court; and Trouvé was destined for the Cisalpine.

The revolution was thus making inevitable and much more rapid progress than the Directory could have wished. We have already mentioned a country into which it threatened to introduce itself, namely, Switzerland. It would seem as if Switzerland, that ancient abode of liberty and of simple and pastoral manners, had nothing to receive from France, and as if it alone had no revolution to undergo; yet, though the thirteen cantons were governed with republican forms, it did not thence follow that equity prevailed in the mutual relations of these petty republics, and especially in their relations with their subjects. Feudalism, which is but the military hierarchy, existed among these republics, and there were people dependent on other people, as a vassal upon his liege lord, and groaning under an iron yoke. The Aargau and the canton of Vaud were dependent on the aristocracy of Berne; the Lower Valais on the Upper Valais; the Italian bailiwicks, that is, the valleys sloping towards Italy, on various cantons. There were, moreover, great numbers of communes dependent on certain towns. The canton of St. Gall was governed feudally by a convent. All the subject countries had become so only in virtue of conditions contained in charters consigned to oblivion, and which it was forbidden to bring forth to the light. The country was almost everywhere dependent on the towns, and subject to the most vexatious monopolies; and nowhere was the tyranny of trade-guilds so oppressive. In all the governments, the aristocracy had gradually possessed itself of the whole power. In Berne, the principal of these petty states, a few families had seized the supreme authority, and excluded all others from it for ever; they had their golden book, in which all the ruling families were inscribed. Manners frequently mitigate the laws. That was not the case here. There aristocracies revenged themselves with a keenness of spite peculiar to petty states. Berne, Zurich, Geneva, had frequently, and very recently, too, exhibited the spectacle of executions. Throughout Europe there were Swiss, who were either forcibly banished, or who had withdrawn themselves by voluntary exile from aristocratic vengeance. Finally, ill united, imperfectly bound to one another, the thirteen cantons had now no strength; they were rendered incapable of defending their liberty. From that feeling of bad brotherhood so common in federative states, almost all of them had recourse in their quarrels to the neighbouring powers, and had particular treaties, some with Austria, others with Piedmont, and others again with France. Switzerland, therefore, was but a glorious recollection and an admirable soil. Politically, it exhibited only a chain of petty and humiliating tyrannies.

The reader may now conceive what effect the example of the French Revolution must have produced in its bosom. Zurich, Basle, and Geneva, were agitated. In this latter city, in particular, the disturbances had been attended with bloodshed. Throughout the whole French part, and especially in the Pays de Vaud, revolutionary sentiments had made great progress. The Swiss aristocrats, on their part, had omitted nothing that could do disservice to France, and had studied to displease her as much as they could without provoking her omnipotence. The gentlemen of Berne had welcomed the emigrants, and rendered them all the services that lay in their power. It was in Switzerland that all the plots hatched against the republic were devised. It will be recollected that it was at Basle that Wickham, the English agent, guided all the threads of the counter-revolution. The Directory had a right, then, to be dissatisfied. It had one very

easy way of revenging itself on Switzerland. The Vaudois, persecuted by the gentry of Berne, invoked the interference of France. When the Duke of Savoy ceded them to Berne, France had undertaken to guarantee their rights by a treaty, dated 1565; that treaty had several times been appealed to and executed by France. There was nothing extraordinary, therefore, in the interference of the Directory, claimed on this occasion by the Vaudois. Besides, several of those petty dependent districts had foreign protectors.

We have seen with what enthusiasm the Vaudois received the liberator of the Valteline, when passing through Switzerland, on his way from Milan to Rastadt. The Vaudois, full of hope, had sent deputies to Paris, and earnestly solicited the protection of France.* Their countryman, the brave and unfortunate Laharpe, had died for us in Italy, at the head of one of our divisions. They were cruelly oppressed, and, without any political reason, mere humanity would suffice to induce France to interfere. It was not to be conceived that France, with her new principles, would refuse to enforce treaties conservative of the liberty of a neighbouring people, and executed even by the ancient monarchy. Policy alone would have prevented her, for it was giving a new alarm to Europe, especially at the very moment when the pontifical throne at Rome was crumbling to pieces. But France, which was desirous of conciliating Germany, Piedmont, Parma, Tuscany, and Naples, thought that she did not owe the same forbearance to Switzerland; and was anxious, in particular, to establish a government similar to her own in a country which was considered as the military key to all Europe. In this case, as in regard to Rome, the Directory was drawn beyond the line of its watching policy by a more important interest. To place the Alps in friendly hands was a motive as powerful as that of overthrowing the papacy.

In consequence, on the 8th of Nivose (December 28, 1797), it declared that it took the Vaudois under its protection, and that the members of the governments of Berne and Friburg should be answerable for the safety of their persons and property. General Menard, at the head of the division that was lately Massena's, immediately recrossed the Alps, and encamped at Carouge, in sight of the Lake of Geneva. General Schaumburg ascended the Rhine with a division of the army of Germany, and took post at Erguel, in the environs of Basle. At this signal there was a burst of joy in the Pays de Vaud, in the bishopric of Basle, and in the country of Zurich. The Vaudois immediately demanded their ancient states. Berne replied that it would receive individual petitions, but that there should be no assemblies of states, and required the renewal of the oath of allegiance. This was the signal for insurrection to the Vaudois. The bailiffs, whose tyranny was odious, were expelled, but without being otherwise ill-treated; trees of liberty were everywhere planted, and in a few days the Pays de Vaud constituted itself into the Lemanic republic. The Directory recognised it, and ordered General Menard to occupy it, signifying at the same time to the canton of Berne that its independence was guaranteed by

* "The revolutionary deputies of the Pays de Vaud presented the following address to Napoleon:—"The deputies of the Pays de Vaud, whom the generous protection of the Directory has so powerfully aided, desire to lay their homage at your feet. They owe it the more, because it was your passage through their country which electrified the inhabitants, and was the precursor of the thunderbolt which has overwhelmed the oligarchy. The Helvetians swore, when they beheld the Liberator of Italy, to recover their rights."—*Napoleon's Confidential Correspondence*. E.

France. Meanwhile, a revolution was taking place at Basle. Ochs, the tribune, a clever man, a staunch partisan of the Revolution, and in close connexion with the French government, was the principal mover in it. The people of the country had been admitted with the citizens to form a kind of national convention, for the purpose of framing a constitution. Ochs was its author: it was a copy of that of France, which then served as the model for all republican Europe. It was translated into the three languages, French, German, and Italian, and circulated in all the cantons, to excite their zeal. Mengaud, who was the French agent to the cantons, and who resided at Basle, contributed to give the impulse. In Zurich, the people of the country had revolted, and insisted on being reinstated in their rights.

Meanwhile, the gentry of Berne had collected an army, and convoked a general diet at Aarau, to consider of the state of Switzerland, and to demand the federal contingent from each canton. They circulated among their German subjects a report that the French part of Switzerland wished to separate from the confederation and to unite itself with France; that religion was threatened; and that the atheists of Paris aimed at destroying it. By these representations they drew from the mountains of the Oberland a simple, ignorant, fanatic population, persuaded that their ancient religion was about to be attacked. They collected nearly twenty thousand men, divided into three corps, which were stationed at Friburg, Murten, Buren, and Solothurn, guarding the line of the Aar, and watching the French. In the meantime, that is to say in Pluviose (February, 1798), the diet assembled at Aarau was embarrassed and knew not what course to pursue. Its presence did not prevent the inhabitants of Aarau from rising, planting the tree of liberty, and declaring themselves free. The Bernese troops entered Aarau, cut down the tree of liberty, and committed some excesses there. Mengaud, the agent, declared the people of Aarau under the protection of France.

The parties were thus arrayed against each other without being yet at open war. France, called upon by the people whose guarantee she was, covered them with her troops, and threatened to employ force, in case the least violence was committed against them. The Bernese aristocracy, on its part, claimed the rights of sovereignty, and declared that it wished to live at peace with France, but to be reinstated in its possessions. Unfortunately for it, all the old governments round about were falling either voluntarily or by violence. Basle emancipated, as far as it was concerned, the Italian bailiwicks; the Upper Valais emancipated the Lower Valais. Friburg, Solothurn, and St. Gall were in revolution. The Bernese aristocracy, finding itself pressed on all sides, made up its mind to some concessions, and admitted fifty persons from the country to share the prerogatives hitherto reserved for the ruling families; but it deferred all modification of the constitution for a year. This was but an empty concession, which could not make any amends. A French flag of truce had been sent to the Bernese troops posted on the frontiers of the Pays de Vaud, to give them notice that they would be attacked if they advanced. The bearer was assaulted, and two horsemen belonging to his escort were murdered. This circumstance decided for war. Brune, appointed to the command, had some conferences at Payerne, but they were fruitless, and on the 12th of Ventose (March 2d), the French troops broke up. General Schaumburg, with the division which had come from the Rhine and which was stationed in the territory of Basle, made himself master of Solothurn and of the course of

the Aar. Brune, with the division from Italy, took possession of Friburg. General Erlach, who commanded the Bernese troops, retired into the positions of Fraubrunnen, Guminen, Laupen, and Neueneck. These positions cover Berne on every side, whether the enemy debouches from Solothurn or from Friburg. This retreat produced among the Bernese troops the usual effect of such a movement upon fanatic and undisciplined bands. They cried out that they were betrayed, and murdered their officers. Part of them dispersed. Erlach, however, had still about him some of those battalions, distinguished in all the armies of Europe by their discipline and their bravery, and a certain number of resolute peasants. On the 15th of Ventose (March 5th), Brune, who was on the Friburg road, and Schaumburg on that of Solothurn, attacked simultaneously the positions of the Swiss army. General Pigeon, who formed Brune's advanced guard, attacked the position of Neueneck. The Swiss made an heroic resistance, and, favoured by the advantage of the ground, barred the way to our veteran bands of Italy. But, at the same moment, Schaumburg, who had come from Solothurn, took from Erlach the position of Fraubrunnen, and the city of Berne was thus uncovered on one side. The Swiss were forced to retreat, and they fell back in disorder upon Berne. The French found before the city a multitude of fanatic and desperate mountaineers. Women and old men came and threw themselves upon their bayonets. They were compelled to sacrifice with regret these unfortunate wretches, who sought in this manner a useless death. They entered Berne. The people of the mountains upheld their ancient reputation for valour, but they proved themselves as blind and as ferocious as the rabble of Spain. They again murdered their officers, and among them the unfortunate Erlach.* Steiger, the celebrated *avoyer* of Berne, the chief of the Bernese aristocracy, had a narrow escape from the fury of the fanatics, and fled across the mountains of the Oberland to the little cantons, and from them into Bavaria.

The taking of Berne decided the submission of all the great Swiss cantons. Brune, called, as our generals have so often been, to be the founder of a republic, thought of composing with the French part of Switzerland, the Lake of Geneva, the Pays de Vaud, part of the canton of Berne, and the Valais, a republic to be called the Rhodanic. But the Swiss patriots had wished for a revolution in their country merely in the hope of two great advantages: the abolition of all the dependencies of people upon people, and the Helvetic unity. They desired the overthrow of all internal tyrannies, and the formation of a common force, by the establishment of a central government. In compliance with their wishes, it was resolved that the whole of Switzerland should be formed into a single republic. A meeting was convoked at Aarau, for the purpose of proposing the constitution framed at Basle. The Directory sent Lecarlier, the ex-conventionalist, to meet the views of the Swiss, and to arrange with them the establishment of a constitution which should be satisfactory. Attempts at resistance were preparing in the small mountain cantons of Uri, Glarus, Schwytz, and Zug. The priests and the beaten aristocrats persuaded these unfortunate moun-

* "Deplorable excesses followed the dissolution of the Swiss army. The brave D'Erlach was massacred by the deluded soldiers at Munzingen, as he was endeavouring to reach the small cantons. Steiger, after undergoing incredible hardships, escaped by the mountains of Oberland into Bavaria. Numbers of the bravest officers fell victims to the fury of the troops; and the democratic party, by spreading the belief that they had been betrayed by their leaders, occasioned the destruction of the few men who could have sustained the sinking fortunes of their country."—*Alison*. E.

taineers that the French were coming to overthrow their religion and their independence. Among other absurd reports, they asserted that, as France was in want of soldiers to fight the English, she meant to seize the robust youths of Switzerland, to embark them, and to throw them on the British coasts.

The French, on entering Berne, seized the coffers of the government, which is the usual and the least disputed consequence of the right of war. All the public property of the vanquished government belongs to the victorious government. All these petty, economical, and avaricious states, possessed old savings. Berne had a little hoard, which has furnished all the enemies of France with an ample subject for calumny. It has been estimated at thirty millions; it was really about eight. It has been asserted that France made war merely to possess herself of it, and to devote it to the Egyptian expedition, as if she could have supposed that the authorities of Berne would be so improvident as not to remove it, and as if it were possible that she should plunge into a war and defy the consequences of such an invasion, in order to gain eight millions. These absurdities will not bear the slightest examination.* A contribution was imposed on the members of the old aristocracies of Berne, Friburg, Solothurn, and Zurich, to supply the troops with pay and subsistence.

It was now nearly the end of the winter of 1798 (year VI). Five months had scarcely elapsed since the treaty of Campo Formio, and the situation of Europe was already strangely altered; the republican system was daily becoming more encroaching; to the three republics previously founded by France were now to be added two new ones, created within two months. Europe everywhere rang with the names of Batavian republic, Helvetic republic, Cisalpine republic, Ligurian republic, Roman republic. Instead of three states, France had now five to direct. She was involved in a new complication of business, and had fresh explanations to give to the foreign powers. The Directory found itself thus insensibly carried away. There is nothing more ambitious than a system. It conquers almost always of itself, and frequently even against the will of its authors.

While it was obliged to attend to external affairs, the Directory had also to concern itself about the elections. Ever since the 18th of Fructidor, there had remained in the Councils only such deputies as the Directory had voluntarily left in them, and as it could rely upon. They consisted of all those who had either favoured or suffered the stroke of policy. Six months of tolerable quiet between the executive power and the Councils had elapsed, and the Directory had employed them, as we have seen, in negotiations, in maritime projects, and in the creation of new states. Though great tranquillity had prevailed, it cannot be said that the union was perfect. Two powers having opposite parts to perform, cannot remain in perfect harmony for so long a time.

A new opposition, composed not of royalists but of patriots, was forming. The reader must have already observed that, after a party had been conquered, the government was obliged to enter into a conflict with that which had assisted it to conquer, because the latter became too exacting, and began to revolt in its turn. Since the 9th of Thermidor, the epoch at which the factions, having become equal in strength, had begun to have the alternative of defeats and victories, the patriots had reacted in Germinal and Prairial, and immediately after them the royalists in Vendé-

We find them repeated by Madame de Staël and a great number of writers.

miaire. Since Vendémiaire and the institution of the Directory, the patriots had had their turn, and had been the most audacious till the rash attempt on the camp at Grenelle. From that day the royalists had regained the ascendancy. They had lost it on the 18th of Fructidor, and it was now the patriots' turn to raise their heads. To characterize this state of things, a word was devised which we have seen revived at a later period, that of see-saw. That policy which consists in alternately raising either party, was called a see-saw system. The Directory was reproached with employing it, and thus being by turns the slave of the faction by which it was assisted. This reproach is unjust; for no government, unless it arrives with a victorious sword at the head of affairs, can immolate all the parties at once, and govern without, and in spite of them. At every change of system, one is obliged to make changes of administration, and naturally to call to it those who have manifested opinions conformable with the system which has triumphed. All the members of the victorious party press forward in a body, beset the government, and are ready to attack it if it does not comply with their wishes. All the patriots are stirring, and obtaining the support of the deputies who had voted with the Directory in the Councils. The Directory had resisted many importunities, but had been obliged to comply with some. It had appointed many patriots to be commissioners in the departments (prefects). A great number of others were preparing to seize the opportunity of the elections to get into the legislative body. The authorities recently nominated were a real advantage to them.

Besides, the new opposition, composed of all the patriots who were bent on abusing the 18th of Fructidor, there was another, that which had entitled itself constitutional. It appeared anew; it pretended not to lean either to the royalists or to the patriots; it affected independence, moderation, and attachment to the written law; it comprehended men who, without being carried along by any party, had personal causes for discontent. Some had not been able to obtain an embassy, promotion, a contract for a relative; others had lost the place vacant in the Directory by a few votes. Nothing is more common than this sort of discontent under a new government not long established, composed of men who were but lately in the ranks of mere citizens. It is said that heirship is a curb to ambition, and so it is if it be restricted to certain functions. Nothing can equal the importunity used towards men who were yesterday your equals. You have contributed to appoint them, or perhaps you feel that they are above you merely by the accident of a few votes. It seems as if you had a right to demand and to obtain everything of them. The Directory, without intending it, had made a great number of malcontents among the deputies who were formerly called directorialists, and whom the aid afforded in Fructidor had rendered it extremely difficult to satisfy. One of Bonaparte's brothers, Lucien,* deputed

* "Lucien Bonaparte, in the year 1797, was about twenty-two years of age; he was tall, ill-shaped, having limbs like those of the field-spider, and a small head, which, with his tall stature, would have made him unlike his brothers, had not his physiognomy attested their common parentage. He was very near-sighted, which made him half-shut his eyes and stoop his head. This defect would, therefore, have given him an unpleasant air, if his smile, always in harmony with his features, had not imparted something agreeable to his countenance. Thus, though he was rather plain, he pleased generally. He had very remarkable success with women who were themselves very remarkable, and that long before his brother arrived at power. With respect to understanding and talent, Lucien always displayed abundance of both. In early youth, when he met with a subject he liked, he identified himself with it. He lived at that time in an ideal world. Thus at eighteen, the perusal of Plutarch carried him into the Forum

by Corsica to the Five Hundred, had ranged himself in this constitutional opposition, not that he had any reason for personal discontent, but because he imitated his brother, and assumed the part of censor of the government. It was the attitude which befitted a family that aimed at making for itself a place apart. Lucien was clever, and endowed with a remarkable talent for public speaking. In the tribune, he produced great effect, especially surrounded as he was by his brother's glory. Joseph, on leaving Rome, had returned to Paris, where he kept house in high style, receiving a great number of generals, deputies, and eminent persons. The two brothers, Joseph and Lucien, could thus do many things which etiquette and his great reserve forbade the general to do.

If, however, public opinion, which for six months past had been nearly unanimous, now began to assume various shades, no striking difference was yet perceptible. Moderation, politeness, pervaded the Councils, and an immense majority approved of all the propositions of the Directory.

Everything indicated that the elections of the year VI would be favourable to the patriots. It was their turn. They had the ascendancy in France and in all the new republics. The Directory had determined to employ all legal means to avoid being overthrown by them. Its commissioners issued moderate circulars, which contained exhortations but no threats. It had not, however, at its disposal, any of the influences or the infamous tricks devised in our days, for directing elections according to the pleasure of power. In the elections of the year V, some assemblies were divided, and, to avoid violence, a portion of the electors had gone and voted apart. This example was proposed in the electoral assemblies of this year; almost everywhere schisms took place; almost everywhere the electors in the minority alleged some infraction of the law, or some violence exercised towards them, as a pretext for assembling apart, and making their particular election. It is right to observe that in many departments the patriots behaved with their accustomed turbulence, and justified the secession of their adversaries. In some of the assemblies, it was the patriots who were in a minority and who seceded; but almost everywhere they had a majority, because the mass of the population, which was adverse to them, and which had thronged to the elections of the years V and VI, now intimidated by the 18th of Fructidor, had withdrawn, as it were, from public affairs, and durst not take any part in them. In Paris, the agitation was very great. There were two assemblies, one at the Oratoire, composed entirely of patriots, and comprehending, at least, six hundred electors; the other at the Institute, composed of moderate republicans, and amounting to no more than two hundred and twenty-eight electors. The choice made by the latter was excellent.

The elections, in general, had been double. Already the malcontents, the lovers of novelty, those who, from all sorts of motives, wished to modify the existing order of things, cried, "This will never do; after making an 18th of Fructidor against the royalists, we are liable to have to make another against the patriots." Already they circulated reports that the constitution was about to be changed; a proposition to that effect was even made to the Directory, by which it was peremptorily rejected.

There were different courses to take with respect to the elections. If

and the Pyrræus. He was a Greek with Demosthenes, a Roman with Cicero; he espoused all the ancient glories, but he was intoxicated with those of our own time. Those, who, because they had no conception of this enthusiasm, alleged that he was jealous of his brother, have asserted a wilful falsehood, if they have not fallen into a most egregious error."—*Duchess d'Abantes*. E.

they were to act upon rigorous principles, the Councils must sanction the elections made by the majorities; otherwise, the consequence would be that the minorities, by separating themselves, would have the faculty of prevailing and carrying the nominations. Violence, illegal proceedings, might be a reason for annulling the choice made by the majorities, but not for adopting the choice of the minorities. The patriots in the Councils insisted strongly on this opinion, because, their party having been much more numerous in almost all the assemblies, they would then have gained the cause. But the mass of the two Councils was anxious to prevent them from gaining their cause, and two expedients were proposed; either to choose between the nominations made by the schismatic assemblies, or to make a new 18th of Fructidor. The latter was inadmissible; the former was much milder and much more natural. It was adopted. Almost everywhere the elections of the patriots were annulled, and those of their adversaries confirmed. The elections made in Paris, in the assembly at the Institute, though it contained only two hundred and twenty-eight electors, while that at the Oratoire comprehended six hundred, were approved of. In spite of this system, however, the new third brought a real reinforcement to the patriotic party in the two Councils. That party was highly incensed at the expedient adopted for excluding the men of its choice, and became somewhat more animated against the Directory.

It became necessary to choose a new director. The lot designated François de Neufchâteau as the member who was to retire. He was succeeded by Treilhard, one of our plenipotentiaries at Rastadt. Treilhard had precisely the same opinions as Lareveillère, Rewbel, and Merlin. He produced no change in the spirit of the Directory. He was an honest man, with considerable experience in business. Thus there were in the government four sincere republicans, voting absolutely alike, and combining intelligence with integrity. Treilhard was succeeded at Rastadt by Jean Debry, formerly a member of the legislature and of the National Convention.

Since the parties had been obliged, by the establishment of the constitution of the year III, to combat within the narrow space of a constitution, the scenes in the interior had been less violent. Since the 18th of Fructidor, in particular, the tribune had lost much of its importance. All eyes were turned abroad. The great influence of the republic in Europe, her singular and multiplied relations with foreign powers, her train of republics, the revolutions which she was everywhere effecting, her designs against England, engrossed the whole attention. How would France set about attacking her rival, and contrive to inflict upon her blows as severe as she had already struck Austria?—Such was the question that people asked themselves. They were accustomed to such boldness and such prodigies, that they saw nothing surprising in the crossing of the Channel. The friends and enemies of England alike conceived her to be in great danger. She herself believed that she was seriously threatened, and made extraordinary efforts for defending herself. The whole world had its eyes fixed on the Strait of Calais.

Bonaparte, who was thinking of Egypt as he had thought two years previously of Italy, as he thought of everything, that is, with irresistible violence,* had submitted his plan to the Directory, which was at that

* “ Napoleon had for some time been influenced by an ardent desire to effect a revolution in the East; he was literally haunted by the idea of the glory which had been

moment discussing it. The great geniuses who have considered the map of the world have all thought of Egypt. We may mention three, Albuquerque, Leibnitz, and Bonaparte. Albuquerque had conceived that the Portuguese, who had just opened a way to India by the Cape of Good Hope, might be deprived of that important trade, if any other nation should make use of the Nile and the Red Sea. He formed, therefore, the gigantic idea of diverting the course of the Nile and throwing it into the Red Sea, in order to render that way utterly impracticable, and to secure for ever to the Portuguese the commerce of India. Vain foresight of genius, which strives to render all things eternal in a changing and shifting world! Had Albuquerque's plan been carried into effect, it was for the Dutch, and subsequently for the English, that he would have laboured. Under Louis XIV. the great Leibnitz, whose mind embraced all things, addressed a memorial to the French Monarch, which is one of the most splendid monuments of political reasoning and eloquence. Louis XIV. had resolved, for the sake of a few medals, to invade Holland. "Sire," said Leibnitz, "it is not at home that you will be able to conquer those republicans; you will not cross their dikes, and you will range all Europe on their side. It is in Egypt that you must strike them. There you will find the real track of the commerce of India; you will wrest that commerce from the Dutch, you will secure for ever the dominion of France in the Levant, you will rejoice all Christendom, you will fill the world with astonishment and admiration: Europe will applaud instead of leaguering against you."

It was these vast conceptions, neglected by Louis XIV., that filled the head of the young republican general.

Egypt had very recently been again thought of. M. de Choiseul had entertained the idea of occupying it when all the American colonies were in danger. It once more became an object of attention, when Joseph II. and Catherine threatened the Ottoman empire. Still more recently, M. Magallon, the French consul at Cairo, a man of superior abilities and thoroughly acquainted with the state of Egypt and the East, had sent memorials to the government, either to complain of the extortions practised by the Mamelukes upon French commerce, or to explain the advantages that would accrue from taking vengeance upon them. Bonaparte had surrounded himself with all these documents, and had formed his plan from the contents of them. Egypt was, in his opinion, the real stepping-stone between Europe and India; it was there that France ought to establish herself in order to ruin England; thence she would for ever command the Mediterranean, make it, to use one of his own expressions, *a French lake*, and insure the existence of the Turkish empire, or to be at hand to seize the best portion of the spoil. Once established in Egypt, she would have it in her power to do two things—either to create a navy in the Red Sea, and proceed to destroy the settlements of the English in the great Indian peninsula; or make Egypt a colony and an entrepôt. The commerce of India could not fail soon to flow into that channel, and to forsake the Cape of Good Hope. All the caravans of Syria, Arabia, and Africa, already met at Cairo. The trade of those countries alone might become immense. Egypt was the most fertile country in the world. Besides a great abundance of the different sorts of grain, it was capable

there acquired, and was firmly convinced that the power of England could never be effectually humbled except by a blow at its Indian possessions. 'The Persians,' said he, 'have blocked up the route of Tamerlane; I will discover another.'—*Bourrienne*. E.

of furnishing all the productions of America, and of superseding them entirely. Thus, whether Egypt were made a point of departure for the purpose of attacking the English settlements or a mere entrepôt, the occupation of that country would be certain to bring back commerce on a large scale into its true channels, and to make those channels lead to France.

In the next place, this daring enterprise would, in the estimation of Bonaparte, have the advantage of being well-timed. According to the luminous reports of Magallon, the consul, this was the very moment for an expedition to Egypt. By hastening the preparations and the voyage, it might arrive there very early in the summer. It would then find the harvest finished and got in, and the wind favourable for ascending the Nile. Bonaparte maintained that it would be impossible to land before winter in England; that, besides, she was too well forewarned; that the expedition to Egypt, being totally unexpected, would meet with no obstacles; that a few months would suffice for the French to establish themselves; and that he would himself return in the autumn to carry into execution the landing in England; that the season would then be favourable; that England would by that time have sent part of her naval force to India, so that there would be fewer obstacles to encounter in order to reach her shores. Besides all these motives, Bonaparte had others of a personal nature. An idle life in Paris was insupportable to him; he saw nothing to be attempted in politics; he was afraid of wearing himself out, and anxious to aggrandize his renown. "Great names," he had observed, "are to be gained only in the East."

The Directory, which has been accused of having desired to get rid of Bonaparte by sending him to Egypt, raised, on the contrary, strong objections to the project. Lareveillère-Lepeaux, in particular, was one of its most obstinate antagonists. He said that the government would be exposing thirty or forty thousand of the best soldiers of France, consigning them to the risk of a naval engagement, and depriving itself of its best general, of the one whom Austria most dreaded, at a moment when the continent was in an unsettled state, and when the creation of the new republics had excited violent resentments; that, moreover, it would probably urge the Porte to take arms by invading one of its provinces. Bonaparte found an answer to every objection. He said that nothing was easier than to give the English the slip by keeping them in ignorance of the project; that France, with three or four hundred thousand soldiers, would not miss thirty or forty thousand; that, as for himself, he should soon return; that the Porte had long ago lost Egypt through the usurpation of the Mamelukes; that she would feel pleasure in seeing France chastise them; that arrangements might be made with her; and that the continent would not so soon break out, and so forth. He also adverted to Malta, which he should take by the way from the Knights, and secure to France. The discussions were extremely warm, and produced a scene which has always been incorrectly described. Bonaparte, in a paroxysm of impatience, dropped the word resignation. "I am far from wishing you to give it," said Lareveillère with firmness; "but, if you offer it, I am of opinion that it ought to be accepted."* From that moment Bonaparte never said a word about resigning.

* This reply has been ascribed by turns to Rewbel and Barras; and a very different cause from the real one has been attributed to this discussion. It was on the subject of the expedition to Egypt and by Lareveillère that this rejoinder was made.

Overcome at last by the importunities and the arguments of Bonaparte, the Directory assented to the proposed expedition. It was seduced by the grandeur of the enterprise, by its commercial advantages, by the promise which Bonaparte gave to return by the winter, and then to attempt a landing in England. It was agreed to observe secrecy, and, that it might be the better kept, the pens of the secretaries were not employed. Merlin, president of the Directory, wrote the order with his own hand, and the order itself did not state the nature of the enterprise. It was agreed that Bonaparte should be empowered to take with him thirty-six thousand men of the old army of Italy; a certain number of officers and generals of his own selection, men of science, engineers, geographers, artisans of all kinds, and the squadron of Brueys, reinforced by some of the ships which had been left at Toulon. Orders were given to the treasury to pay him a million and a half every decade. He was allowed to take three out of the eight millions found in the coffers of Berne. It has been asserted that Switzerland was invaded in order to obtain the means of invading Egypt. The reader is now capable of judging what truth there was in that conjecture.

Bonaparte immediately formed a commission, which was directed to repair to the ports of the Mediterranean, and to prepare there all the means of transport. This commission was entitled, the commission for arming the coasts of the Mediterranean. It knew no more than other people the object of the armament. The secret was confined to Bonaparte and the five directors. As great preparations were making in all the ports at once, it was supposed that the armament in the Mediterranean was connected with that going forward in the ports of the Atlantic. The army assembling on the coast of the Mediterranean was called the left wing of the army of England.

Bonaparte now fell to work with that extraordinary activity which he displayed in the execution of all his plans. Running by turns to the ministers of war, of the marine, and of the finances, and from the ministers to the treasury, seeing with his own eyes to the execution of the orders, using his ascendancy to hasten their despatch, corresponding with all the ports, with Switzerland, with Italy, he caused every preparation to be made with incredible rapidity.* He fixed upon four points for the assemblage of convoys and of troops. The principal convoy was to sail from Toulon, the second from Genna, the third from Ajaccio, the fourth from Civita Vecchia. He ordered the detachments of the army of Italy, which were returning to France, to march towards Toulon and Genoa, and one of the divisions, which had been to Rome, to proceed to Civita Vecchia. He caused contracts to be made both in France and Italy with captains of merchantmen, and thus procured four hundred vessels in the ports which were to serve as points of departure. He collected a numerous artillery; he picked out two thousand five hundred of the best cavalry and had them put on board

* "Bonaparte exerted himself night and day in the execution of his projects. I never saw him so active. He made himself acquainted with the abilities of the respective generals, and the force of all the army corps. Orders and instructions succeeded each other with extraordinary rapidity. If he wanted an order of the Directory, he ran to the Luxembourg to get it signed by one of the directors. Napoleon it was who organized the army of the East, raised money, and collected ships; and it was he who conceived the idea of joining to the expedition men distinguished in science and art, and whose labours have made known, in its present and past state, a country, the very name of which is never pronounced without exciting grand recollections."—*Bourrienne*. E.

without horses, because he intended to mount them at the expense of the Arabs. He resolved to take with him nothing but saddles and harness. He ordered only three hundred horses to be embarked, that on his arrival he might have a few mounted cavalry and harnessed guns. He collected artisans of all kinds. He brought from Rome the Greek and Arabic printing types of the Propaganda, and a company of printers; he formed a complete collection of philosophical and mathematical instruments. The men of science, the artists, the engineers, the draughtsmen, the geographers, whom he took with him, amounted to about one hundred persons. The names of the most illustrious were associated with his enterprise; Monge, Berthollet, Fourier, and Dolomieu, accompanied the expedition, so did also Desgenettes, Larrey, and Dubois. Every one was eager to attach himself to the fortune of the young general. They knew not to what quarter they were bound, but were all ready to accompany him no matter whither. Desaix had gone, during the negotiations at Udine, to visit the fields of battle which had become so celebrated in Italy. From that time he had contracted a friendship with Bonaparte, and he wished to go with him. Kleber was at Chaillot, grumbling, as usual, at the government, and resolved not to solicit any appointment. He frequently called to see the great master of the art of which he was passionately fond. Bonaparte asked him to accompany him. Kleber assented with joy. "But," said he, "how will the *lawyers* like it?" meaning the directors. Bonaparte undertook to remove all obstacles. "Well," said Kleber, who supposed that they were bound for England, "if you throw a fireship into the Thames, put Kleber on board her, and you shall see what he will do." To these two first-rate generals, Bonaparte added Reynier, Dugua, Vaubois, Bon, Menou,* Baraguay-d'Hilliers, Lannes, Murat, Belliard, and Dommartin, who had already so ably seconded him in Italy. The brave and accomplished Caffarelli-Dufalga, who had lost a leg on the Rhine, commanded the engineers. The weak but convenient Berthier was to be the chief of the staff. Detained by a violent passion, he had nearly forsaken the general who had made his fortune. Ashamed of himself, he excused his conduct, and hastened to embark at Toulon. Brueys commanded the squadron, and under him the Rear-admirals, Villeneuve, Blanquet-Duchayla, and Decrès. Gantheaume was the chief of the naval staff. Thus all the most illustrious men in war, in science, and in the arts, that France could produce, hastened, with implicit confidence in the young general, to embark for an unknown destination.

France and Europe rang with rumours of the preparations making in the Mediterranean. Conjectures of all kinds were formed. "Whither is Bonaparte bound?" was the universal question. "Whither are those brave officers, those scientific men, that army, going?"—"They are going," said some, "to the Black Sea, to restore the Crimea to the Porte."—"They are going to India, to assist Tippoo Saib," replied others. Some, coming near the mark, maintained that they were going to cut a canal across the Isthmus of Suez, or to land on the shore of the isthmus, and to embark again in the Red Sea for India. Others, hitting the mark itself, said that they were going to Egypt. A memoir read in the preceding year to the Institute, furnished a ground for this conjecture. Lastly, the most sagacious supposed a much more profound combination. In their opinion,

* "Menou, anxious to justify his conduct at Paris on the 13th of Vendémiaire entreated to be allowed to join the army of the East."—*Thibaudcau*. E.

all these preparations, which seemed to indicate a plan of colonization, were only a feint. Bonaparte intended merely to pass with the Mediterranean squadron through the Strait of Gibraltar, to attack Lord St. Vincent, who was blockading Cadiz, to drive him off, to release the Spanish squadron, and to take it to Brest, where the so much desired junction of all the navies of the continent would be effected. It was for this reason that the Mediterranean expedition was called the left wing of the army of England.

This last conjecture was the very one which predominated in the mind of the English cabinet. It had been for six months past in a state of alarm, and knew not on which side the storm that had been so long gathering, would break. In this anxiety, the opposition had, for a moment, joined the ministry, and made common cause with it. Sheridan had directed his eloquence against the ambition, the encroaching turbulence, of the French people, and acceded on all points, excepting the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, to the proposals of the minister. Pitt had immediately ordered a second squadron to be equipped. Extraordinary efforts were made to send it to sea, and it was reinforced with ten sail of the line from Lord St. Vincent's fleet, to enable it to close the Strait, for which Bonaparte was expected to steer. Nelson* was detached with three sail by Lord St. Vincent, to cruise in the Mediterranean, and to watch the course of the French.

Everything was ready for embarkation. Bonaparte was on the point of setting out for Toulon, when a scene occurred at Vienna, and the dispositions manifested by several cabinets had well-nigh detained him in Europe. The foundation of two new republics had excited the utmost apprehension of revolutionary contagion. England, with a view to foment this fear, had filled all the courts with her emissaries. She urged the new King of Prussia to relinquish his neutrality, and to preserve Germany from the inundation; she endeavoured to work upon the wrong-headed and violent Emperor Paul; she strove to alarm Austria on account of the occupation of the chain of the Alps by the French, and offered him subsidies if he would renew the war; she excited the silly passions of the Queen of Naples and Acton. The last mentioned court was more exasperated than ever. It insisted that France should evacuate Rome, or cede to it part of the Roman provinces. Garat, the new ambassador, had displayed to no purpose the greatest moderation. He could no longer endure the ill-treatment of the Neapolitan cabinet. Thus the state of the continent was such as to produce well-grounded apprehensions, and these were further aggravated

* "Horatio Nelson was born in the year 1758, at Burnham Thorpe, in Norfolk, of which parish his father was rector. At the age of twelve he entered the navy as a midshipman, and in 1773, accompanied Commodore Phipps in an expedition to the North Pole. At the commencement of the war with the French republic, he was made commander of the *Agamemnon*. At the siege of Calvi he lost an eye. At the battle off Cape St. Vincent, he displayed great gallantry, for which he was made a Knight of the Bath, Rear-admiral of the Blue, and appointed to the command of the inner squadron at the blockade of Cadiz. In an unsuccessful attack on the town of Santa Cruz, he lost his right arm. His next achievement was the victory of the Nile, which gained him a peerage and a pension of two thousand pounds. His next service was the restoration of the King of Naples, which was accompanied with circumstances of cruelty, attributable to the influence of Lady Hamilton, with whom Nelson was then intimately connected. In 1801, he was employed on the expedition to Copenhagen, and on his return was created a viscount. His last victory was the decisive one off Cape Trafalgar, where he lost his life. His remains were carried to England, and he was magnificently interred in St. Paul's cathedral. Having left no issue by his wife, an earldom was bestowed on his brother, and a sum of money voted by parliament for the purchase of an hereditary estate."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

by an unforeseen circumstance. Bernadotte had been sent to Vienna, to give explanations to the Austrian cabinet and to reside there, though no ambassador had yet been sent by it to Paris. That general, of a restless and susceptible disposition, was an unfit person for the post which he was destined to fill.

On the 14th of April (23d of Germinal), an entertainment was to be given at Vienna in celebration of the equipment of the Vienna volunteers. The reader will recollect the zeal which these volunteers had manifested in the preceding year, and what fate had befallen them at Rivoli and La Favorita. Bernadotte was indiscreet enough to attempt to oppose this entertainment, alleging that it was an insult to France. The emperor very justly replied, that he was sovereign in his own dominions, that France was at liberty to celebrate her victories, but that he too had a right to celebrate the devotedness of his subjects. Bernadotte determined to reply to one festivity by another; he gave, therefore, an entertainment in his hotel, in celebration of one of the victories of the army of Italy, the anniversary of which it was, and hoisted before his door the tricoloured flag, inscribed with the words, *Liberty, Equality*. The populace of Vienna, excited, it is said, by emissaries of the English ambassador, thronged to the hotel of the French ambassador, broke the windows, and committed other disorders. The Austrian ministry hastened to send protection to Bernadotte, and behaved towards him in a very different manner from what the Roman government had done towards Joseph Bonaparte. Bernadotte, whose imprudence had provoked this event, quitted Vienna and proceeded to Rastadt.

The cabinet of Vienna was extremely sorry for this event. It was clear that this cabinet, even supposing it to be inclined to resume arms, would not have begun by insulting our ambassador and provoking hostilities for which it was not prepared. It is certain, on the contrary, that, though highly dissatisfied with France and her recent encroachments, and foreseeing that it should some day have to renew the conflict with her, it was not yet disposed, and deemed its subjects too much exhausted and its means too feeble, to attack anew the republican colossus. It immediately published a disapprobation of the proceeding, and wrote to Bernadotte for the purpose of appeasing him.

The Directory was inclined to view the event at Vienna in the light of a rupture. It immediately sent counter-orders to Bonaparte, and even wished him to set out for Rastadt, to overawe the emperor, and to force him either to give satisfaction or to decide upon war. Bonaparte, annoyed by the stoppage of his plans, would not go to Rastadt, and, judging of the matter more correctly than the Directory, he declared that the circumstance was not so important as it was conceived to be. Austria, in fact, wrote immediately, that she was at length about to send a minister to Paris, in the person of M. de Degelmann; she appeared to dismiss the directing minister Thugut; she intimated that M. de Cobenzel would repair to any place fixed by the Directory, to enter into explanations with an envoy of France concerning the affair of Vienna, and the changes which had taken place in Europe since the treaty of Campo Formio. The storm, therefore, seemed, to have blown over. Besides, the negotiations at Rastadt had made an important advance. After disputing the left bank foot by foot, after insisting on retaining the tract comprised between the Moselle and the Rhine, and afterwards a small territory between the Roer and the Rhine, the deputation of the Empire had at last conceded the whole of the left bank. The line of the Rhine was at length acknowledged as our natural boundary

Another principle, of not less importance, had been admitted—that of indemnifying the dispossessed princes by means of secularizations. But points not less difficult yet remained to be settled—the appropriation of the islands in the Rhine, the conservation of the fortified posts, bridges, and *têtes de pont*, the fate of the monasteries, and of the immediate nobility on the left bank, the payment of the debts of the countries ceded to France, the manner of enforcing the laws of emigration in them, and so forth. These were questions which it was difficult to resolve, especially with German dilatoriness.

Such was the state of the continent. The horizon seemed somewhat clearer, and Bonaparte at length obtained permission to set out for Toulon. It was agreed that M. de Talleyrand should start immediately afterwards for Constantinople, in order to gain the assent of the Porte to the expedition to Egypt.

THE DIRECTORY.

EXPEDITION TO EGYPT—DEPARTURE FROM TOULON; ARRIVAL OFF MALTA; CONQUEST OF THAT ISLAND—DEPARTURE FOR EGYPT; LANDING AT ALEXANDRIA; CAPTURE OF THAT PLACE—MARCH FOR CAIRO; BATTLE OF CHEBREISS; BATTLE OF THE PYRAMIDS; OCCUPATION OF CAIRO—ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEEDINGS OF BONAPARTE IN EGYPT; ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW COLONY—NAVAL ENGAGEMENT OF ABOUKIR; DESTRUCTION OF THE FRENCH FLEET.

BONAPARTE arrived at Toulon on the 20th of Floreal, year VI (May 9, 1798). His presence rejoiced the army, which began to murmur and to fear that he would not be at the head of the expedition. It was the old army of Italy. It was rich, covered with glory, and one might say of it that *its fortune was made*. Hence it had much less zeal for making war, and it required all the enthusiasm with which the general inspired it, to induce it to embark and proceed to an unknown destination. Nevertheless, on seeing him at Toulon, it was inflamed with ardour. It was eight months since it had seen him. Bonaparte, without acquainting it with its destination, addressed to it the following proclamation :

“Soldiers !

“You are one of the wings of the army of England ; you have waged war in mountains, in plains, at sieges ; you have still to wage maritime war

“The Roman legions, which you have sometimes imitated, but not yet equalled, combated Carthage by turns on the sea and on the plains of Zama. Victory never forsook them, because they were constantly brave, patient in enduring fatigue, well disciplined, and united together.

“Soldiers, the eyes of Europe are upon you ! You have great destinies to fulfil, battles to fight, dangers and hardships to surmount ; you will do more than you have yet done for the prosperity of your country, the happiness of mankind, and your own glory.

“Soldiers, infantry, artillery, cavalry, be united : recollect that on the day of battle you have need of one another.

“Soldiers, seamen, you have hitherto been neglected ; now the greatest solicitude of the republic is for you. You will be worthy of the army of which you form a part.

“The genius of liberty, which had made the republic from her birth the arbitress of Europe, decrees that she shall be so to the most remote seas and nations.”

It was impossible to proclaim an important enterprise in a more worthy manner, and still leave it in the mystery in which it was intended to be enveloped.

The squadron of Admiral Brueys consisted of thirteen sail of the line,

one of which was of 120 guns (L'Orient, which was to carry the admiral and the general), two of 80, and ten of 74. There were, besides, two Venetian ships of 64 guns, six Venetian and eight French frigates, seventy-two brigs, cutters, avisos, gun-boats, and small vessels of all sorts. The transports assembled at Toulon, Genoa, Ajaccio, and Civita Vecchia, amounted to four hundred. They formed thus five hundred sail, which were to float at once upon the Mediterranean. Never had such an armament put to sea. The fleet carried about forty thousand men of all arms, and ten thousand seamen. It had water for one month and provisions for two.

It sailed on the 30th of Floreal (May 19), amid the thunders of the cannon and the cheers of the whole army.* Violent gales did some damage to a frigate on leaving the port. Nelson, who was cruising with three sail of the line, suffered so severely from the same gales that he was obliged to bear up for the island of St. Pierre to refit. He was thus kept at a distance from the French fleet, and did not see it pass. It steered first towards Genoa to join the convoy collected in that port, under the command of General Baraguay d'Hilliers. It then sailed for Corsica, to call for the convoy at Ajaccio, commanded by Vaubois, and afterwards proceeded into the sea of Sicily to join the division of Civita Vecchia, under the command of Desaix. Bonaparte's intention was to stop at Malta, and there to make by the way a bold attempt, the success of which he had long since prepared by secret intrigues. He meant to take possession of that island, which, commanding the navigation of the Mediterranean, became important to Egypt, and could not fail soon to fall into the hands of the English, unless they were anticipated.

The order of the Knights of Malta was like all the institutions of the middle ages. It had lost its object, and with that its dignity and its strength. It was now nothing but an abuse, profitable only to those who were partners in it. The Knights possessed considerable estates in Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, and Germany, conferred on them by pious Catholics to enable them to protect Christians going on pilgrimage to the holy places. Now that there had ceased to be pilgrimages of this kind, the duty of the knights was to protect the Christian nations against the Barbary states, and to destroy the infamous pirates who infested the Mediterranean. The property of the order was sufficient to maintain a considerable naval force; but the knights took no pains to form one: they had but two or three old frigates and a few galleys, which went to give and receive entertainments in the ports of Italy. The bailiffs and the commanders, spread over all Christendom, consumed in luxury and indolence the revenues of the order. There was not a knight who had ever been engaged with the Barbary corsairs. Hence the order excited no interest whatever. In France, its possessions had been taken from it, and Bonaparte had caused them to be seized in Italy, and no remonstrance had been made in its behalf. We have seen that Bonaparte had already taken care to form secret connexions in Malta. He had gained some of the knights, and he purposed to intimi-

* "One of the last acts of Napoleon before embarking was to issue a humane proclamation to the military commissioners of the ninth division, in which Toulon was situated, in which he severely censured the cruel application of one of the harsh laws of the 19th of Fructidor to old women above seventy years of age, children in infancy, and women with child, who had been seized and shot for violating that tyrannical edict. This interposition gave universal satisfaction, and added another laurel of a purer colour to those which already encircled the brows of the general."—*Alison*. E.

date them by a bold stroke, and to oblige them to surrender; for he had neither time nor means for a regular attack against a fortress reputed to be impregnable. The order, which had for some time foreboded its danger, on seeing the French squadrons predominant in the Mediterranean, had placed itself under the protection of the Emperor Paul.

Bonaparte made great efforts to join the division from Civita Vecchia; but this he could not accomplish till he was off Malta. The five hundred French sail came in sight of the island on the 21st of Prairial (June 9), twenty-two days after leaving Toulon. This sight filled the city of Malta with consternation. Bonaparte, in order to have a pretext for stopping, and to give rise to a cause of contention, applied to the grand-master for leave to take in water. The grand-master, Ferdinand de Hompesch, replied by a peremptory refusal, alleging that the rules of the order forbade the entry of more than two ships belonging to belligerent powers. The English had been received in a different manner when they appeared. Bonaparte declared that this was a proof of the most decided malice, and immediately ordered a landing. On the following day, the 22d of Prairial (June 10), the French troops landed on the island, and completely invested La Valetta, which contains a population of nearly thirty thousand souls, and is one of the strongest fortresses in Europe. Bonaparte ordered artillery to be landed, for the purpose of cannonading the forts. The knights returned his fire, but very feebly. They resolved to make a sortie, but a great number of them were taken. Disorder then ensued in the place. Several knights of the French tongue declared that they could not fight against their countrymen. Some of them were thrown into dungeons. All were dismayed. The inhabitants clamoured for surrender. The grand-master, who possessed little energy, and recollected the generosity of the conqueror of Rivoli at Mantua, hoping to save his interest from shipwreck, released one of the French knights whom he had thrown into prison, and sent him to Bonaparte to negotiate. The treaty was soon concluded. The knights gave up to France the sovereignty of Malta and the dependent islands: in return, France promised her interference at the congress at Rastadt to obtain for the grand-master a principality in Germany, in default of which, she promised him a life annuity of 300,000 francs, and an indemnity of 600,000 francs in ready money. She granted to each knight of the French tongue a pension of 700 francs, and 1000 if they were sixty years of age; she promised her mediation, with a view that those of the other tongues might be put in possession of the estates belonging to the order in their respective countries. Such were the conditions by means of which France gained possession of the best harbour in the Mediterranean, and one of the strongest in the world.* It required the ascendancy of Bonaparte to obtain it without fighting; it required his daring to venture to lose some days there, with the English in pursuit of him. Caffarelli-Dufalga, as witty as he was brave, when going over the place and admiring the fortifications, used this expression: "We are extremely lucky that there was somebody in the place to open the gates for us."

* "Napoleon said to one of the companions of his exile at St. Helena, 'Malta certainly possesses immense physical, but no moral means of resistance. The knights did nothing disgraceful. They could not hold out against impossibility.' No, but they yielded themselves. The successful capture of Malta was assured before the fleet quitted Toulon."—*Bourrienne*. E.

"The grand-master, on quitting the island which he had not had the courage to defend, disgraced himself by kissing the hand of the conqueror who had despoiled him of his dominions."—*Thibaudeau*. E.

Bonaparte left Vaubois at Malta with a garrison of three thousand men. He placed Regnault de St. Jean-d'Angely, there in quality of civil commissioner. He made all the administrative regulations that were necessary for the establishment of the municipal system in the island, and set sail immediately for the coast of Egypt.

He weighed anchor on the 1st of Messidor (June 19), after a stay of ten days. The essential point now was, not to fall in with the English. Nelson, having refitted at the islands of St. Pierre, had received from Lord St Vincent a reinforcement of ten sail of the line and several frigates, which composed a squadron of thirteen sail of the line and some vessels of an inferior class. He had returned on the 13th of Prairial (June 1) off Toulon, but the French squadron had been gone twelve days. He had run from Toulon to the roads of Tagliamon, and from the roads of Tagliamon to Naples, where he had arrived on the 2d of Messidor (June 20), at the very moment when Bonaparte was leaving Malta. Learning that the French had been seen off Malta, he followed, determined to attack them, if he could overtake them.

The French, on board the whole squadron, were ready for battle. The possibility of falling in with the English was present to every mind, but excited no apprehension. Bonaparte had put on board each ship of the line five hundred picked men, who were daily exercised in working the guns, and at the head of whom was one of those generals so accustomed to stand fire under his command. He had made it a principle in maritime tactics that each ship was to have but one aim, that of closing with another, fighting, and boarding her. Orders were issued in consequence, and he reckoned upon the bravery of the picked troops distributed among the ships. These precautions taken, he calmly steered for Egypt. This man, who, according to absurd detractors, was afraid of the hazards of the sea, resigned himself with composure to fortune amidst the English squadrons, and had had the hardihood to tarry some days at Malta to conquer that island. Mirth prevailed on board the fleet. They knew not precisely whither they were bound, but the secret began to transpire, and they waited with impatience to get sight of the shores which they were going to conquer. In the evening, the men of science and the general officers on board *L'Orient* assembled in the cabin of the general-in-chief, and there commenced the ingenious and learned discussions of the Institute of Egypt.* At one moment, the English squadron was only a few leagues

* "During the whole voyage, Napoleon passed the greatest part of his time below in the cabin, reclining upon a couch which, by a ball and socket joint at each foot, rendered the ship's pitching less perceptible, and consequently relieved the sickness from which he was scarcely ever free. His remarkable saying to the pupils of a school which he one day visited, 'Young people, every hour of time is a chance of misfortune for future life,' may be considered in some measure as forming the rule of his own conduct. Perhaps no man ever better understood the value of time. If the activity of his mind found not wherewithal to exercise itself in reality, he supplied the defect by giving free scope to imagination, or in listening to the conversation of the learned men attached to the expedition. He delighted in discoursing with Monge and Berthollet, when the discussion mostly ran upon chemistry, mathematics, and religion, as also with Caffarelli, whose conversation, rich in facts, was at the same time lively and intellectual. At other times he conversed with the admiral, when the subject always related to naval manœuvres, of which he showed great desire to obtain knowledge, and nothing more astonished Brueys than the sagacity of his questions. I was almost always with him in his cabin, where I read to him some of his favourite works which he had selected for his camp library. He seldom rose before ten o'clock in the morning. The *Orient* had the appearance of a populous town from which women had been excluded; and this floating

distant from the immense French convoy, and neither party was aware of it. Nelson began to suppose that the French were bound for Egypt, made sail for Alexandria, and arrived there before them;* but, not finding them, he flew to the Dardanelles to seek them there. By singular good luck, it was not till two days afterwards that the French expedition came in sight of Alexandria, on the 13th of Messidor (July 1). It was very nearly six weeks since it sailed from Toulon.

Bonaparte immediately sent on shore for the French consul. He learned that the English had made their appearance two days before, and, supposing them to be not far off, he resolved that very moment to attempt a landing. It was impossible to enter the harbour of Alexandria, for the place appeared disposed to defend itself: it became necessary, therefore, to land at some distance on the neighbouring coast, at a creek called the Creek of the Marabou. The wind blew violently and the sea broke with fury over the reefs on the shore. It was near the close of day. Bonaparte gave the signal, and resolved to go on shore immediately. He was the first to get into the long boat. The soldiers loudly insisted on accompanying him to land. The boats began to be hoisted out, but the sea ran so high that they were in danger of being dashed every moment against one another. At length, after great dangers, they reached the shore. At that moment a sail appeared on the horizon. It was supposed to be an English ship. "O

city was inhabited by two thousand individuals, amongst whom were a great number of distinguished men, several of whom Napoleon invited every day to dine with him. When the weather was fine he went up to the quarter-deck, which, from its extent, formed a grand promenade. I recollect that when walking the quarter-deck with him while we were in the sea of Sicily, I thought I could see the summits of the Alps lighted by the setting sun. Bonaparte laughed much, and joked me about it. He called Brueys, who took his telescope, and soon confirmed my conjecture. The Alps! At the mention of that word by the admiral, I think I can see Bonaparte still. He stood for a long time motionless, and then bursting from his trance, exclaimed, 'No! I cannot behold the land of Italy without emotion. Those mountains command the plains where I have so often led the French to victory. "With them, we will conquer again." One of Napoleon's greatest pleasures during the voyage was, after dinner, to fix upon three or four persons to support a proposition, and as many to oppose it. He always gave out the subjects to be discussed, which most frequently turned upon questions of religion, the different kinds of argument, and the art of war. No country came under Bonaparte's observation without recalling historical recollections to his mind. On passing the island of Candia his imagination was excited, and he spoke with enthusiasm of ancient Crete and the Colossus, whose fabulous renown has surpassed all human glories. The ingenious fables of mythology likewise occurred to his mind, and imparted to his language something of a poetical, and I may say, of an inspired character. The sight of the kingdom of Minos led him to reason on the laws best calculated for the government of nations, and the birthplace of Jupiter suggested to him the necessity of a religion for the mass of mankind. The musicians on board the Orient sometimes played *matinades*; but only between decks, for Napoleon was not yet sufficiently fond of music to have it in his cabin. It is scarcely possible that some accidents should not occur during a long voyage. On these occasions nothing was more remarkable than the humanity of the man who has since been so prodigal of the blood of his fellow-creatures on the field of battle. When any individual fell into the sea, the general-in-chief was in a state of agitation till he was saved. He ordered me to reward those who ventured their lives in this service.'—*Bourrienne*. E.

* "The first news of the enemy's armament was, that it had surprised Malta. Nelson formed a plan for attacking it while at anchor at Gozo, but intelligence reached him that the French had left that island the day after their arrival. It was clear that their destination was eastward—he thought for Egypt—and for Egypt, therefore, he made all sail. When he arrived off Alexandria, the enemy were not there, neither was there any account of them. Nelson then shaped his course to the northward for Caramania, and steered from thence along the southern side of Candia, carrying a press of sail, both night and day, with a contrary wind. It would have been his delight, he said, to have tried Bonaparte on a wind."—*Southey's Life of Nelson*. E.

Fortune," exclaimed Bonaparte, "dost thou desert me! What! not five days only!" Fortune did not desert him, for it was a French frigate which was rejoining the fleet. With great difficulty, four or five thousand men were landed in the course of the evening and the night. Bonaparte resolved to march forthwith for Alexandria, in order to surprise the place, and not to allow the Turks time to make preparations for defence. The troops instantly commenced their march. Not a horse was yet landed; the staff, Bonaparte, and Caffarelli himself, notwithstanding his wooden leg, had to walk four or five leagues over the sands, and came at daybreak within sight of Alexandria.

That ancient city, the creation of Alexander, no longer possessed its magnificent edifices, its innumerable houses, and its immense population. Three-fourths of it were in ruins. The Turks, the wealthy Egyptians, the European merchants, dwelt in the modern town, which was the only part preserved. A few Arabs lived among the ruins of the ancient city: an old wall, flanked by towers, enclosed the new and the old town, and all around extended those sands which in Egypt are sure to advance wherever civilization recedes.

The four thousand French led by Bonaparte arrived there at daybreak. Upon this sandy beach they met with a few Arabs only, who, after firing a few musket-shot, fled to the desert. Bonaparte divided his men into three columns. Bon, with the first, marched on the right towards the Rosetta gate; Kleber, with the second, marched in the centre towards the gate of the Pillar; Menou, with the third, advanced on the left towards the gate of the Catacombs. The Arabs and the Turks, excellent soldiers behind a wall, kept up a steady fire, but the French mounted with ladders and got over the old wall. Kleber was the first who fell, struck by a ball on the forehead. The Arabs were driven from ruin to ruin, as far as the new town. The combat seemed likely to be continued from street to street, and to become sanguinary,* when a Turkish captain served as a mediator for negotiating an arrangement. Bonaparte declared that he had not come to ravage the country or to wrest it from the Grand Signor, but merely to deliver it from the domination of the Mamelukes, and to revenge the outrages which they had committed against France. He promised that the authorities of the country should be upheld, that the ceremonies of religion should continue to be performed as before, that property should be respected, and so forth. On these conditions, the resistance ceased. On that same day the French were masters of Alexandria. Meanwhile, the rest of the army had landed. The next points that demanded attention were to place the squadron in safety, either in the harbour or in one of the neighbouring roads; to form at Alexandria an administration adapted to the manners of the country; and to lay down a plan of invasion for gaining possession of Egypt. For the moment, the dangers of the sea and of a meeting with the English were over; the greatest obstacles were surmounted with that success which seems always to attend the youth of a great man.

Egypt, in which we had just landed, is the most singular country, the best situated, and one of the most fertile in the world. Its position is well known. Africa is united to Asia only by an isthmus a few leagues across,

* "Repulsed on every side, the Turks betake themselves to God and their Prophet, and fill their mosques. Men, women, old and young, children at the breast—all are massacred. At the end of four hours the fury of our troops ceases."—*General Boyer's Correspondence*. E.

called the Isthmus of Suez, and which, if cut through, would give access from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, and relieve navigators from the necessity of traversing immense distances and doubling amidst storms the Cape of Good Hope. Egypt lies parallel to the Red Sea and the Isthmus of Suez. She is mistress of that isthmus. It was this country which, in the time of the ancients and in the middle ages, during the prosperity of the Venetians, was the channel of the commerce of India. Such is its situation between the East and the West. Its physical constitution and form are not less extraordinary. The Nile, one of the largest rivers in the world, has its source in the mountains of Abyssinia, runs six hundred leagues through the deserts of Africa, then enters, or rather tumbles into Egypt, throwing itself down the cataracts of Syene, and, after a course of two hundred leagues more, falls into the sea. Its banks constitute the whole of Egypt. It is a valley two hundred leagues in length and five or six in breadth. On either side it is bordered by an ocean of sand. Several chains of hills, low, dry, and rugged, hardly break the dull uniformity of these sands, and scarcely throw a shadow over their immensity. Some separate the Nile from the Red Sea, others form the great desert, in which they are lost. On the left bank of the Nile, at a certain distance in the desert, wind two stripes of land capable of cultivation, which form an exception to the sands, and are covered with some verdure. These are islands of vegetation amidst an ocean of sand. They are called *Oases*. There are two, the great and the little. An effort of man, by diverting thither a branch of the Nile, would transform them into fertile provinces. Fifty leagues from the sea, the Nile divides into two branches, which fall, at the distance of sixty leagues asunder, under the Mediterranean, the one at Rosetta, the other at Damietta. The Nile was formerly known to have seven mouths. They may still be perceived, but only two of them are now navigable. The triangle formed by its two great branches and the sea measures sixty leagues at its base and fifty on the sides. It is called the Delta. It is the most fertile part of Egypt, because it is the best watered and most intersected by canals. The country is divided into three parts, the Delta or Lower Egypt, which is called Bahireh; Middle Egypt, called Westanieh; and Upper Egypt, called the Saïd.

The Etesian winds, blowing in a constant manner from north to south, during the months of May, June, and July, drive before them all the clouds formed at the mouth of the Nile, suffer not one to hover over that ever serene country, and carry them towards the mountains of Abyssinia. There these clouds gather, descend in rain, during the months of July, August, and September, and produce the celebrated phenomenon of the inundation of the Nile. Thus this land receives from the overflowing of the river that water which does not descend upon it from the heavens. It never rains; and the marshes of the Delta, which would be pestilential beneath the sky of Europe, produce in Egypt not a single fever. The Nile, after its inundation, leaves a fertile mud, which is the only soil susceptible of cultivation on its banks, and produces those abundant harvests which of old were appropriated to the subsistence of Rome. The farther the inundation extends, the greater is the area of the soil fit for cultivation. The owners of this soil, levelled every year by the waters, divide it among them every year by measurement. Hence land-surveying is an important art in Egypt. The inundation might be extended by means of canals, which would also have the advantage of diminishing the rapidity of the waters, of making them stay a longer time, and of spreading fertility at the

expense of the desert. Nowhere would the labour of man be productive of more salutary effects; nowhere would civilization be more desirable. The Nile and the desert dispute Egypt between them, and it is civilization that would furnish the Nile with the means of conquering the desert, and confining it within narrower bounds. It is believed that Egypt formerly supported twenty millions of inhabitants, exclusively of the Romans.* When the French arrived there, it was scarcely capable of subsisting three millions.

The inundation ends some time in September. The agricultural operations then commence. In October, November, December, January, and February, the country in Egypt exhibits a delicious spectacle of fertility and luxuriance. It is then covered with the richest crops, enamelled with flowers, and studded with immense herds and flocks. In March, the hot season commences; deep clefts open in the ground, so that it is sometimes dangerous to ride over it on horseback. The rural labours are then over. The Egyptians have harvested all the productions of the year. Besides corn, Egypt produces the best rice, the finest vegetables, sugar, indigo, senna, cassia, natron, flax, hemp, cotton, and all these in marvellous abundance. It has no oil, but this it obtains on the opposite coasts of Greece: neither does it grow tobacco or coffee, but these it finds by its side in Syria and Arabia. It is also destitute of wood, for the larger vegetables have not a sufficient depth of soil in the annual mud deposited by the Nile upon a sub-soil of gravel. Sycamores and palms are the only trees of Egypt. For want of fuel, the inhabitants burn cow-dung. Egypt rears immense herds. Poultry of all sorts swarms there. It produces those admirable horses, so celebrated all over the world for their beauty, their spirit, their familiarity with their masters; and the useful camel, capable of living without food or drink for several days, whose foot sinks without fatigue in the moving sands, and which serves like a living ship for crossing the sandy sea.

Every year prodigious caravans come to Cairo, meeting like the fleets of both sides of the desert. Some come from Syria and Arabia, others from Africa and the coasts of Barbary. They bring every production peculiar to the countries of the sun, gold, ivory, feathers, inimitable shawls, perfumes, gums, spices of all kinds, coffee, tobacco, wood, and slaves. Cairo becomes a magnificent mart of the most exquisite productions of the globe, of those which the mighty genius of the people of the West will never be able to imitate, because it is the sun which bestows them, and which their delicate taste will always make them covet. Thus the commerce of India is the only one to which the progress of nations will never put an end. There would, therefore, be no need to make Egypt a military post, in order to set about destroying by violence the commerce of the English. It would be sufficient to establish a mart there, with safety, laws, and European commodities, to draw thither the wealth of the world.

The population of Egypt is, like the towns that cover it, a mixture of the wrecks of several nations. Copts, the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, Arabs, who conquered Egypt from the Copts and Turks, the conquerors of the Arabs—such are the races whose remains lead a wretched life in a

* "In ancient times Egypt and Libya were the granary of Rome; and the masters of the world depended for their subsistence on the floods of the Nile. Even at the time of the conquests of the Mahometans, the former is said to have contained twenty millions of souls, including those who dwelt in the adjoining oasis of the desert."—*Alison*. E.

land of which they are unworthy. On the arrival of the French, the Copts amounted at most to two hundred thousand. Poor, despised, brutalized, they had devoted themselves, like all the proscribed classes, to the most ignoble occupations. The Arabs formed almost the entire mass of the population. They were descendants of the companions of the Prophet. Their condition was infinitely varied. Some, of high birth, carrying back their pedigree to Mahomet himself, great landed proprietors, possessing some traces of Arabian knowledge, combining with nobility the functions of the priesthood and the magistracy, were, by the title of sheiks, the real *grandeens* of Egypt. In the *divans*, they represented the country, when its tyrants wished to address themselves to it. In the mosques, they formed a sort of universities, in which they taught the religion and the morality of the Koran, and a little philosophy and jurisprudence. The great mosque of Jemil-Azar was the first learned and religious body in the East. Next to these *grandeens* came the smaller landholders, composing the second and more numerous class of the Arabs; then the great mass of the inhabitants, who had sunk into the state of absolute Helots. These last were hired peasants, cultivating the land by the name of *fellahs*, and living in abject poverty. There was a fourth class of Arabs, namely, the Bedouins or rovers; these would never attach themselves to the soil; they were the children of the desert. Mounted on horses or camels, driving before them numerous herds of cattle, they wandered about seeking pastures in the Oases, or coming annually to show the stripes of land susceptible of cultivation, situated on the borders of Egypt. Their trade was to escort caravans, or to lend their camels for the purposes of transport. But, faithless robbers, they frequently plundered the merchants whom they escorted, or to whom they lent their camels. Sometimes, even, violating the hospitality granted to them on the margin of the land capable of cultivation, they fell upon the valley of the Nile, which, five leagues in breadth, was easy of access, plundered the villages, and, remounting their horses, carried off their booty in the heart of the desert. Turkish negligence left their ravages almost always unpunished, and made as little opposition to the robbers of the desert as to its sands. These wandering Arabs, divided into tribes on both sides of the valley, amounted to one hundred or one hundred and twenty thousand, and could furnish from twenty to twenty-five thousand horse, brave, but fit only to harass an enemy, not to fight him.

The third and last race was that of the Turks; but it was not more numerous than the Copts; that is to say, it amounted to about two hundred thousand souls at most. It was divided into Turks and Mamelukes. The Turks, who had come since the last conquest of the sultans of Constantinople, were almost all enrolled in the list of the janizaries; but it is well known that in general they got their names inscribed in those lists merely that they might enjoy the privileges of janizaries, and that a very small number of them were really in the service. Very few of them composed the military force of the pacha. This pacha, sent from Constantinople, was the sultan's representative in Egypt; but, escorted only by a few janizaries, he found his authority invalidated by the very precautions which Sultan Selim had formerly taken to preserve it. That sultan, judging that Egypt was likely from its remoteness to throw off the dominion of Constantinople, and that a clever and ambitious pacha might create there an independent empire, devised a counterpoise and instituted a Mameluke soldiery. But, as it is impossible to conquer the physical conditions which render a country dependent or independent of another, instead of the pacha.

it was the Mamelukes who had rendered themselves independent of Constantinople and masters of Egypt. The Mamelukes were slaves purchased in Circassia. Selected from among the handsomest boys of the Caucasus, carried young to Egypt, bred in ignorance of their origin, and in the practice of, and a fondness for, arms, they became the bravest and most agile horsemen in the world.* They held it an honour to be without origin, to have been bought at a high price, and to be handsome and brave. They had twenty-four beys, who were their owners and their chiefs. Each of these beys had five or six hundred Mamelukes. It was a herd which they took care to feed, and which they bequeathed sometimes to a son, but more frequently to a favourite Mameluke, who became bey in his turn. Every Mameluke had two fellahs to wait upon him. The entire body consisted of nearly twelve thousand horse, with twenty-four thousand Helots as attendants. They were the real masters and tyrants of the country. They lived either on the produce of the lands belonging to the beys, or on the revenue arising from the numerous taxes imposed in every possible form. The Copts, whom we have already described as engaged in the most ignoble occupations, were their tax-gatherers, their spies, their men of business; for the demoralized are always at the service of the strongest. The twenty-four beys, equal by right, were not so in fact. They made war upon one another, and the strongest, subduing the rest, enjoyed a sovereignty for life. He was wholly independent of the pacha representing the sultan of Constantinople, allowed him at most a sort of nullity at Cairo, and frequently refused him the *miri*, or land-tax, which, representing the right of conquest, belonged to the Porte.

Egypt was, therefore, an absolute feudality, like that of Europe in the middle ages. It exhibited at once a conquered people, a conquering soldiery, in rebellion against its sovereign; and, lastly, an ancient brutalized class, at the service and in the pay of the strongest.

Two beys, superior to the rest, ruled Egypt at this moment. The one, Ibrahim Bey, wealthy, crafty, and powerful; the other, Mourad Bey, intrepid, valiant, and full of ardour. They had agreed upon a sort of division of authority, by which Ibrahim Bey had the civil, and Mourad Bey the military power. It was the business of the latter to fight; he excelled in it, and he possessed the affection of the Mamelukes, who were all eager to follow him.

* "The Mamelukes are an invincible race, inhabiting a burning desert, mounted on the fleetest horses in the world, and full of courage. They live with their wives and children in flying camps, which are never pitched two nights together in the same place. They are horrible savages, and yet they have some notion of gold and silver; a small quantity of it serves to excite their admiration."—*Louis Bonaparte*. E.

"The Mamelukes are admirable horsemen, and the bits in their horses' mouths are so powerful that the most fiery steeds are speedily checked, even at full career, by an ordinary hand. Their stirrups are extremely short, and give the rider great power both in commanding his horse and striking with his sabre; and the pommel and back part of the saddle are so high, that the horseman, though wounded, can scarcely lose his balance; he can even sleep without falling, as he would do in an arm-chair. The horse is burdened by no baggage or provisions, all of which are carried by the rider's servants; while the Mameluke himself, covered with shawls and turbans, is protected from the strokes of a sabre. They are all splendidly armed; in their girdle are always to be seen a pair of pistols and a poniard; from the saddle are suspended another pair of pistols and a hatchet; on one side is a sabre, on the other a blunderbuss, and the servant on foot carries a carbine. They seldom parry with the sword, as their fine blades would break in the collision, but avoid the strokes of their adversary by skill in wheeling their horse, while they trust to his impetus to sever his head from his body, without either cut or thrust."—*Miot*. E.

Bonaparte, who with the genius of the captain united the tact and the address of the founder, and who had, moreover, administered conquered countries enough to have made a particular art of it for himself, immediately perceived the line of policy which he had to pursue in Egypt. He must, in the first place, wrest that country from its real masters, the Mamelukes. It was they whom he had to fight and to destroy by arms and by policy. Besides, he had strong reasons to urge against them, for they had never ceased to ill-treat the French. As for the Porte, it was requisite that he should not appear to attack its sovereignty, but affect, on the contrary, to respect it. In the state to which it was reduced, that sovereignty was not to be dreaded. He could treat with the Porte, either for the cession of Egypt, by granting it certain advantages elsewhere, or for a partition of authority, in which there would be nothing detrimental; for the French, in leaving the pacha at Cairo and transferring to themselves the power of the Mamelukes, would not afford much cause for regret. As for the inhabitants, in order to make sure of their attachment, it would be requisite to gain the real population, namely, that of the Arabs. By respecting the sheiks, by flattering their old pride, by increasing their power, by encouraging a secret desire, which was found in them, as it had been found in Italy, and as it is found everywhere, that of the re-establishment of their ancient country, the Arab country, Bonaparte reckoned upon ruling the land and entirely attaching it to him. By afterwards sparing persons and property, among a people accustomed to consider conquest as conferring a right to murder, pillage, and devastation, he should produce a surprise that would be most advantageous to the French army. If, besides, the French were to respect women and the Prophet, the conquest of hearts would be as firmly secured as that of the soil.

Bonaparte conducted himself agreeably to these conclusions, which were equally just and profound. Endowed with an entirely eastern imagination, it was easy for him to assume the solemn and imposing style which was suited to the Arab race. He drew up proclamations, which were translated into Arabic and circulated in the country. To the pacha he wrote, "The French republic has resolved to send a powerful army to Egypt to put an end to the plunder of the beys, as it has been obliged to do several times during this century against the beys of Tunis and Algiers. Thou, who oughtest to be the ruler of the beys, and whom they, nevertheless, hold at Cairo without authority and without power, thou must view my arrival with pleasure. Thou art, doubtless, already apprized that I am not come to do anything against the Koran or the sultan. Thou knowest that the French nation is the only ally that the sultan has in Europe. Come then to meet me, and curse with me the impious race of the beys." Addressing the Egyptians, Bonaparte made use of these words: "People of Egypt, you will be told that I am come to overthrow your religion. Believe it not. Reply that I am come to restore your rights to you, to punish the usurpers, and that I have a much higher respect than the Mamelukes for God, his Prophet, and the Koran."* Adverting to the tyranny of the Mamelukes, he

* "You will laugh outright, you witlings of Paris, at the Mahometan proclamation of the commander-in-chief. He is proof, however, against all your raillery, and the thing itself will certainly produce a most surprising effect."—*Journet's Correspondence*. E.

"Our proclamation to the Egyptians has produced an effect altogether astonishing. The Bedouins, enemies of the Mamelukes, and who, properly speaking, are neither more nor less than intrepid robbers, sent us back, as soon as they had read it, thirty of

said, "Is there a fine estate?—it belongs to the Mamelukes. Is there a beautiful slave, a fine horse, a good house?—all belong to the Mamelukes. If Egypt is their farm, let them produce the lease which God has granted them of it. But God is just and merciful to the people, and he hath ordained that the empire of the Mamelukes shall be put an end to." Referring to the sentiments of the French, he added, "We, too, are true Mussulmans. Was it not we that destroyed the Pope, who said that war must be made upon the Mussulmans? Was it not we who destroyed the Knights of Malta, because those idiots believed that God had decreed that they should make war upon the Mussulmans? Thrice happy those who shall side with us. They shall prosper in their fortune and their rank. Happy they who shall be neuter! They will have time to become acquainted with us, and they will range themselves on our side. But wo, threefold wo, to those who shall arm for the Mamelukes and fight against us! For them there will be no hope; they shall perish."

To his soldiers Bonaparte said, "You are going to undertake a conquest, the effects of which on the civilization and the commerce of the world are incalculable. You will give the surest and the severest blow to England, until you shall have it in your power to strike her death-blow."

"The people with whom we are going to live are Mahometans. The first article of their faith is this: 'There is no God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet.' Do not contradict them. Act towards them as you have acted towards the Jews, towards the Italians. Pay respect to their muftis and to their imans, as you have done to the rabbis and to the bishops. Show the same toleration for the ceremonies prescribed by the Koran and for the mosques, as you have done for the convents, for the synagogues, for the religion of Moses, and for that of Jesus Christ.* The Roman legions protected all religions. You will here find customs differing from those of Europe: you must habituate yourselves to them. The people among whom we are come treat women differently from us. Recollect that in every country he who violates is a coward."

"The first city that we shall come to was built by Alexander. We shall meet at every step with glorious recollections, worthy to excite the emulation of Frenchmen."

Bonaparte immediately made his dispositions for establishing the French authority at Alexandria, and for quitting the Delta and gaining possession of Cairo, the capital of Egypt. It was the month of July; the Nile was about to inundate the country. He was anxious to reach Cairo before the inundation, and to employ the time during which it should last in establishing himself there. He ordered everything at Alexandria to be left in the same state as it was; that the religious exercises should be continued; and that justice should be administered as before by the cadis. His intention was merely to possess himself of the rights of the Mamelukes, and to appoint a commissioner to levy the accustomed imposts. He caused a divan, or municipal council, composed of the sheiks and principal persons of Alexandria, to be formed, in order to consult them on all the measures

our people whom they had made prisoners, with an offer of their services against the Mamelukes."—*Louis Bonaparte*. E.

* "The French army, since the Revolution, had practised no sort of worship. In Italy even they never went to church. We took advantage of that circumstance to present the army to the Mussulmans as disposed to embrace their faith. This produced the very best effect, and the people ceased to regard them as idolaters."—*Monstolon*. E.

which the French authority would have to take. He left three thousand men in garrison at Alexandria, and gave the command of it to Kleber, whose wound was likely to keep him in a state of inactivity for a month or two. He directed a young officer of extraordinary merit, and who gave promise to France of becoming a great engineer, to put Alexandria in a state of defence, and to construct there all the necessary works. This was Colonel Cretin, who, in a short time, and at a small expense, executed superb works at Alexandria. Bonaparte then ordered the fleet to be put into a place of security. It was a question whether the large ships could enter the port of Alexandria. A commission of naval officers was appointed to sound the harbour and to make a report. Meanwhile, the fleet was anchored in the road of Aboukir. Bonaparte ordered Brueys to see to it, that this question should be speedily decided, and to proceed to Corfu if it should be ascertained that the ships could not enter the harbour of Alexandria.

After he had attended to these points, he made preparations for marching. A considerable flotilla, laden with provisions, artillery, ammunition, and baggage, was to run along the coast to the Rosetta mouth, enter the Nile, and ascend the river at the same time as the French army. He then set out with the main body of the army, which, after leaving the two garrisons in Malta and Alexandria, was about thirty thousand strong. He had ordered his flotilla to proceed as high as Ramanieh, on the banks of the Nile. There he purposed to join it, and to proceed up the Nile parallel with it, in order to quit the Delta and to reach Upper Egypt, or Bahireh. There were two roads from Alexandria to Ramanieh; one through an inhabited country, along the sea-coast and the Nile, the other shorter and as the bird flies, but across the desert of Damanhour. Bonaparte, without hesitation, chose the shorter. It was of consequence that he should reach Cairo as speedily as possible. Desaix marched with the advanced guard. The main body followed at the distance of a few leagues. They broke up on the 18th of Messidor (July 6). When the soldiers found themselves amidst this boundless plain, with a shifting sand beneath their feet, a scorching sun over their head, no water, no shade, with nothing for the eye to rest upon but rare clumps of palm-trees, seeing no living creatures but small troops of Arab horsemen, who appeared and disappeared at the horizon, and sometimes concealed themselves behind sandhills to murder the laggards, they were profoundly dejected.* They had already conceived a liking for

* "As the Hebrews wandering in the wilderness complained, and angrily asked Moses for the onions and fleshpots of Egypt, the French soldiers constantly regretted the luxuries of Italy. In vain were they assured that the country was the most fertile in the world, that it was even superior to Lombardy. How were they to be persuaded of this when they could get neither bread nor wine? We encamped on immense quantities of wheat, but there was neither mill nor oven in the country. The apprehensions of the soldiers increased daily, and rose to such a pitch that a great number of them said there was no great city of Cairo, and that the place bearing that name was a vast assemblage of mere huts, destitute of every thing that could render life comfortable. To such a melancholy state of mind had they brought themselves, that two dragoons threw themselves, completely clothed, into the Nile, where they were drowned. The officers complained more loudly than the soldiers, because the comparison was proportionately more disadvantageous to them. In Egypt they found neither the quarters, the good table, nor the luxuries of Italy. The commander-in-chief, wishing to set an example, used to bivouac in the midst of the army, and in the least commodious spots. No one had either tent or provisions. The dinner of Napoleon and his staff consisted of a dish of lentils. The soldiers passed the evening in political conversations, arguments, and complaints. Many of them having observed that wherever there were vestiges of

rest, after the long and obstinate campaigns in Italy. They had accompanied their general to a distant country, because their faith in him was implicit, because he had held forth to them the prospect of a land of promise, from which they should return rich enough to purchase each of them a field of six acres. But when they beheld this desert, their feelings were mingled with disappointment, which was aggravated to despair. They found all the wells, which at intervals border the road through the desert destroyed by the Arabs. There were left only a few drops of brackish water, wholly insufficient for quenching their thirst. They had been informed that they should find refreshments at Damanhour: they met with nothing there but miserable huts, and could not procure either bread or wine, but only lentils in great abundance, and a little water. They were obliged to proceed again into the desert. Bonaparte saw the brave Lannes and Murat themselves, take off their hats, dash them on the sand, and trample them under foot. He, however, overawed all.* His presence imposed silence, and sometimes restored cheerfulness. The soldiers would not impute their sufferings to him; they were angry with those who took pleasure in observing the country. On seeing the men of science stop to examine the slightest ruins, they said that they should not have been there but for them, and revenged themselves with witticisms after their fashion. Caffarelli, in particular, brave as a grenadier, and inquisitive as a scholar, was considered by them as the man who had deceived the general and drawn him into this distant country. As he had lost a leg on the Rhine, they said, "He, for his part, laughs at all this: he has one foot in France." However, after severe hardships, endured at first with impatience, and afterwards with gaiety and fortitude, they reached the Nile on the 22d of Messidor (July 10), after a march of four days. At sight of the Nile and of the water so much longed for, the soldiers flung themselves into it, and bathing in its waves, forgot their fatigues. Desaix's division, which from the advanced guard had become the rear guard, saw two or three hundred Mamelukes galloping before it, whom it dispersed by a few volleys of grape. These were the first that had been seen. They warned the French that they would speedily fall in with the hostile army. The brave Mourad Bey, having received intelligence of the arrival of Bonaparte, was actually collecting his forces around Cairo. Until they should have assembled, he was hovering with a thousand horse about our army, in order to watch its march.

The army waited at Ramanieh for the arrival of the flotilla. It rested till the 25th of Messidor (July 13), and set out on the same day for Chebreiss. Mourad Bey was awaiting us there with his Mamelukes. The flotilla which had set out first and preceded the army, found itself engaged before it could be supported. Mourad Bey had one also, and from the shore he joined his fire to that of his djerms—light Egyptian vessels. The French flotilla had to sustain a very severe combat. Perrée, a naval officer, who commanded it, displayed extraordinary courage; he was supported by the cavalry who had come dismounted to Egypt, and who, until they could

antiquity they were carefully searched, vented their spite in invectives against the scientific men. Whenever they met with an ass, they called him a *savant*."—*Napoleon's Memoirs*. E.

* "One day Napoleon rushed among a group of discontented generals, and, addressing himself to the tallest, 'You have held mutinous language,' said he, with vehemence, 'and it is not your being six feet high that should save you from being shot in a couple of hours.'"—*Las Cases*. E.

equip themselves at the expense of the Mamelukes, had taken their passage by water. Two gun-boats were retaken from the enemy, and he was repulsed. At that moment the army came up; it was composed of five divisions. It had not yet been in action with its singular enemies. To swiftness and the charge of horse, and to sabre-cuts, it would be necessary to oppose the immobility of the foot-soldier, his long bayonet, and masses presenting a front on every side. Bonaparte formed his five divisions into five squares, in the centre of which were placed the baggage and the staff. The artillery was at the angles. The five divisions flanked one another. Mourad Bey flung upon these living citadels a thousand or twelve hundred intrepid horse; who, bearing down with loud shouts and at full gallop, discharging their pistols, and then drawing their formidable sabres, threw themselves upon the front of the squares. Encountering everywhere a hedge of bayonets and a tremendous fire, they hovered about the French ranks, fell before them, or scampered off in the plain at the utmost speed of their horses. Mourad, after losing two or three hundred of his bravest men, retired for the purpose of proceeding to the point of the Delta, and awaiting us near Cairo at the head of all his forces.

This action was sufficient to familiarize the army with this new kind of enemy, and to suggest to Bonaparte the sort of tactics which he ought to employ with them. He pursued his march for Cairo. The flotilla ascended the Nile abreast of the army. It marched without intermission during the following days. The soldiers had fresh hardships to endure, but they kept close to the Nile, and could bathe every night in its waters. The sight of the enemy had revived all their ardour. Those soldiers, already disgusted with fatigue, as is always the case when men have gained glory enough, I found, says Bonaparte, always admirable under fire. During the marches, they frequently relapsed into ill humour, and ill humour was succeeded by pleasantries. The men of science began to command respect by the courage which they displayed. Mongé and Berthollet had shown heroic intrepidity at Chebreiss. The soldiers, though cracking their jokes,* paid them the highest respect. As they could yet see nothing of the capital of Cairo, so highly extolled as one of the wonders of the East, they declared that there was no such place, or that they should find it, like Damanhour, a collection of wretched huts. They said also that the poor general had been imposed upon; and that he had suffered himself to be transported *like a good boy*—himself and his companions in glory. In the evening, when they rested, the soldiers, who had read the tales of the Thousand and One Nights, or heard them related, repeated them to their comrades, and they promised themselves gorgeous palaces glittering with gold. They were still without bread, not from the want of corn, but because there was neither mill nor oven. They ate lentils, pigeons, and an exquisite water-melon, known in southern regions by the name of *pastèque*. The soldiers called it *St. Pastèque*.

The army approached Cairo, and there the decisive battle was to be fought. Mourad Bey had collected the greatest part of his Mamelukes, nearly ten thousand in number. They were attended by double the num-

* "The savans, or scientific men, had been supplied with asses, the beasts of burden easiest attained in Egypt, to transport their persons and philosophical apparatus; and loud shouts of laughter used to burst from the ranks while forming to receive the Mamelukes, when the general of division called out with military precision, 'Let the asses and the savans enter within the square.' The soldiers also amused themselves by calling the asses demi-savans."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

ber of fellahs, to whom arms were given, and who were obliged to fight behind the intrenchments. He had also assembled some thousands of janizaries or spahis, dependent on the pacha, who, notwithstanding Bonaparte's letter, had suffered himself to be persuaded to join his oppressors. Mourad Bey had made preparations of defence on the banks of the Nile. The great capital, Cairo, is seated on the right bank of that river. It was on the opposite bank that Mourad Bey had pitched his camp, in a long plain extending from the river to the pyramids of Giseh, the highest in Egypt. His dispositions were as follows: a large village, called Embabeh, lay with its back towards the river. Mourad Bey had ordered some works there, conceived and executed with all the ignorance of the Turks. They consisted of a mere trench, which encompassed the village with immoveable batteries, the guns of which, having no carriages, could not be displaced. Such was Mourad's intrenched camp. He had there posted his twenty-four thousand fellahs and janizaries, intending to fight there with the accustomed obstinacy of the Turks behind walls. This village, intrenched and supported upon the river, formed his right. His Mamelukes, to the number of ten thousand horse, extended over the plain between the river and the pyramids. Some thousand Arab horse, who came as auxiliaries to the Mamelukes, merely for the sake of plundering and slaughtering, in case of victory, filled the space between the Mamelukes and the pyramids. Mourad Bey's colleague, Ibrahim, less warlike and less brave than he, kept on the other side of the Nile, with about a thousand Mamelukes, and with his women, his slaves, and his wealth, ready to quit Cairo and to flee to Syria, if the French should prove victorious. A considerable number of djerms covered the Nile, and were laden with the valuable effects of the Mamelukes. Such was the order in which the two beys awaited Bonaparte.

On the 3d of Thermidor (July 21), the French army set itself in march before daybreak. It knew that it should soon come in sight of Cairo and encounter the enemy. At dawn of day, it at last discovered on its left and on the other side of the river, the lofty minarets of that great capital, and on its right, in the desert, the gigantic pyramids gilded by the sun. At sight of these monuments, it halted, as if seized with curiosity and admiration. The face of Bonaparte beamed with enthusiasm. He began to gallop before the ranks of the soldiers, and pointing to the pyramids, "Consider," he exclaimed, "that from the summits of those pyramids, forty centuries have their eyes fixed upon you!" They advanced at a quick step. They saw, as they approached, the minarets of Cairo shooting up, they saw the pyramids increase in height, they saw the swarming multitude which guarded Embabeh, they saw the glistening arms of the ten thousand horsemen resplendent with gold and steel, and forming an immense line. Bonaparte immediately made his dispositions. The army, as at Chebreiss, was divided into five divisions. Those of Desaix and Regnier formed the right, towards the desert; Dugua's division formed the centre; and Menou's and Bon's formed the left, along the Nile. Bonaparte, who, since the battle at Chebreiss, was capable of judging of the ground and the enemy, made his dispositions accordingly. Each division, as at Chebreiss, formed a square; each square was composed of six ranks. Behind were the grenadier companies in platoons, ready to reinforce the points of attack. The artillery was at the angles. The baggage and the generals were in the centre. These squares were moving. When they were in march, two sides marched upon the flank. When they were charged, they were to halt, in order to front on all sides. Again, when they

were to carry a position, the first ranks were to detach themselves and to form columns of attack, and the others were to remain in rear, still forming the square, but only three deep and ready to rally the columns of attack. Such were the dispositions ordered by Bonaparte. He was afraid lest his impetuous soldiers of Italy, accustomed to advance at the charge step, would find it difficult to resign themselves to that cold and impassable immobility of walls. He had taken pains to prepare them for it. Orders were issued, in particular, not to be in a hurry to fire, to wait coolly for the enemy, and not to fire till he was at the muzzle of the guns.

The army advanced almost within cannon-shot. Bonaparte, who was in the centre square, formed by Dugua's division, examined with a telescope the state of the camp of Embabeh. He saw that the artillery of the camp, not being mounted on carriages, could not be moved into the plain, and that the enemy would not quit the intrenchments. On this circumstance he based his movements. He resolved to bear with his divisions upon the right, that is, upon the corps of the Mamelukes, moving on out of the range of the cannon of Embabeh. His intention was to separate the Mamelukes from the intrenched camp, to surround them, to drive them into the Nile, and not to attack Embabeh till he had got rid of them. After he had destroyed the Mamelukes, it would not be difficult for him to settle matters with the multitude which thronged that camp.

He immediately gave the signal. Desaix, who formed the extreme right, first set himself in march. Next to him came Regnier's square, and then Dugua's, in which was Bonaparte. The two others moved round Embabeh, beyond the range of the cannon. Mourad Bey, who, though uninstructed, was endowed with great natural abilities and extraordinary sagacity, immediately guessed the intention of his adversary, and resolved to charge during this decisive movement. He left two thousand Mamelukes to support Embabeh, and then rushed with the rest on the two squares upon the right. That of Desaix, having got among some palm-trees, was not yet formed when the first horsemen came up to it. But it formed instantaneously, and was ready to receive the charge. It is an enormous mass that is composed of eight thousand horse, galloping all at once in a plain. They bore down with extraordinary impetuosity upon Desaix's division.* Our brave soldiers, who had become as cool as they had formerly been fiery, waited for them calmly, and received them at the muzzle of their guns with a tremendous fire of musketry and grape. Checked by this fire, these innumerable horsemen hovered along the ranks, and galloped around the blazing citadel. Some of the bravest threw themselves on the bayonets, then, turning their horses, and backing them upon our infantry, they succeeded in making a breach, and thirty or forty penetrated to the very centre of the square, where they expired at the feet of Desaix. The

* "It was a terrible sight, capable of daunting the bravest troops, when the immense body of Mameluke cavalry approached at full gallop the squares of infantry. The horse men, admirably mounted and magnificently dressed, rent the air with their cries. The glitter of spears and scimitars dazzled the sight, while the earth groaned under the repeated and increasing thunder of their feet."—*Alison*. E.

"Nothing in war was ever seen more desperate than the charge of the Mameluke cavalry. Failing to force their horses through the French squares, individuals were seen to wheel them round, and rein them back on the ranks, that they might disorder them by kicking. As they became frantic with despair, they hurled at the phalanxes which they could not break, their pistols, their poniards, and their carabines. Those who fell wounded to the ground dragged themselves on, to cut at the legs of the French with their crooked sabres. But their efforts were all vain."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E

mass, facing about, quitted Desaix's square, and fell upon Regnier's, which came next. Being received with the same fire, it returned to the point from which it had started; but it found in its rear Dugua's division, which Bonaparte had moved towards the Nile, and was put completely to the route. The enemy then fled in disorder; one part of the fugitives ran off on our right towards the pyramids, another, passing under Dugua's fire, threw itself into Embabeh, carrying confusion along with it. From that moment disorder commenced in the intrenched camp. Bonaparte, perceiving it, ordered his two divisions on the left to approach Embabeh for the purpose of taking it. Bon and Menou advanced under the fire of the intrenchments, and on arriving within a certain distance, they halted. The squares divided; the foremost ranks formed columns of attack, while the others remained in squares resembling real citadels. But, at the same moment, the Mamelukes, as well those whom Mourad had left at Embabeh as those who had fled thither, attempted to anticipate us. They rushed upon our columns of attack while yet in march. But the latter halting immediately, and forming into square with wonderful rapidity, received them with firmness, and killed a great number. Some threw themselves into Embabeh, where the disorder became extreme; others fled to the plain between the Nile and our right, and were shot or driven into the river. The columns made a brisk attack on Embabeh, took it, and threw the multitude of janizaries and fellahs into the Nile. Many were drowned, but, as the Egyptians are excellent swimmers, the greater number contrived to escape. The battle was at an end.* The Arabs who were near the pyramids, and in expectation of a victory, darted off into the desert. Mourad, with the wrecks of his cavalry and his face covered with blood, retired towards Upper Egypt. Ibrahim, who, from the opposite bank, witnessed this disaster, proceeded towards Belbeys, with the intention of retiring to Syria. The Mamelukes immediately set fire to the djerms laden with their valuables. This prize escaped us, and our soldiers saw, during the whole night, the flames consuming a rich booty.

Bonaparte established his head-quarters at Giseh, on the banks of the Nile, where Mourad Bey had a superb residence.† Considerable stores of provisions were found as well at Giseh as at Embabeh; and our soldiers could make themselves amends for their long privations. They found vines laden with magnificent grapes in the gardens of Giseh, and these they had soon gathered. But they made a booty of a different kind on the field of battle—this consisted of splendid shawls, beautiful weapons, horses, and purses, containing as many as two or three hundred pieces of gold; for the Mamelukes carried about them all their wealth. They passed the evening,

* "The battle of the Pyramids struck terror far into Asia and Africa. The caravans which came to Mecca from the interior of those vast regions, carried back the most dazzling accounts of the victory of the invincible legions of Europe. The destruction of the cavalry which had so long tyrannized over Egypt, excited the strongest sentiments of wonder and admiration; and the orientals whose imaginations were strongly impressed by the flaming citadels which had dissipated their terrible squadrons, named Napoleon Sultan Kebir, or the Sultan of Fire."—*Alison*. E.

† "About nine in the evening, Napoleon entered the country-house of Murad Bey, at Giseh. We found it difficult to make it serve for our lodging and to understand the distribution of the different apartments. But what most struck the officers was a great quantity of cushions and divans, covered with the finest damasks and silks of Lyons, and ornamented with gold fringe. The gardens were full of magnificent trees, but without allays. The soldiers were particularly delighted with the great arbours of vines which were covered with the finest grapes in the world. The vintage was soon over."—*Gourgaud*. E.

the night, and the next day, in collecting those spoils. Five or six hundred Mamelukes had been slain, and more than a thousand were drowned in the Nile. The soldiers set about fishing them up out of the river, and spent several more days in this kind of search.

The battle had cost us scarcely a hundred killed and wounded; for if defeat is terrible for broken squares, the loss is insignificant for victorious squares. The Mamelukes had lost their best horsemen by the fire or by the water. Their forces were dispersed, and the possession of Cairo was secured to us. This capital was in extraordinary agitation. It contains more than three hundred thousand inhabitants, and is full of a ferocious and brutal populace, which was indulging in all sorts of excesses, and intending to profit by the tumult to pillage the rich palaces of the beys. Unluckily, the French flotilla had not yet ascended the Nile, and we had no means of crossing to take possession of Cairo. Some French traders who happened to be there, were sent to Bonaparte by the sheiks to arrange concerning the occupation of the city. He procured a few djerms, sent across a detachment which restored tranquillity, and secured persons and property from the fury of the populace. On the next day but one, he entered Cairo, and took possession of the palace of Mourad Bey.

No sooner was he settled in Cairo, than he hastened to pursue the same policy which he had already adopted at Alexandria, and by which he hoped to gain the country. He visited the principal sheiks, flattered them, gave them hopes of the re-establishment of the Arab dominion, promised protection to their religion and customs, and completely succeeded in winning them by a mixture of clever flattery and lofty expressions bearing the stamp of eastern greatness. The essential point was to obtain from the sheiks of the mosque of Jemil-Azar a declaration in favour of the French. It was like a papal brief among Christians. On this occasion, Bonaparte exerted his utmost address, and was completely successful. The great sheiks issued the desired declaration, and exhorted the Egyptians to submit to the envoy of God, who revered the Prophet, and who had come to deliver his children from the tyranny of the Mamelukes. Bonaparte established a divan at Cairo, as he had done at Alexandria, composed of the principal sheiks and the most distinguished inhabitants. This divan, or municipal council, was intended to serve him in gaining the minds of the Egyptians, by consulting it, and learning from it all the details of the internal administration. It was agreed that similar assemblies should be established in all the provinces, and that these subordinate divans should send deputies to the divan of Cairo, which would thus be the great national divan.

Bonaparte resolved to leave the administration of justice to the cadis. In execution of his scheme of succeeding to the rights of the Mamelukes, he seized their property, and caused the taxes previously imposed to continue to be levied for the benefit of the French army. For this purpose, it was requisite that he should have the Copts at his disposal. He omitted nothing to attach them to him, holding out hopes to them of an amelioration of their condition. He sent back generals with detachments down the Nile to complete the occupation of the Delta, which the army had merely traversed. He sent others towards the Upper Nile, to take possession of Middle Egypt.* Desaix was placed with a division at the entrance of Up

* "Bonaparte directed his particular attention to the civil and military organization of the country. Only those who saw him in the vigour of his youth, can form an idea of his extraordinary intelligence and activity. Nothing escaped his observation. The mosques, the civil and religious institutions, the harems, the women, the laws and

per Egypt, which he was to conquer from Mourad Bey, as soon as the waters of the Nile should subside with the autumn. Each of the generals, furnished with detailed instructions, was to repeat in the country what had been done at Alexandria and at Cairo. They were to court the sheiks, to win the Copts, and to establish the levy of the taxes, in order to supply the wants of the army.

Bonaparte then turned his attention to the welfare and health of his soldiers. They began to like Egypt. They found there rest, abundance, and a pure and wholesome climate. They became accustomed to the singular manners of the country, and made them an incessant subject of jokes. But, guessing, with their accustomed sagacity, the intention of the general, they affected also a profound reverence for the Prophet, and laughed with him at the part which policy obliged them to play. Bonaparte ordered ovens to be built, that they might have bread. He lodged them in the excellent houses of the Mamelukes, and exhorted them, above all things, to respect the women. They had found in Egypt superb asses, in great numbers. It was a great pleasure to ride about in the environs, and to gallop over the country upon these animals. Their vivacity caused some accidents among the grave inhabitants of Cairo. It became necessary to forbid them to pass too swiftly through the streets. The cavalry was mounted on the finest horses in the world, namely, on the Arabian horses taken from the Mamelukes.

Bonaparte was also attentive to keep up the relations with the neighbouring countries, in order to uphold and to appropriate to himself the rich commerce of Egypt. He appointed the Emir Hadgi. This is an officer annually chosen at Cairo, to protect the great caravan from Mecca. He wrote to all the French consuls on the coast of Barbary, to inform the beys that the Emir Hadgi was appointed, and that the caravans might set out. At his desire, the sheiks wrote to the sherif of Mecca, to acquaint him that the pilgrims would be protected, and that the caravans would find safety and protection. The pacha of Cairo had followed Ibrahim Bey to Belbeys. Bonaparte wrote to him, as well as to the several pachas of St. Jean d'Acre and Damascus, to assure them of the good dispositions of the French towards the Sublime Porte. These last precautions were unfortunately useless; for the officers of the Porte were not to be persuaded that the French, who came to invade one of the richest provinces belonging to their sovereign, were really his friends.

The Arabs were struck by the character of the young conqueror. They could not comprehend how it was that a mortal who wielded the thunder-bolt should be so merciful. They called him the worthy son of the Prophet, the favourite of the great Allah. They sang in the great mosque the following litany :

"The great Allah is no longer wroth with us. He hath forgotten our faults; they have been sufficiently punished by the long oppression of the Mamelukes. Let us sing the mercies of the great Allah !

"Who is he that hath saved the Favourite of Victory from the dangers of the sea and the rage of his enemies? Who is he that hath led the brave men of the West safe and unharmed to the banks of the Nile ?

customs of the country—all were scrupulously respected. A few days after they entered Cairo, the French were freely admitted into the shops, and were seen sociably smoking their pipes with the inhabitants, assisting them in their occupations, and playing with their children."—*Bourrienne*. E.

"It is the great Allah, the great Allah, who hath ceased to be wroth with us. Let us sing the mercies of the great Allah !

"The Mameluke beys had put their trust in their horses ; the Mameluke beys had drawn forth their infantry in battle array.

"But the Favourite of Victory, at the head of the brave men of the West, hath destroyed the footmen and the horsemen of the Mamelukes.

"As the vapours which rise in the morning from the Nile are scattered by the rays of the sun, so hath the army of the Mamelukes been scattered by the brave men of the West, because the great Allah is now wroth with the Mamelukes, because the brave men of the West are as the apple of the right eye of the great Allah."

Bonaparte, in order to make himself better acquainted with the manners of the Arabs, resolved to attend all their festivals. He was present at that of the Nile, which is one of the greatest in Egypt. That river is the benefactor of the country. It is, in consequence, held in great veneration by the inhabitants, and is the object of a sort of worship. During the inundation, its water is introduced into Cairo by a great canal ; a dike prevents it from entering the canal until it has attained a certain height ; the dike is then cut, and the day fixed for this operation is a day of rejoicing. The height to which the river has risen is publicly proclaimed, and when there are hopes of a great inundation, general joy prevails, for it is an omen of abundance. It is on the 18th of August (1st of Fructidor) that this festival is held. Bonaparte had ordered the whole army to be under arms, and had drawn it up on the banks of the canal. An immense concourse of people had assembled, and beheld with joy the brave men of the West attending their festivals. Bonaparte, at the head of his staff, accompanied the principal authorities of the country. A sheik first proclaimed the height to which the Nile had risen. It was twenty-five feet, which occasioned great joy. Men then fell to work to cut the dike. The whole of the French artillery was fired at once, at the moment when the water of the river poured in. According to custom, a great number of boats hastened to the canal, in order to obtain the prize destined to that which should first enter it. Bonaparte delivered the prize himself. A multitude of men and boys plunged into the waters of the Nile, from a notion that bathing in them at this moment is attended with beneficial effects. Women threw into them hair and pieces of stuff. Bonaparte then ordered the city to be illuminated, and the day concluded with entertainments. The festival of the Prophet was celebrated with not less pomp. Bonaparte went to the great mosque, seated himself on cushions, cross-legged like the sheiks, and repeated with them the litanies of the Prophet, rocking the upper part of his body to and fro, and shaking his head. All the members of the holy college were edified by his piety.*

* "I never," said Napoleon, "followed any of the tenets of the Mahometan religion. I never prayed in the mosques. I never abstained from wine, nor was circumcised, neither did I ever profess it. I said merely that we were the friends of the Mussulmans, and that I respected their Prophet, which was true ; I respect him now. I told them we were all friends of Mahomet, which they really believed, as the French soldiers never went to church, and had no priests with them, for you must know that, during the Revolution, there was no religion whatever in the army. Menou really turned Mahometan, which was the reason I left him behind."—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

"On one occasion Bonaparte had a Turkish dress made, which he once put on, merely in joke. One day he desired me to go to breakfast without waiting for him, and that he would follow me. In about a quarter of an hour he made his appearance in his new costume. As soon as he was recognised, he was received with a loud burst of

He then attended the dinner given by the grand sheik elected in the course of the day.*

It was by such means that the young general, as profound a politician as he was a great captain, contrived to ingratiate himself with the people. While he flattered their prejudices for the moment, he laboured to diffuse among them some day the light of science by the creation of the celebrated Institute of Egypt. He collected the men of science and the artists whom he had brought with him, and, associating with them some of the best educated of his officers, composed that Institute to which he appropriated revenues and one of the most spacious palaces in Cairo.† Some were to occupy themselves in preparing an accurate description and a map of the country, comprehending the most minute details; others were to explore its ruins, and to furnish history with new lights: others, again, were to study the productions, to make observations useful to natural philosophy, natural history, and astronomy; while others were to employ themselves in inquiries concerning the ameliorations that might be made in the condition of the inhabitants, by machines, canals, works upon the Nile, and processes adapted to a soil so singular and so different from that of Europe. If Fortune did subsequently wrest from us that beautiful country, at any rate she could not deprive us of the conquests which science was about to make in it. A monument was preparing which was destined to reflect not less honour on the genius and the perseverance of our men of science, than the expedition on the heroism of our soldiers.

Monge was the first who obtained the presidency. Bonaparte was only the second. He proposed the following subjects: To inquire the best construction of wind and water mills; to find a substitute for the hop, which does not grow in Egypt, for the making of beer; to determine the sites adapted to the cultivation of the vine; to seek the best means of procuring water for the citadel of Cairo; to dig wells in different spots in the desert; to inquire the means of clarifying and cooling the water of the Nile; to devise some useful application of the rubbish with which the city of Cairo, as well as all the ancient towns of Egypt, was encumbered; and to find out materials requisite for the manufacture of gunpowder in Egypt. From these questions, the reader may judge of the bent of the general's mind. The engineers, the draughtsmen, and the men of science, immediately dispersed themselves throughout all the provinces, to commence the

laughter. He sat down very coolly; but he found himself so ill at ease in his turban and oriental robe, that he speedily threw them off, and was never after tempted to resume the disguise."—*Bourrienne*. E.

* "At this grand dinner, guests sat on carpets, with their legs across. There were twenty tables, and five or six people at each table. That of the general-in-chief and the sheik was in the middle; a little slab of a precious kind of wood, ornamented with mosaic work, was placed eighteen inches above the floor, and covered with a great number of dishes in succession. They were pilafs of rice, a particular kind of roast, and pastry—all very highly spiced. The sheiks picked everything with their fingers. Accordingly, water was brought to wash the hands three times during dinner. Gooseberry-water, lemonade, and other sorts of sherbets, were served to drink, and abundance of preserves and confectionary with the dessert. In the evening the whole city was illuminated."—*Memoirs of Napoleon*. E.

† "The Institute of Egypt was composed of members of the French Institute, and of the men of science and artists of the commission who did not belong to that body. They added to their number several officers of the artillery and staff. The Institute was established in one of the palaces of the beys; the garden became a botanical garden; a chemical laboratory was formed at head-quarters; and Berthollet performed experiments there every week, at which Napoleon and a great number of officers attended."—*Memoirs of Napoleon*. E.

description and the map of the country. Such were the first proceedings of this infant colony, and the manner in which its founder directed the operations.

The conquest of the provinces of Lower and Middle Egypt had been effected without difficulty, and had cost only a few skirmishes with the Arabs. A forced march upon Belbeys had been sufficient to drive Ibrahim Bey into Syria. Dessaix awaited the autumn for wresting Upper Egypt from Mourad Bey, who had retired thither with the wreck of his army.

Fortune was, meanwhile, preparing for Bonaparte the most terrible of all reverses. On leaving Alexandria, he had earnestly recommended to Admiral Brueys to secure his squadron from the English, either by taking it into the harbour of Alexandria, or by proceeding with it to Corfu; and he had particularly enjoined him not to leave it in the road of Aboukir, for it was much better to fall in with an enemy when under sail, than to receive him at anchor. A warm discussion had arisen on the question whether ships of 80 or 120 guns could be carried into the harbour of Alexandria. As to the others, there was no doubt; but the two 80 gun ships and that of 120 would require lightening so much as to enable them to draw three feet less water. For this purpose it would be necessary to take out their guns, or to construct floats. On such conditions Admiral Brueys resolved not to take his squadron into the harbour. He conceived that, if he were obliged to adopt such precautions for his three largest ships, he never should be able to get out of the harbour in presence of the enemy, and that he might thus be blockaded by a squadron of very inferior force: he determined, therefore, to proceed to Corfu. But being strongly attached to General Bonaparte, he would not sail before he had received intelligence of his entry into Cairo and his establishment in Egypt. The time which he spent, either in sounding the channels to the harbour, or in waiting for news from Cairo, caused his own destruction, and occasioned one of the most fatal events of the Revolution, and one of those which, at that epoch, had the greatest influence on the destinies of the world.*

Admiral Brueys was moored in the road of Aboukir. That road is a very regular semicircle. Our thirteen ships formed a semicircle parallel to the shore. The admiral, in order to secure his line, had supported it at one extremity upon a small island, called the islet of Aboukir. He conceived that no ship could pass between that islet and his line to take him in the rear, and in that belief he had contented himself with placing there a battery of twelve-pounders, merely to prevent the enemy from landing there. So unassailable did he consider himself on this side, that he had placed his worst ships there. He was under more apprehension concerning the other extremity of his semicircle. On this side he deemed it possible that the enemy might pass between the shore and his line; but there he had placed his largest and best officered ships. An important circumstance contributed to produce a feeling of security: this extremity being to the south, and the wind blowing from the north, an enemy attempting to attack on this side would have the wind in his teeth, and would scarcely persist in fighting under such a disadvantage.

In this situation, protected on his left by an islet, which he deemed

* "The catastrophe of Aboukir came like a thunderbolt on the general-in-chief. In spite of all his energy and fortitude, he was deeply distressed by the disasters which now assailed him. He measured the fatal consequences of the event at a single glance. The total loss of his fleet put an end to all his most romantic visions—one of which was dating an order of the day from the ruins of Memphis."—*Bourrienne*. E.

sufficient for barring the road, and on his right by his best ships and by the wind, he awaited in security the intelligence that was to decide his departure.

Nelson, after visiting the Archipelago, and returning to the Adriatic, Naples, and Sicily, had at length obtained the certainty of the landing of the French at Alexandria. He immediately steered in that direction, in order to seek and to fight their squadron. He sent a frigate to look out for it, and to reconnoitre its position. This frigate having found it in the road of Aboukir, had the opportunity of examining our line at her leisure. Had the admiral, who had a great number of frigates and light vessels in the harbour of Alexandria, taken the precaution to have a few of them under sail, he might have kept the English aloof, prevented them from observing his line, and been apprized of their approach. Unfortunately, he did nothing of the kind. The English frigate, having made her observations, rejoined Nelson, who, being informed of all the particulars of our position, immediately stood in for Aboukir. He arrived there on the 14th of Thermidor (August 1, 1798), about six in the evening. Admiral Brueys was at dinner. He immediately ordered the signal for battle to be given. But so unprepared was the squadron to receive the enemy, that the hammocks were not stowed away on board any of the ships, and part of the crews were on shore. The admiral despatched officers to send the seamen on board, and to demand part of those who were in the transports. He had no notion that Nelson would dare to attack him the same evening, and conceived that he should have time to receive the reinforcements for which he had applied.

Nelson resolved to attack immediately, and to try a daring manœuvre, which would, he hoped, decide the victory. He resolved to attack our line on the left, that is, the extremity of our line next to the islet of Aboukir, to pass between that islet and our squadron, in spite of the danger of shoals, and thus place himself between the shore and our line. This manœuvre was perilous, but the intrepid Englishman did not hesitate. The number of ships was equal on both sides, namely, thirteen sail of the line. Nelson attacked about eight in the evening. His manœuvre was not at first successful. The *Culloden*, in attempting to pass between Aboukir islet and our line, grounded on a shoal. The *Goliath*, which followed her, was more fortunate, and passed; but, owing to the wind, she drifted past our first ship, and could not bring-to till opposite to the third. The *Zealous*, the *Audacious*, the *Theseus*, and the *Orion* followed the movement, and succeeded in placing themselves between our line and the shore. They advanced as far as the *Tonnant*, which was our eighth, and thus engaged the whole of our left and centre. Their other ships advanced outside the line, and placed it between two fires. As an attack of this sort was wholly unexpected on board the French squadron, the guns on the side next to the shore were not yet cleared, and our first two ships could fire on one side only: hence one of them was disabled and the other dismasted. But in the centre, where *L'Orient*, the admiral's ship, was, the firing was tremendous. The *Bellerophon*, one of Nelson's best ships, had her masts and rigging shot away, and was obliged to fall out of the line. Other English ships dreadfully crippled, were also compelled to quit the battle. Admiral Brueys had received only part of his seamen; he, nevertheless, maintained the fight with advantage; he even hoped, in spite of the success of Nelson's manœuvre, to gain the victory, if the orders which he gave at this moment to his right were executed. The English had engaged only the left and the

centre; our right, composed of our five best ships, had no enemy before it. Admiral Brueys gave it the signal to make sail, and to place itself outside the line of battle. The English ships attacking us from that side would then have been between two fires. The signals were not perceived. In such a case, a lieutenant ought not to hesitate to plunge into danger and to fly to the succour of his commander. Rear-admiral Villeneuve, brave but irresolute, continued motionless, waiting for orders. Our left and our centre remained, therefore, between two fires. The admiral and his captains, nevertheless, performed prodigies of valour, and gloriously sustained the honour of the flag. We had lost two ships; the English also had lost two, one of which was aground and the other dismantled; our fire was superior. The unfortunate Brueys was wounded; he would not leave the deck. "An admiral," said he, "ought to die giving orders." A cannon-ball killed him on his quarter-deck.* About eleven o'clock a fire broke out on board the magnificent ship *L'Orient*. She blew up. This tremendous explosion suspended for a short time this obstinate conflict.† Our five ships engaged, the *Franklin*, the *Tonnant*, the *Peuple Souverain*, the *Spartiate*, and the *Aquilon*, undaunted by the catastrophe, kept up their fire the whole night. There would still have been time for the right to weigh anchor and to come to their assistance. Nelson feared lest this manœuvre should be executed: he was so crippled that he could not have sustained the attack. At length Villeneuve made sail, but to stand out to sea and to save his wing, which he did not think could be risked with advantage against Nelson. Three of his ships threw themselves upon the coast; he escaped with the other two, and two frigates, and sailed for Malta. The engagement had lasted upwards of fifteen hours. All the crews attacked had performed prodigies of valour.‡ The brave captain Du Petit-Thouars

* Napoleon, a short time after the battle, addressed the following interesting letter to Madame Brueys on her husband's death:

"Your husband has been killed by a cannon-ball, while combating on his quarter-deck. He died without suffering—the death the most easy and envied by the brave. I feel warmly for your grief. The moment which separates us from the object we love, is terrible; we feel isolated on earth; we almost experience the convulsions of the last agony; the faculties of the soul are annihilated; its connexion with the earth is preserved only across a veil which distorts everything. We feel in such a situation that there is nothing which still binds us to life; that it were far better to die; but when, after such first and unavoidable throes, we press our children to our hearts, tears and more tender sentiments arise; and life becomes bearable for their sakes. Yes, madam, they will open the fountains of your heart; you will watch their childhood; educate their youth; you will speak to them of their father; of your present grief; and of the loss which they and the republic have sustained in his death. After having resumed your interest in life by the chord of maternal love, you will perhaps feel some consolation from the friendship and warm interest which I shall ever take in the widow of my friend."—*Napoleon's Confidential Correspondence*. E.

† "At ten o'clock *L'Orient* blew up, with an explosion so tremendous, that nothing in ancient or modern war was ever equal to it. Every ship in the hostile fleets was shaken to its centre. The firing, by universal consent, ceased on both sides, and the awful explosion was followed by a silence still more awful. After a pause, however, of ten minutes, the firing recommenced."—*Alison*. E.

"*L'Orient* blew up about eleven o'clock in the evening. The whole horizon seemed on fire; the earth shook; and the smoke which proceeded from the vessel ascended heavily in a mass, like an immense black balloon. It then brightened up, and exhibited the objects of all descriptions which had been precipitated on the scene of conflict. What a terrible moment of fear and desolation for the French who witnessed this awful catastrophe!"—*Louis Bonaparte*. E.

‡ "The crews of the French fleet all fought with the enthusiastic courage which is characteristic of their nation. Casa Bianca, captain of *L'Orient*, fell mortally wounded, when the flames were devouring that splendid vessel; his son, a boy ten years of age

had two of his limbs shot off. He ordered snuff to be brought him, remained on his quarter-deck, and, like Brueys, waited till a cannon-ball despatched him. Our whole squadron, excepting the two ships and two frigates, carried off by Villeneuve, was destroyed. Nelson had suffered so severely that he could not pursue the fugitives.

Such was the famous battle of Aboukir, the most disastrous that the French had yet sustained, and the one the military consequences of which were destined to prove the most prejudicial. The fleet which had carried the French to Egypt, which might have served to succour or to recruit them, which was to second their movements on the coast of Syria, had there been any to execute, which was to overawe the Porte, to force it to put up with false reasoning, and to oblige it to wink at the invasion of Egypt, which finally, in case of reverse, was to convey the French back to their country—that fleet was destroyed.* The French ships were burned, but they had not been burned by themselves, a circumstance which made a vast difference in regard to the moral effect resulting from it. The news of this disaster spread rapidly in Egypt, and for a moment filled the army with despair. Bonaparte received the tidings with imperturbable composure. “Well,” said he, “we must die in this country, or get out of it as great as the ancients.” He wrote to Kleber, “This will oblige us to do greater things than we intended. We must hold ourselves in readiness.” The great soul of Kleber was worthy of this language: “Yes,” replied Kleber, “we must do great things. I am preparing my faculties.” The courage of these great men supported the army and restored its confidence. Bonaparte strove to divert the thoughts of the soldiers by various expeditions, and soon made them forget this disaster. On the festival of the foundation of the republic, celebrated on the 1st of Vendémiaire, he strove to give a new stimulus to their imagination: he had engraved on Pompey’s Pillar the names of the first forty soldiers slain in Egypt. They were the forty who had fallen in the attack of Alexandria. These forty names of men, sprung from the villages of France, were thus associated with the immortality of Pompey and Alexander. He issued this grand and extraordinary address to his army, in which was recorded his own wonderful history:

“Soldiers,

“We celebrate the first day of the year VII of the republic.

“Five years ago the independence of the French people was threatened; but you took Toulon; this was an omen of the destruction of your enemies.

“A year afterwards you beat the Austrians at Dego.

“The following year you were on the summits of the Alps.

“Two years ago you were engaged against Mantua, and you gained the famous victory of St. George.

“Last year you were at the sources of the Drave and the Isonzo, on your return from Germany.

was combating by his side when he was struck, and embracing his father, resolutely refused to quit the ship, though a gun-boat came alongside to take him off. He contrived to bind his dying parent to the mast which had fallen into the sea, and floated off with the precious charge; he was seen after the explosion by some of the British squadron, who made the utmost efforts to save his life; but, in the agitation of the waves following that dreadful event, both were swallowed up, and seen no more.”—*Alison*. E.

* “Of thirteen ships of the line, nine were taken and two burned; of four frigates, one was sunk and one burned. The British loss was eight hundred and ninety-five in killed and wounded. Of the French, five thousand two hundred and twenty-five perished, and three thousand one hundred and five were taken and sent on shore including the wounded.”—*James’s Naval History*. E.

“Who would then have said that you would be to-day on the banks of the Nile, in the centre of the old world?”

“From the Englishman, celebrated in the arts and commerce, to the hideous and ferocious Bedouin, all nations have their eyes fixed upon you.

“Soldiers, yours is a glorious destiny, because you are worthy of what you have done and of the opinion that is entertained of you. You will die with honour, like the brave men whose names are inscribed on this pyramid; or you will return to your country covered with laurels and with the admiration of all nations.

“During the five months that we have been far away from Europe, we have been the object of the perpetual solicitude of our countrymen. On this day, forty millions of citizens are celebrating the era of representative governments: forty millions of citizens are thinking of you. All of them are saying, ‘To their labours, to their blood, we are indebted for the general peace, for repose, for the prosperity of commerce, and for the blessings of civil liberty.’”

THE DIRECTORY.

EFFECT OF THE EXPEDITION TO EGYPT IN EUROPE; PREJUDICIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE NAVAL BATTLE OF ABOUKIR; DECLARATION OF WAR BY THE PORTE; EFFORTS OF ENGLAND TO FORM A NEW COALITION—CONFERENCES WITH AUSTRIA AT SELZ—PROGRESS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS OF RASTADT—FRESH COMMOTIONS IN HOLLAND, SWITZERLAND, AND THE ITALIAN REPUBLICS; CHANGE IN THE CISALPINE CONSTITUTION—GENERAL DISPOSITION TO WAR—LAW RELATIVE TO THE CONSCRIPTION—FINANCES OF THE YEAR VII.

THE expedition to Egypt continued to be a secret in Europe long after the departure of our fleet. The taking of Malta began to fix conjectures. This place, reputed impregnable, and taken in passing, threw extraordinary glory around the French Argonauts. The landing in Egypt, the occupation of Alexandria, the battle of the Pyramids, struck all imaginations in France and in Europe. The name of Bonaparte, which had appeared so great when it came from the Alps, produced a still more singular and astonishing effect when coming from distant countries of the East. Bonaparte and Egypt were the topic of conversation everywhere. The plans already executed were considered as nothing; others far more gigantic were inferred. Bonaparte was going, it was said, to traverse Syria and Arabia, and to fall upon Constantinople or India.

The unfortunate battle of Aboukir came, not to destroy the spell of the enterprise, but to revive all the hopes of the enemies of France, and to hasten the success of their plots. England, which was extremely alarmed for her commercial power, and was only waiting for a favourable moment to turn new enemies against us, had filled Constantinople with her intrigues. The Grand Seignor was not sorry to see the Mamelukes punished, but he was not willing to lose Egypt. M. de Talleyrand, who was to have gone to offer explanations to the divan, had not set out. The agents of England had a clear field. They persuaded the Porte that the ambition of France was insatiable; that, after disturbing Europe, she aimed at convulsing the East, and that in despite of an ancient alliance, she had invaded the richest province of the Turkish empire. These suggestions, and money distributed in the divan, would not have sufficed to decide it if the fine fleet of Brueys could have come to cannonade the Dardanelles; but the battle of Aboukir deprived the French of all their ascendancy in the Levant, and gave to England a decided preponderance. The Porte solemnly declared war against France, and, for the sake of a province which she had long lost, she quarrelled with her natural friend, and connected herself with her most formidable enemies, Russia and England. The sultan ordered an army to be assembled for the purpose of reconquering Egypt. This circumstance

rendered the position of the French extremely precarious. Separated from France, and deprived of all succours by the victorious fleets of England, they were liable, besides, to be beset by all the hordes of the East. There were about thirty thousand of them to encounter so many dangers.

Nelson, after his victory, proceeded to Naples to refit his shattered squadron and to receive triumphal honours. In spite of the treaties which bound the court of Naples to France, and which forbade her to give any succour to our enemies, all the ports and dockyards of Sicily were open to Nelson. He was himself received with extraordinary honours. The king and queen went to the entrance of the port to meet him, and called him the saviour of Italy. People began to say that the triumph of Nelson ought to be the signal for a general rising; that the powers ought to take advantage of the moment when the most formidable army of France and her greatest captain were locked up for ever in Egypt, to march against her, and to drive back into her bosom her soldiers and her principles. Suggestions of this kind were assiduously presented to all the courts. Letters were written to those of Tuscany and Piedmont to rouse their hitherto disguised hatred. This was the moment, it was said, to second the court of Naples, to unite against the common enemy, to rise all at once on the rear of the French, and to slaughter them from one end of the peninsula to the other. Austria was told that she ought to seize the moment when the Italian powers should fall upon the French in the rear, to attack them in front, and to wrest Italy from them. The matter would be easy, for Bonaparte and his terrible army were no longer on the Adige. Applications were made to the Empire, stripped of part of its states, and compelled to cede the left bank of the Rhine; efforts were made to draw Prussia from her neutrality; lastly, such means were used with the Emperor Paul as were calculated to act upon his morbid mind, and to decide him to furnish the succours so long and so vainly promised by Catherine.

These suggestions could not fail to be well received at all the courts; but all were not in a condition to comply with them. Those which were nearest to France were most exasperated and most disposed to drive back the revolution into the bosom from which it had sprung; but, for the very reason that they were nearest to the republican colossus, it behoved them to use greater reserve and caution before they entered upon a struggle with it. Russia, the farthest from France, the least exposed to her vengeance, as well on account of her distance as of the moral state of her subjects, was the most easily decided. Catherine, whose subtle policy had always tended to perplex the situation of the West, either that she might have a pretext for interfering with it, or that she might gain time to do what she wished in Poland, had not carried her policy along with her. This policy is innate in the Russian cabinet; it arises from her very position: it may change its mode of proceeding or its means, according as the sovereign is crafty or violent; but it always tends, by an irresistible impulse, to the same point. The cunning Catherine had contented herself with giving hopes and succour to the emigrants. She had preached up the crusade without sending a soldier.* Her successor was about to pursue the same end, but in a way suited to his character. That prince, violent

* "Catherine's latest project was the formation of a powerful confederacy for the defence of Europe against the French republic, and she had given orders for a levy of a hundred and fifty thousand men, destined to take part in the German campaigns—a design which, if carried into effect by her firm and intrepid hand, might have accelerated, by nearly twenty years, the catastrophe which closed the war."—*Alison*. E.

and almost insane, but at the same time very generous, had at first appeared to swerve from Catherine's policy, and refused to execute the treaty of alliance concluded with England and Austria; but, after this momentary deviation, he had soon returned to the policy of his cabinet. He afforded asylum to the pretender, and took emigrants into his pay after the treaty of Campo Formio. He was persuaded that he ought to make himself the chief of the European nobility threatened by the demagogues. The step taken by the order of Malta, in selecting him for its protector, contributed to inflame his imagination, and he embraced the idea held out to him with all the susceptibility and ardour of the Russian princes. He tendered his protection to the Empire, and offered himself as guarantee for its integrity. The capture of Malta filled him with indignation, and he offered the co-operation of his armies against France. England triumphed, therefore, at St. Petersburg as at Constantinople, and made enemies till then irreconcilable go hand in hand.

The like zeal did not prevail everywhere. Prussia found herself too much benefited by her neutrality and by the exhaustion of Austria, to have any desire to interfere in the struggle of the two systems. She merely watched her frontiers towards Holland and France, in order to keep out the revolutionary contagion. She had placed her armies in such a manner as to form a sanitary cordon. The Empire, which had learned to its cost to appreciate the power of France, and which was still liable to become the theatre of war, wished for peace. Even the dispossessed princes wished for it too, because they were sure of obtaining indemnities on the right bank. The ecclesiastical princes alone, threatened with secularization, demanded war. The Italian powers of Piedmont and Tuscany desired nothing better than an occasion, but they trembled under the iron grasp of the French republic. They waited for Naples or Austria to give them the signal. With respect to Austria, though the best disposed of the courts forming the monarchical coalition, she yet hesitated with her usual tardiness to adopt any resolution, and she was particularly concerned for her subjects, already much exhausted by the war. France had created two new republics, Switzerland and Rome, one on her flank, the other in Italy, which had greatly exasperated and thoroughly disposed her to renew the contest; but she would have winked at these fresh encroachments of the republican coalition, if she had been indemnified by some acquisitions. It was with this view that she had proposed conferences at Selz. These conferences were to take place in the summer of 1798, not far from Rastadt, and at the same time with the congress at that place. On their result would depend the determination of Austria, and the success of the efforts made to form a new coalition.

François de Neufchâteau was the envoy selected by France. It was on his account that the little town of Selz had been fixed upon. It was situated on the bank of the Rhine not far from Rastadt, but on the left bank.

This last condition was necessary, because the constitution forbade a director, on relinquishing office, to leave France before the expiration of a certain time. M. de Cobentzel had been sent by Austria. From the first moment the dispositions of that power might be perceived. She wished to be indemnified by an extension of territory for the conquests which the republican system had made in Switzerland and Italy. France desired in the first place to come to an arrangement respecting the occurrence at Vienna, and to obtain satisfaction for the insult offered to Bernadotte. But Austria evaded all explanation on that point, and always deferred that part

of the negotiation. The French envoy reverted to it incessantly. For the rest, he had orders to be content with the slightest satisfaction. France would have wished that Thugut, the minister, disgraced in appearance, should be so in reality, and that some excuse, the most insignificant in the world, should be made to Bernadotte in reparation of the insult which he had received. M. de Cobentzel merely said that his court disapproved what had passed at Vienna, but he offered no satisfaction whatever, and continued to insist on the extension of territory which he claimed. It was evident that the satisfactions of self-love would not be granted till those of ambition had been obtained. Austria alleged that the institution of the two republics, the Roman and the Helvetic, and the manifest empire exercised over the Cisalpine, Ligurian, and Batavian republics, were violations of the treaty of Campo Formio, and a dangerous alteration of the state of Europe: she desired that France should be obliged to grant compensations, if she wished her recent usurpations to be forgiven. By way of compensation, the Austrian negotiator demanded new provinces in Italy. He insisted that the line of the Adige should be carried farther, and that the Austrian possessions should extend to the Adda and the Po, which would give the emperor a good half of the Cisalpine republic. M. de Cobentzel proposed to indemnify the Cisalpine republic with part of Piedmont: he proposed also that the remainder of that kingdom should be given to the Grand-duke of Tuscany; and that the King of Sardinia should receive in compensation the States of the Church. Thus, at the price of an aggrandizement for himself in Lombardy, and for his family in Tuscany, the emperor would have sanctioned the institution of the Helvetic republic, the overthrow of the Pope, and the dismemberment of the Sardinian monarchy. France could not assent to these proposals for many reasons. In the first place, she could not dismember the Cisalpine as soon as formed, and replace under the Austrian yoke provinces which she had emancipated, to which she had promised liberty, and which she had made pay for that liberty; lastly, she had, in the preceding year, concluded a treaty with the King of Sardinia, by which she guaranteed to him his dominions. This guarantee was stipulated against Austria in particular. France, of course, could not sacrifice Piedmont; consequently François de Neufchâteau could not assent to M. de Cobentzel's proposals. They parted without coming to any conclusion. No satisfaction was given for the occurrence at Vienna. M. de Degelmann, who was to have been sent as ambassador to Paris, did not arrive, and it was notified that the two cabinets would continue to correspond through their ministers at the congress of Rastadt. This separation was generally considered as a kind of rupture.

The determination of Austria was evidently taken from that moment; but, before she recommenced hostilities, she wished to insure the concurrence of the principal powers of Europe. M. de Cobentzel set out for Berlin, and was to proceed from Berlin to St. Petersburg. The object of these journeys was to co-operate with England in forming a new coalition. The Emperor of Russia had sent to Berlin one of the most distinguished personages in Russia, Prince Repnin. M. de Cobentzel was to unite his efforts with those of Prince Repnin and the English legation to gain the young king.

France had sent to Berlin one of her most illustrious citizens, Sieyes. The reputation of Sieyes had been immense before the reign of the Convention. It had vanished under the level of the committee of public welfare. It had suddenly sprung up again when men could resume their

natural career ; and the name of Sieyes had again become the most celebrated name in France next to that of Bonaparte ; for in France, a reputation for profundity is what produces the greatest effect next to a high military renown. Sieyes was therefore one of the two great personages of the time. Always pouting and grumbling at the government, not like Bonaparte, from ambition, but from spleen against the constitution which he had not framed, he could not fail to be an annoyance. The government, therefore, conceived the idea of giving him an embassy. This would be an occasion for removing him to a distance, for making him useful, and above all, for furnishing him with the means of existence. The Revolution had deprived him of them all by abolishing ecclesiastical benefices. A high embassy would permit them to be restored to him. The highest was that of Berlin, for no ambassador had yet been sent to Austria, Russia, or England. Berlin was the theatre of all intrigues, and Sieyes, though not the fittest person for the management of affairs, was, nevertheless, a keen and a sure observer. Besides, his high reputation peculiarly qualified him to represent France, especially in Germany, for which he was better suited than for any other country.

The king was not pleased to see so celebrated a revolutionist as Sieyes arrive in his capital ; he durst not, however, refuse him. Sieyes conducted himself with temper and dignity ; he was received in the same manner, but left entirely to himself. Like all our envoys abroad, he was closely watched, and as it were sequestered. The Germans were very curious to see him, but dared not call upon him. His influence on the court of Berlin was absolutely null. It was a sense of his interest that alone defended the King of Prussia against the solicitations of England, Austria, and Russia.

While these efforts were making in Germany to decide the King of Prussia, the court of Naples, full of joy and temerity since Nelson's victory,* made immense preparations for war, and redoubled its solicitations to the sovereigns of Tuscany and Piedmont. France, out of a kind of complaisance, had suffered it to occupy the duchy of Benevento ; but it was not pacified by this concession. It flattered itself that in the approaching war it should gain half of the papal dominions.

The negotiations at Rastadt proceeded successfully for France. Treilhard, who had become director, and Bonaparte, who had gone to Egypt, had been succeeded by Jean Debry and Roberjot. After obtaining the line of the Rhine, a multitude of military, commercial, and political questions yet remained to be settled. The French deputation had become extremely extortionate, and demanded much more than it had a right to obtain. It insisted, in the first place, on having all the islands in the Rhine, which was an important article, especially in a military point of view. It then insisted on keeping Kehl and its territory, opposite to Strasburg, and Cassel and its territory, opposite to Mayence. It insisted that the commercial bridge between the two Breisachs should be re-established ; that

* "The enthusiasm of the court of Naples was already very great, when the arrival of Nelson with his victorious fleet, raised it to the highest possible pitch. The remonstrances of the French ambassador were unable to restrain the universal joy ; the presence of the British admiral was deemed a security against every danger ; a signal for the resurrection of the world against its oppressors. In vain the more prudent counsellors of the king represented the extreme peril of attacking, with their inexperienced forces, the veterans of France, before the Austrians were ready to support them on the Adige ; the war party, at the head of which were the queen and Lady Hamilton, the wife of the English ambassador, succeeded in producing a determination for the commencement of immediate hostilities."—*Atison*. E.

fifty acres of land facing the old bridge of Huningen should be granted to us, and that the important fortress of Ehrenbreitstein should be demolished. It next demanded that the navigation of the Rhine, and of all the German rivers falling into the Rhine, should be free; that all the tolls should be abolished; that goods should be subject to the same custom-house duty on both banks; that the towing-paths should be kept up by the states bordering upon the river. It demanded a last and highly important condition, namely, that the debts of the countries on the left bank ceded to France should be transferred to the countries on the right bank destined to be given as indemnities.

The deputation of the Empire replied with justice that the line of the Rhine ought to present an equal security to both nations; that it was the reason of an equal security which had been more particularly alleged in order to cause this line to be granted to France; but that this security would cease to exist for Germany, if France were to keep all the offensive points, as well by reserving for herself the islands, as by appropriating Cassel, Kehl, and fifty acres of land opposite to Huningen. The deputation of the Empire refused, therefore, to admit the demands of France, and proposed as the real boundary line the *Thalweg*, that is, the middle of the principal navigable arm. All the islands on the right of that line should belong to Germany, all on the left to France. In this manner, there would be placed between the two nations the real obstacle which makes a river a military line, namely, the principal navigable arm. As a consequence of this principle, the deputation demanded the demolition of Cassel and Kehl, and refused the fifty acres opposite to Huningen. It was not willing that France should retain any offensive point, while Germany was to lose them all. It refused with less reason the demolition of Ehrenbreitstein, which was incompatible with the safety of the city of Coblenz. It granted the free navigation of the Rhine, but demanded it throughout its whole course, and wished France to oblige the Batavian republic to recognise this liberty. As for the free navigation of the rivers of the interior of Germany, that article, it alleged, was beyond the sphere of its competence, and concerned each state individually. It granted the towing-paths. It proposed that everything relative to tolls and their abolition should be referred to a treaty of commerce. Lastly, it proposed, with respect to the countries on the left bank ceded to France, that they should continue to bear the charge of their own debts, on the principle that the debt accompanies its pledge, and that the estates of the immediate nobility should be considered as private property and acknowledged by that title. The deputation demanded accessorially that the French troops should evacuate the right bank, and raise the blockade of Ehrenbreitstein, because it reduced the inhabitants to famine.

These contrary pretensions gave rise to a series of notes and counter-notes during the whole summer. At length, in the month of Vendémiaire, year VI (August and September, 1798), the *Thalweg* was admitted by the French deputation. The principal navigable arm was taken for the boundary between France and Germany, and the islands were consequently to be divided upon this principle. France consented to the demolition of Cassel and Kehl, but she demanded the island of Petersau, situated in the Rhine, nearly opposite to Mayence, and of great importance for that place. The Germanic empire consented on its side to the demolition of Ehrenbreitstein. The free navigation of the Rhine and the abolition of tolls were conceded. There still remained to be settled the questions concerning the commercial bridges, the possessions of the immediate nobility, the application of the

laws of emigration in the ceded countries, and the debts of those countries. The secular princes had declared that every concession compatible with the honour and the security of the Empire ought to be made, to obtain the peace which was so necessary to Germany. It was evident that most of those princes wished to treat. Prussia exhorted them to do so. But Austria began to manifest the very contrary dispositions, and to excite the resentment of the ecclesiastical princes against the course of the negotiations. The deputies of the Empire, though decidedly in favour of peace, were extremely cautious on account of the fear which they felt of Austria, and wavered between that power and Russia. As for the French ministers, their behaviour was extremely stiff. They lived apart and in a sort of seclusion, like all our ministers in Europe. Such was the state of the congress at the conclusion of the summer of the year VI (1798).

During the occurrence of these events in the East and in Europe, France, still charged with the direction of the five republics instituted around her, had been involved in endless anxieties. Continual difficulties were encountered in regard to the direction of the public mind and the maintenance of our troops there, in keeping up a good understanding between our ambassadors and our generals, and in preserving harmony with the neighbouring states.

It had been necessary almost everywhere to do what had been done in France, that is, after striking one party very soon to strike the other. In Holland, on the 3d of Pluviose (January 22d), a sort of 18th of Fructidor had been executed, to remove the Federalists, to abolish the old regulations, and to give a unitary constitution nearly similar to that of France. But this revolution had turned too much in favour of the democrats. These had possessed themselves of all the power. After excluding from the national assembly all the deputies who were suspected by them, they had constituted themselves into a directory and two councils, without recurring to new elections. In this proceeding they meant to imitate the National Convention of France, and its notorious decrees of the 13th and 15th of Fructidor. They had since possessed themselves of the entire direction of affairs, and they went beyond the line to which the French Directory wished all the republics under its care to keep. General Daendels, one of the most distinguished men of the moderate party, came to Paris, arranged matters with our directors, and returned to Holland, to inflict on the democrats there a blow similar to that which they had recently received in Paris, in being excluded from the legislative body by means of the schisms. Thus, whatever was done in France, it was necessary to repeat immediately afterwards in the states dependent on her. Joubert was ordered to support Daendels. The latter joined the ministers, and, with the aid of the Batavian and French troops, dispersed the Directory and the councils, formed a provisory government, and caused directions to be issued for new elections. Delacroix, the French minister, who had supported the democrats, was recalled. These scenes produced their customary effect. People did not fail to assert that the republican constitutions could not go alone, that the lever of bayonets was every moment required, and that the new states were in the most complete dependence on France.

In Switzerland, the establishment of the republic, *one and indivisible*, could not take place without fighting. The small cantons of Schwytz, Zug, and Glarus, excited by the priests and the Swiss aristocrats, had sworn to oppose the adoption of the new system. General Schaumburg, without attempting to reduce them by force, had forbidden all communication of

the other cantons with them. The refractory petty cantons had immediately taken up arms and invaded Lucerne, where they had pillaged and devastated. Schaumburg had marched against them, and, after some obstinate combats, had forced them to sue for peace. The pledge of that peace had been the acceptance of the new constitution. It had been found necessary also to have recourse to the sword, and even to fire, to quell the peasants of the Upper Valais, who had made an incursion into the Lower Valais, for the purpose of re-establishing their dominion there. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the constitution was everywhere in force in Prairial (May, 1798). The Helvetic government had assembled at Aarau. Composed of a directory and two councils, it began to try its skill in the administration of the country. The new French commissioner was Rapinat,* Rewbel's brother-in-law. The Helvetic government was to arrange with Rapinat respecting the administration of affairs. Circumstances rendered this administration a difficult task. The priests and the aristocrats, nestled in the mountains, were watching for a favourable moment to raise the population afresh. It was requisite for the government to be on its guard against them, to maintain and to satisfy the French army which it had to oppose to them, to organize the administration, and to enable itself to exist soon in an independent manner. This task was not less difficult for the Helvetic government, than for the French commissioner sent to it.

It was natural that France should seize the funds belonging to the ancient aristocratic cantons, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the war. The money contained in the coffers, and the stores in the magazines formed by the late cantons, were indispensably necessary for the support of her army. It was the most ordinary exercise of the right of conquest. She might, it is true, have renounced this right, but necessity compelled her to avail herself of it at the moment. Rapinat was, therefore, ordered to put seals on all the coffers. Many Swiss, even among those who had wished for the revolution, deemed it very wrong to seize the hoards and the stores of the old governments. The Swiss are, like all mountaineers, prudent and brave, but extremely avaricious. They were glad to have liberty brought to them, and to be rid of their oligarchs, but they disliked paying the expenses of the war. While Holland and Italy had supported, almost without complaint, the enormous burden of the longest and most devastating campaigns, the Swiss patriots loudly cried out about a few millions that were taken from them. The Helvetic directory, on its part, caused fresh seals to be put over those which had just been placed by Rapinat, and thus protested against the disposal of the funds in favour of France. Rapinat immediately ordered the seals of the Helvetic directory to be removed, and declared to that directory that it was limited to administrative functions, that it could not do anything contrary to the authority of France, and that, in future, its laws and decrees should not have any force, unless they contained nothing contrary to ordinances of the commissioner and of the French general. The enemies of the Revolution—and more than one

* "The rapacity of the French commissioners who followed in the rear of the armies, soon made the Swiss regret even the spoliations of Brune and their first conquerors. Lecarlier, after levying immense sums at Berne and elsewhere, as the public treasure was exhausted, took in payment the effects of three hundred of the richest families, and sent the principal senators as prisoners to the citadel of Besançon till the contribution was paid. He was succeeded by Rapinat, whose exactions were still more intolerable."

—*Prince Hardenberg's Memoirs*. E.

had slunk into the Helvetic councils—triumphed at this squabble, and complained of tyranny. They declared that their independence was violated, and that the French republic, which had pretended to bring them liberty, had in reality brought them nothing but subjection and poverty. It was not in the councils only that the opposition manifested itself. It existed also in the directory and in the local authorities. At Lucerne and at Berne, old aristocrats occupied the administrations; they raised obstacles of all sorts against the levy of fifteen millions, assessed upon the ancient aristocratic families for the wants of the army. Rapinat took upon himself to purify the Helvetic government and administrations. By a letter of the 28th of Prairial (June 16), he demanded of the Helvetic government the dismissal of two directors, named Bay and Pfeiffer, and that of the minister for foreign affairs, and the renewal of the administrative chambers of Lucerne and Berne. This demand, made with the tone of an order, could not be refused. The dismissals were immediately given, but the rudeness with which Rapinat conducted himself, caused fresh outcries to be raised and all the blame to be laid on his side. He compromised his government, in fact, by openly violating forms, in order to effect changes which it would have been easy to obtain by other means. The French Directory immediately wrote to the Helvetic Directory, to express its disapprobation of Rapinat's conduct, and to give satisfaction for this violation of all forms. Rapinat was recalled; the dismissed members continued, nevertheless, to be excluded. The Helvetic councils nominated, as successors to the two displaced directors, Ochs, the author of the constitution, and Colone Laharpe, brother of the general who had fallen in Italy, one of the authors of the revolution in the canton de Vaud, and one of the most upright and best-intentioned citizens of his country.

An alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between the Helvetic and French republics on the 2d of Fructidor (August 19). According to this treaty, either of the two powers, being at war, had a right to require the intervention of the other, and to apply to it for succour, the amount of which was to be determined by circumstances. The requiring power was to pay the troops that should be furnished by the other. The free navigation of all the rivers of France and Switzerland was reciprocally agreed upon. Two routes were to be opened, the one from France to the Cisalpine, across the Valais and the Simplon; the other from France into Suabia, running along the Rhine, and then following the eastern shore of the Lake of Constance. In this system of united republics, France thus secured two military high-roads, to enable her to reach the states of her allies, and to debouch rapidly in Italy or in Germany. It has been observed that those two roads transferred the theatre of war to the allied states. It was not the roads, but the alliance of France which rendered these states liable to become the theatre of war. The roads were only a medium for hastening up with the more despatch, and being in time to protect them, by taking the offensive in Germany or in Italy.

The city of Geneva was incorporated with France, as well as the town of Mûchlhausen. The Italian bailiwicks, which had long hesitated between the Cisalpine and the Helvetic republics, declared for the latter, and voted for their incorporation. The Grison leagues, which the Directory would have united with Switzerland, were divided between two rival factions, and wavered between Austrian and Helvetic domination. The

monks and the foreign agents produced a new disaster in Unterwalden. They excited the peasants of that valley to rise against the French troops. A most obstinate action took place at Stanz, and it was found necessary to set fire to that unfortunate village before it could be cleared of the fanatics who had there established themselves.*

The same difficulties were encountered on the other side of the Alps. A sort of anarchy prevailed between the subjects of the new states and their governments, between those governments and our armies, between our ambassadors and our generals. The confusion was tremendous. The little Ligurian republic was inveterate against Piedmont, and determined to introduce the revolution into it at any rate. A great number of Piedmontese democrats had sought refuge in its bosom, and issued from it armed and organized, to make incursions into their country, and to attempt to overthrow the royal government. Another band had set out from the Cisalpine, and had advanced by Domo d'Ossola. But these attempts had been repulsed, and a great number of victims had been uselessly sacrificed. The Ligurian republic had not on that account desisted from harassing the government of Piedmont. It collected and armed more refugees, and purposed to make war itself. Sotin, our minister at Genoa, had the greatest difficulty to restrain it. Guingené, our minister at Turin, had on his part not less trouble to reply to the continual complaints of Piedmont, and to moderate the vengeance which it wanted to wreak on the patriots.

The Cisalpine was in frightful disorder. Bonaparte, in constituting it, had not had leisure to calculate precisely the proportions which ought to have been observed in the divisions of the territory and in the number of the functionaries; he had not had time to organize the municipal and the financial systems. This little state alone had two hundred and forty representatives. The departments were too numerous; it was eaten up by a multitude of functionaries; it had no regular and uniform system of taxation. With considerable wealth, it had no finances, and it could scarcely find means to pay the subsidy agreed upon for the support of our armies. The confusion in every other department was at its height. Since the exclusion of some members of the council, decreed by Berthier, to enforce the acceptance of the treaty of alliance with France, the revolutionists had retained the ascendancy, and the language of the Jacobins predominated in the councils and the clubs. Our army seconded this movement and supported all its extravagances. Brune, after completing the subjection of Switzerland, had returned to Italy, where he had been invested with the general command of all the French troops, since the departure of Berthier for Egypt. He was at the head of the most vehement patriots. Lahoz, the commandant of the Lombard troops, whose organization had been commenced under Bonaparte, was swayed by the same ideas and the same sentiments. There existed other causes of disorder in the misconduct of our officers. They behaved in the Cisalpine as though it had been a conquered country. They maltreated the inhabitants, required lodgings to which, agreeably to the treaties, they were not entitled, devastated the places which they inhabited, frequently levied requisitions as in time of

* "The French columns forced their way through the valley, the flames of the houses marking their steps. The village of Stantz, which was wholly built of wood, was speedily consumed; and not fewer than seventy peasants, with their pastor at their head, perished in the flames of the church. A small band of auxiliaries, arriving too late to prevent the massacre, rushed into the very thick of the battle, and after destroying twice their own number of the enemy, were cut off to the last man."—*Lacretelle*. E

war, extorted money from the local administrations, and helped themselves out of the coffers of the towns, without alleging any kind of pretext but their will and pleasure. The commandants of fortresses, in particular, committed intolerable extortions. The commandant of Mantua, for instance, had gone so far as to farm out for his own advantage the fishery of the lake. The generals proportioned their exactions to their rank, and, independently of all that they extorted, they made scandalous profits with the companies. That which contracted for the supply of the army of Italy allowed a bonus of forty per cent. to the staffs. We may conceive what must have been its gains in order to enable it to make such an allowance to its patrons. In consequence of desertions, there were not in the ranks half the men inserted in the lists, so that the republic was paying double what it ought to have done. Notwithstanding all these malversations, the soldiers were ill paid, and almost all of them several months in arrear. Thus the country which we occupied was terribly drained, while our soldiers fared none the better for that. The Cisalpine patriots tolerated all these disorders without complaining; because the staff lent them its support.

At Rome, things went on better. There, a commission, composed of Daunou, Florent, and Faypoult, governed the emancipated country with wisdom and integrity. These three men had framed a constitution, which had been adopted, and which, excepting a few differences, and the denominations, which were not the same, was an exact copy of the French constitution. The directors were termed consuls; the council of the ancients was called the senate; and the second council, the tribunate. But it was not enough to give a constitution; it was requisite to put it in force. It was not, as it may easily be imagined, the fanaticism of the Romans that opposed its establishment, but their indolence. There were no opposers but a few peasants of the Apennines, instigated by the monks, who were soon quelled by the presence of our soldiers. But in the inhabitants of Rome, who had been called to compose the consulate, the senate, and the tribunate, there prevailed an extreme carelessness and inaptitude for business. It had required great trouble to induce them to sit every other day, and they absolutely insisted on summer vacations. To this indolence must be added an absolute inexperience and incapacity in matters of administration. There was more zeal in the Cisalpines, but it was zeal without skill and without moderation, which rendered it quite as mischievous as carelessness. It was to be apprehended that, on the departure of the French commission, the Roman government would fall into dissolution, from the sloth or the retirement of its members. And yet people were very fond of places at Rome; they set a high value on them, as is usual in states destitute of industry.

The commission had put an end to all the malversations practised at the first moment of our entry into Rome. It had taken into its own hands the management of the finances, and directed them with integrity and ability. Faypoult, who was an upright and clever functionary, had established a very judicious system of taxation for the whole Roman state. He had thus contrived to provide for the wants of our army; he had cleared off all the arrears of pay due not only to the army of Rome, but also to the division which had embarked at Civita Vecchia. If the finances had been as well managed in the Cisalpine, the country would not have been drained, and our soldiers would have lived in abundance. At Rome, the military authority was completely subject to the commission. General St. Cyr, who

had succeeded Massena, was distinguished by strict probity; but, sharing that fondness for authority which was becoming general among his comrades, he appeared dissatisfied at being subordinate to the commission. At Milan, in particular, people were extremely discontented at all that was doing at Rome. The Italian democrats were angry to see the Roman democrats mere ciphers and curbed by the commission. The French staff at the head of the divisions stationed at Rome was mortified to see a rich portion of the conquered countries slip through its fingers, and sighed for the moment when the commission should relinquish its functions.

It would be wrong to charge to the account of the French Directory the disorder that prevailed in the allied countries. No will, how strong soever it might be, could have prevented the explosion of the passions which disturbed them; and, as for extortions, the will of Napoleon himself proved not strong enough to prevent them in the conquered provinces. What a single individual, full of genius and vigour, could not effect, a government composed of five members, and placed at an immense distance, was still less capable of accomplishing. There were, nevertheless, in the majority of our Directory, the greatest zeal for insuring the welfare of the new republics, and the warmest indignation against the insolence and exactions of the generals, and the manifest robbery of the companies. Excepting Barras, who took half of all the profits of the companies, and who was the hope of all the firebrands of Milan, the other four directors denounced with the greatest energy what was doing in Italy. Lareveillère, in particular, whose strict integrity revolted at such excesses, submitted to the Directory a plan which was approved. He wished that a commission should continue to direct the Roman government, and to bridle the military authority; that an ambassador should be sent to Milan, to represent the government, and to deprive the staff of all influence there; that this ambassador should be authorized to make in the Cisalpine constitution the changes that it required — such as reducing the number of the local divisions, of the public functionaries, and of the members of the councils; that, lastly, this ambassador should have for his assistant an administrator capable of creating a system of taxation and accountability. This plan was adopted. Trouvé, late minister of France at Naples, and Faypoult, one of the members of the commission at Rome, were sent to Milan, to carry into execution the measures proposed by Lareveillère.

Trouvé, as soon as he should reach Milan, was to call around him the most enlightened men of the Cisalpine, and to concert with them the changes that it would be necessary to make, either in the constitution or in the officers of the government. When all these changes were determined upon, he was then to get them proposed in the councils of the Cisalpine by deputies under his influence, and, in case of need, to support them with the authority of France. At the same time, he was to conceal his hand as much as possible.

Trouvé, having proceeded from Naples to Milan, did there what he had been directed. But the secret of his mission was a difficult one to keep. It was soon known that he had come to change the constitution, and especially to reduce the number of the places of all kinds. The patriots, well aware, from the conduct of the ambassador, that the reductions would be levelled at them, were furious. They looked for support to the staff of the army, which was extremely indisposed towards the new authority, to which it was obliged to submit; and a scandalous struggle ensued between the French legation and the French staff, surrounded by Italian patriots.

Trouvé and the men by whom he was visited, were denounced with extreme violence in the Cisalpine councils. It was alleged that the French minister had come to violate the constitution, and to add another to those acts of oppression which the Directory had exercised upon all the allied republics.* Trouvé had unpleasant things of every kind to encounter, on the part of the Italian patriots and of our officers. The latter conducted themselves with the utmost indecency at a ball which he gave, and caused the greatest scandal. These scenes were deplorable, especially on account of the effect which they produced upon the foreign ministers. Not only did the actors in them exhibit to those ministers a spectacle of the most mischievous divisions, but they insulted them at the diplomatic dinners by drinking, before their faces, to the extermination of all kings. The most vehement Jacobinism reigned at Milan. Brune and Lahoz set out for Paris, in order to obtain the support of Barras. But the Directory, forewarned, was not to be shaken in its resolutions. Lahoz was ordered to leave Paris at the very moment of his arrival. As for Brune, he was directed to return to Milan, and to concur in the changes which Trouvé was to bring about there.

After making the various modifications required by the constitution, Trouvé submitted them to the most discreet of the deputies, whom he assembled at his residence. They approved of them, but the irritation was so great that they durst not undertake themselves to propose them to the two councils. Trouvé was therefore obliged to display French authority, and to exercise ostensibly a power which he would fain have concealed. At bottom, however, the mode employed was of little consequence. It would have been absurd in France, who had created these new republics, and who enabled them to exist by her support, not to avail herself of her strength for the establishment there of the order which she deemed the best. It was much to be regretted that she had not made it the best possible on the very first day, and at once, that she might not be obliged to repeat these acts of her omnipotence. On the 30th of August (13th of Fructidor), Trouvé called together the directory and the two councils of the Cisalpine. He submitted to them the new constitution and all the administrative and financial laws which Faypoult had prepared. The councils were reduced from two hundred and forty to one hundred and twenty members. The persons to be retained in the councils and the government were designated. A regular system of taxation was established. There were personal and indirect taxes, which at the moment they were striving to introduce in France, and which gave great offence to the patriots. All these changes were approved of and adopted. Brune had been obliged to furnish the aid of the French troops. Of course, the rage of the Cisalpine patriots was impotent; the revolution was effected without obstacle. It was decided, moreover, that a convocation of the primary assemblies should speedily take place, for the purpose of approving of the alterations made in the constitution.

Trouvé's task was accomplished; but the French government, seeing the commotion which that minister had excited, thought that it would not be possible to leave him at Milan, that it ought to give him some other embassy,

* " 'The innovations in the Cisalpine republic,' said Lucien Bonaparte at Milan, 'tending, as they do, to abridge popular freedom by the excessive power which they confer upon the Directory, especially the exclusive right of proposing laws, are worthy of eternal condemnation. Nations disgusted with France, who gives them constitutions one day only to take them away the next, will finally conceive a detestation of the republic, and prefer their former submission to a sovereign.' "—*Botta*. E

and to send to Milan a man who was a stranger to the late squabbles. Unfortunately, the Directory suffered a *ci-devant* member of the Jacobins, who had become a base and supple courtier of Barras, who had been made a partner by him in the traffic of the companies, and put into the way of honours, to be imposed upon it. This was Fouché, whose appointment Barras obtained unawares from his colleagues. Fouché set out to succeed Trouvé, and the latter was to proceed to Stuttgart. But Brune, seizing the opportunity of Trouvé's departure, took upon himself, with an audacity not to be accounted for, unless by the military licentiousness which then prevailed, to make the most important alterations in the work of the minister of France. He required the resignation of three of the directors nominated by Trouvé; he changed several of the ministers; he made various modifications in the constitution. Sopranzi, one of the three directors, whose resignation he had demanded, having courageously refused to give it, he ordered his soldiers to seize him and drag him by force from the palace of the government. He then lost no time in convoking the primary assemblies, in order to obtain their approbation of Trouvé's work, modified as it had just been by himself. Fouché, who arrived at this juncture, ought to have opposed this convention, and not have permitted the alterations which the general had no authority for making to be sanctioned. But he allowed Brune to act as he pleased. Trouvé's modifications, and the more recent modifications of Brune, were approved of by the primary assemblies, submissive at once to the military power and to the violence of the patriots.

When the French Directory was informed of these transactions, it did not flinch. It annulled all that Brune had done, removed him from his command, and sent Joubert to restore matters to the state in which Trouvé had left them. Fouché raised objections; he alleged that, the new constitution having been approved of with the alterations which Brune had made, it would have a bad effect to change it again. He was right, and he even gained over Joubert to his opinion. But it did not become the Directory to wink at such daring acts of its generals, and, above all, it did not become it to permit them to exercise such a power in the allied states. It recalled Fouché himself, who thus passed only a few days in the Cisalpine, and it enjoined the integral re-establishment of the constitution, as given by Trouvé in the name of France. As for the individuals from whom Brune had forced their resignation, they were prevailed upon to renew it, in order to avoid fresh changes.

Thus the Cisalpine remained constituted as the Directory had wished it to be, excepting the few persons changed by Brune. But these continual changes, these skirmishes, these disputes between our civil and military agents, produced the most deplorable effect, disheartened the recently emancipated people, lowered the consideration of the mother republic, and proved the difficulty of keeping all these bodies in their proper orbit.

The events in the Cisalpine were made a subject of severe reproach against the Directory; for it is customary to turn everything into a grievance against a government which one is attacking, and to make crimes of the very obstacles which it encounters in its course. The double opposition, which began again to appear in the Councils, attacked in different ways the operations executed in Italy. The theme was quite simple for the patriot opposition. An outrage had been perpetrated, it alleged, against the independence of an allied republic, nay, an infraction of the French laws had been committed, for the Cisalpine constitution, which had just been altered, was guaranteed by a treaty of alliance, and that treaty, approved of

by the Councils, could not be infringed by the Directory. As for the constitutional, or moderate, opposition, it was natural to expect its approbation rather than its reproaches, because the changes made in the Cisalpine were directed against the exclusive patriots. But in this part of the opposition was Lucien Bonaparte. He was seeking causes of quarrel with the government, and, besides, he deemed it his duty to defend the work of his brother, which was attacked by the Directory. He cried out like the patriots, that the independence of the allies was attacked, that the treaties were violated, &c.

The two oppositions spoke out more and more boldly every day. They began to contest with the Directory certain prerogatives, with which it was invested by the law of the 19th of Fructidor, and which it had occasionally exercised. Thus this law gave it a right to shut up clubs, or to suppress journals, the tendency of which appeared to be dangerous. The Directory had closed some clubs which had become too violent, and suppressed some journals which had circulated false intelligence, evidently invented with a malicious intention. There was one journal, among the rest, which alleged that the Directory was going to incorporate the Pays de Vaud with France; the Directory suppressed it. The patriots inveighed against this arbitrary power, and demanded the repeal of several of the clauses of the law of the 19th of Fructidor. The Councils decided that these clauses should remain in force, till the enactment of a law relative to the press: a report was ordered preliminary to the preparation of that law.

The Directory encountered strong opposition in financial matters. It was time to close the budget of the year VI (1797-1798), and to submit that of the year VII (1798-1799). That of the year VI had been fixed at 616 millions, but in these 616 millions there had been a deficit of 62 millions, and, besides this deficit, a considerable arrear in the receipts. The creditors, notwithstanding the solemn promise to discharge the consolidated third, had not been integrally paid. It was decided that *bons* receivable in payment of taxes should be given to them in discharge of the arrear. It was requisite to settle immediately the budget of the year VII, which was about to commence. The expenditure was fixed at 600 millions, in the supposition of no new continental war. It was found necessary to reduce the land-tax and the personal-tax, which were much too high, and to raise the duties on stamps and registration, the customs, &c. Additional centimes were decreed for the local expenses, and tolls at the gates of towns for the maintenance of the hospitals and other institutions. Notwithstanding these augmentations, Ramel, the minister, asserted that the taxes would not produce more at the utmost than three-fourths, to judge from past years, and that it was a gross exaggeration to estimate the effective receipts at 450 or 500 millions. He therefore demanded fresh resources to cover in reality the expenditure of 600 millions. He proposed a tax on doors and windows, and a tax on salt. Violent discussions ensued. The tax on doors and windows was decreed, and a report on the salt-tax was prepared.

In these contradictions there was nothing mischievous, but they were the symptoms of a secret animosity, which needed nothing but public disasters to break forth. The Directory, perfectly aware of the state of Europe, clearly saw that new dangers were preparing, and that war was about to be rekindled on the continent. On this point the movements of the different cabinets left not the least doubt. Cobentzel and Repnin had not succeeded in their efforts to induce Prussia to relinquish her neutrality, and had left in high dudgeon. But Paul I., completely won, had stipulated a treaty of

alliance with Austria, and it was said that his troops had marched. Austria was arming with activity. The court of Naples had ordered the enrolment of the whole population.* It would have been the height of imprudence not to make preparations, on observing such movements from the banks of the Vistula to those of the Volturno. Our armies were greatly diminished by desertion. The Directory resolved to provide for their replenishment by a grand institution, which was yet to be created. The Convention had twice drawn upon the population of France, but in an extraordinary manner, without enacting a permanent law for the annual levy of soldiers. In March, 1793, it had ordered a levy of three hundred thousand men; in August, in the same year, it had adopted the grand and glorious resolution of the levy *en masse*, by generations. The republic had since upheld itself by this measure alone, by forcing those who had taken arms at that epoch to remain under its banners. But war and disease had cut off a great number, and peace had brought back another great number to their homes. Only twelve thousand furloughs had been granted, but there had been ten times as many desertions; and it was difficult to be severe towards men, who had for six years defended their country, and made her triumphant over Europe at the expense of their blood. The skeletons remained, and they were excellent. It was necessary to fill them up by new levies, and to take, not an extraordinary and temporary measure, but a general and permanent measure; to enact, in short, a law which should become, in some measure, an inherent part of the constitution. The conscription was devised.

General Jourdan was the reporter of this grand and salutary law, which has been made a bad use of, like everything else in this world, but which nevertheless saved France and raised her glory to its utmost height. By this law every Frenchman was declared to be a soldier by right, during a certain period of his life. This period was from the age of twenty to twenty-five. The young men of that age were to be divided into five classes, year by year. The government, according to its wants, was to call out these men, beginning with the first class, comprehending those of twenty, and with the youngest of each class. It could then call out the five classes successively, in proportion to the wants of the state. In time of peace, the conscripts were to be obliged to serve till they were twenty-five years old. In time of war, the duration of service was to be unlimited. The government was to be empowered to grant furloughs, when it conceived that this might be done without inconvenience. There was to be no exemption of any kind, except in favour of those who had married before the enactment of the law, or who had already paid their debt in the preceding wars. This law was thus destined to provide for ordinary cases; but in extraordinary cases, when the country should be declared in danger, the government was to have a right, as in 1793, to the entire population. Recourse was to be again had to the levy *en masse*.

This law was adopted without opposition, and considered as one of the most important creations of the Revolution. The Directory immediately applied for authority to enforce it, and claimed a right to levy two hundred thousand conscripts, to complete the armies and to put them on a respecta-

* "The infantry of Naples consisted of thirty thousand regular soldiers, and fifteen thousand militia; forty thousand men were ordered to be added to the army to carry it to the war establishment, and the militia to be quadrupled. But these energetic measures were never carried into full execution, and the effective forces of the monarchy never exceeded sixty thousand men, of which one-third were required to garrison the fortresses on the frontier."—*Jomini*. E.

ble footing. This demand was granted by acclamation on the 2d of Vendémiaire, year VI (September 23, 1798). Though the two oppositions frequently counteracted the Directory, out of spleen or jealousy, still they wished the republic to retain its ascendancy in presence of the powers of Europe. A levy of men requires a levy of money. The Directory demanded, over and above the budget, 125 millions; 90 for the equipment of the two hundred thousand conscripts, and 35 to repair the recent naval disaster. The question was, from what source that sum was to be taken. Ramel, the minister, proved that the *bons* for the payment of two-thirds of the debt had almost wholly come back, and that there were yet left national domains to the amount of 400 millions, which were consequently free, and might be devoted to the new wants of the republic. The sale of 125 millions worth of national domains was in consequence decreed. One twelfth was to be paid in ready money, the remainder in obligations of the purchasers, negotiable at pleasure, and payable successively in eighteen months. They were to bear interest at five per cent. This paper would answer the purposes of ready money, from the facility of paying it away to the companies. The domains were to be sold at eight times their annual produce. No more opposition was made to this resource, than to the law for recruiting, of which it was the consequence.

The Directory thus placed itself in a condition to reply to the menaces of Europe, and to uphold the dignity of the republic. Two events of inferior importance had occurred, the one in Ireland, the other at Ostend. Ireland had rebelled,* and the Directory had sent thither General Humbert, with fifteen hundred men. A remittance of money which the treasury was to have made having been unfortunately delayed, a second division of six thousand men, under the command of General Sarrazin, had been prevented from sailing, and Humbert had been left unsupported. He had maintained his ground for a considerable time, and with such success as to prove that the arrival of the expected reinforcement would have entirely changed the aspect of things.† But, after a series of honourable combats, he had been

* "The rebellion assumed a particularly formidable aspect in the counties of Wexford and Wicklow. Almost the whole county of Kildare was also in open insurrection. The insurgents took, and retained possession of, the town of Wexford for three weeks; kept the government in a state of constant anxiety and alarm, defeating the King's troops on several occasions; but were put down at Vinegar Hill by a royalist force consisting of about 13,000 effective men with a formidable train of artillery. The greatest cruelties were committed on both sides. In this rebellion, according to the most probable accounts, the loss of the army amounted to 19,700 men; that of the rebels and fugitives exceeded 50,000."—*Plowden's History of Ireland*. E.

† The landing of the French troops was announced by two proclamations, one from General Humbert, the other from Napper Tandy to his countrymen. The first bore, "United Irish! The soldiers of the great nation have landed on your shores, to aid you in breaking your fetters and recovering your liberties. Napper Tandy is at their head. He has sworn to break your fetters, or perish in the attempt. To arms, freemen, to arms! The trumpet calls you. Do not let your brethren perish unrevenged; if it be their destiny to fall, may their blood cement the glorious fabric of freedom!" Napper Tandy's proclamation was still more energetic. "What do I hear? The British government talks of concessions; will you accept them? They hold out in one hand the olive branch; look well to the other, you will see in it the hidden dagger. No; Irishmen! you will not be the dupe of base intrigues. Barbarous crimes have been committed in your country; your friends have fallen victims to their devotion to your cause; their shades surround you; they cry aloud for vengeance. It is your duty to avenge their death. It is your duty to strike the assassins of your friends on their bloody thrones. Irishmen, declare a war of extermination against your oppressors—the eternal war of liberty against tyranny." E.

"Never did England run greater danger than in the year 1798, when one expedition

obliged to lay down his arms, with his whole corps.* A check of the like nature, sustained by England, had balanced this loss. The English came from time to time and threw a few bombs into our seaports. They effected a landing at Ostend, for the purpose of destroying the sluices; but vigorously pursued, and cut off from their ships, they were taken to the number of two thousand men.

directed against the East, threatened her Indian empire, and another against the West, under the command of General Humbert, was destined to carry into Ireland the principles of the French Revolution, and sever that important island from the British empire."—*Prince Hardenberg's Memoirs*. E.

* "At length General Humbert's little corps was surrounded, and compelled to surrender, after a brave resistance, by Lord Cornwallis."—*Annual Register*. E.

THE DIRECTORY.

RESUMPTION OF HOSTILITIES—INVASION OF THE ROMAN STATES BY THE NEAPOLITAN ARMY; CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES BY GENERAL CHAMPIONNET—ABDICATION OF THE KING OF SARDINIA—DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST AUSTRIA—MILITARY MEANS AND PLANS OF THE DIRECTORY—CAMPAIGN OF 1799; INVASION OF THE GRISONS; BATTLE OF STOKACH; RETREAT OF JOURDAN—BATTLE OF MAGNANO IN ITALY; RETREAT OF SCHERER—MURDER OF THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES AT RAS TADT.

THOUGH Austria had concluded an alliance with Russia and England, and could reckon upon a Russian army and an English subsidy, still she hesitated to involve herself in a fresh struggle with the French republic. Spain, who beheld with pain the flame rekindled on the continent, and who equally dreaded the progress of the republican system and its ruin (for in the one case she was liable to be revolutionized, and, in the other, punished on account of her alliance with France), had interposed anew to pacify the exasperated adversaries. Her mediation, provoking discussions, gave rise to some possibility of arrangement, and caused fresh hesitations at Vienna, or at least fresh delays. At Naples, so furious was the frenzy of the court that it was indignant at any delay, and determined to find some way of commencing hostilities, in order to force Austria to draw the sword. The folly of this petty court was unparalleled. It was the lot of the Bourbons, at this period, to be led by their wives into all their faults. In this same predicament had been seen at one time, Louis XVI., Charles IV., and Ferdinand. The fate of the unfortunate Louis XVI. is known. Charles IV. and Ferdinand were hurried, though in different ways, by the same influence, into inevitable ruin. The people of Naples had been obliged to wear the English cockade. Nelson was treated as a tutelary divinity. Orders had been issued for the levy of one-fifth of the population—a sort of extravagance; for one-fiftieth, well armed, would have sufficed to give Naples rank among the powers. Each convent was to furnish a horse-soldier fully equipped; part of the possessions of the clergy had been sold; all the taxes had been doubled; lastly, that framer of unfortunate projects, all whose military plans had been so unsuccessful, and whom Fate reserved for reverses of so extraordinary a kind—Mack, had solicited to be placed at the head of the Neapolitan army.* Triumph had been decreed him before victory. The title of liberator of Italy, the same that

* "Nelson's falcon eye measured Mack's worth at once. 'General Mack,' said he, 'cannot move without five carriages. I have formed my own opinion of the man—I heartily pray I may be mistaken.'"—*Southey's Life of Nelson*. E.

Bonaparte had borne, was conferred on him. To all these grand means were added nones to all the saints, prayers to St. Januarius, and persecutions against those who were suspected of participating in French opinions.

The petty court of Naples continued its intrigues in Piedmont and Tuscany. It wanted the Piedmontese to rise in the rear of the army that occupied the Cisalpine, and the Tuscans in the rear of that which held possession of Rome. The Neapolitans would have availed themselves of the opportunity to attack the army of Rome in front; the Austrians were also to profit by it to attack that of the Cisalpine in front; and from all these combinations it was augured that not a Frenchman would escape. The King of Sardinia, a religious prince, felt some scruples on account of the treaty of alliance which bound him to France; but he was told that faith promised to oppressors was not binding, and that the Piedmontese had a right to murder the French to the very last man. Moreover, scruples were a less obstacle in this instance than the strict vigilance of the Directory. As for the Archduke of Tuscany, he was entirely destitute of means. Naples, in order to decide him, promised to send him an army in Nelson's squadron.

The Directory was on its guard and was taking its precautions. The Ligurian republic, still exasperated against the King of Sardinia, had at length declared war. To a hatred of principles was added a hatred arising from neighbourhood, and those two petty states were determined at any rate to come to blows. The Directory interfered in the quarrel, signified to the Ligurian republic that it must lay down its arms, and declared to the King of Sardinia that it would take upon itself to maintain tranquillity in his dominions, but that, to this end, it must occupy an important post there. It demanded, in consequence, permission to occupy by its troops the citadel of Turin. Such a pretension was not justifiable unless by the fears which the court of Piedmont excited. There was incompatibility between the old and the new states, and they could not trust one another. The King of Sardinia loudly remonstrated; but he had not the means of resisting the demands of the Directory. The French occupied the citadel, and immediately set about arming it. The Directory had separated the army of Rome from that of the Cisalpine, and had appointed General Championnet, who had distinguished himself on the Rhine, to the command of it. The army was dispersed over the whole of the Roman states; there were in the March of Ancona four or five thousand men, commanded by General Casa Bianca; General Lemoine was, with two or three thousand men, on the opposite slope of the Apennines, towards Terni. Macdonald, with the left nearly five thousand strong, was spread out upon the Tiber. There was a small reserve at Rome. The so-called army of Rome amounted, therefore, to fifteen or sixteen thousand men at most. The necessity for watching the country, and the difficulty of subsisting in it, had required the dispersion of our troops, and, if an active and well-seconded enemy had known how to seize the opportunity, he might have made the French repent their separation.

Great stress was laid on this circumstance at Naples. The court flattered itself with the idea of surprising the French, and destroying them in detail. What glory to take the initiative, to gain the first success, and at last to force Austria to enter upon the career, after opening it for her! Such were the reasons that induced the court of Naples to commence hostilities. It hoped that the French would be easily beaten, and that Austria could no

longer hesitate, when once the sword should be drawn. M. de Gallo and Prince Belmonte-Pignatelli, who were rather better acquainted with Europe and with political affairs, were opposed to these ideas. But their prudent counsels were disregarded. In order to decide the poor king and to draw him from his innocent pursuits, a letter, as if from the emperor, was forged, it is said, and this provoked the commencement of hostilities. Orders for marching at the end of November were forthwith issued. The whole Neapolitan army was set in motion. The king himself set out, with great parade, to be present at the operations. There was no declaration of war, but a summons was sent to the French to evacuate the Roman states. They replied to this summons by preparing to fight, notwithstanding the disproportion of number.

In the respective situation of the two armies nothing would have been easier than to overwhelm the French dispersed in the Roman provinces, on the right and left of the Apennines. To this end, the Neapolitans should have marched straight upon their centre, and directed the mass of their own forces between Rome and Terni. The left of the French, placed beyond the Apennines to guard the Marches, would have been cut off from their right, placed on the other side to guard the banks of the Tiber. They would thus have been prevented from joining, and driven back in disorder to Upper Italy. The Peninsula, at least, would have been delivered; Tuscany, the Roman states, and the Marches, would have fallen under the dominion of Naples. The number of the Neapolitan troops would have rendered this plan easier and more certain, but it was impossible for Mack to employ so simple a manœuvre. As in all his former plans, he proposed to surround the enemy by a multitude of detached corps. He had nearly sixty thousand men, forty thousand of whom formed the active army, and twenty thousand the garrisons. Instead of directing this mass of forces upon the essential point of Terni, he divided it into six columns. The first, acting on the back of the Apennines, along the Adriatic, was to proceed by the Ascoli road to the Marches. The second and third, acting on the other side of the Apennines, and keeping themselves in communication with the first, were to march, the one upon Terni, the other upon Magliano. The fourth, constituting the main body, was to move upon Frascati and Rome. A fifth, proceeding along the coast of the Mediterranean, was to traverse the Pontine marshes, and to rejoin the main body on the Via Appiana. The sixth and last, put on board Nelson's squadron, was bound for Leghorn, to excite Tuscany to rise and to cut off the retreat of the French. Thus every preparation was made for enveloping and taking them all, though nothing was done for beating them first.

It was in this order that Mack marched with his forty thousand men. The quantity of his baggage, the want of discipline in his troops, and the bad state of the roads, rendered his movements extremely slow. The Neapolitan army formed a long train, without order and without unity. Championnet, apprized in time of the danger, detached two corps to watch the march of the enemy, and to protect the separate corps as they fell back. Conceiving that he should not be able to retain Rome, he resolved to take a position in rear of the city, on the banks of the Tiber, between Civita Castellana and Civita Ducale, and to concentrate his forces in order to resume the offensive.

While Championnet was prudently retiring and evacuating Rome, leaving eight hundred men in the castle of St. Angelo, Mack was proudly advancing upon all the roads, and apparently expecting to meet with no

resistance. He arrived at the gates of Rome on the 9th of Frimaire, year VII (November 29, 1798), and entered without obstacle. A triumphal reception was prepared for the king.* That weak prince, treated as conqueror and liberator, was intoxicated with the kind of military glory which was awarded him. He had been advised to make a noble use of his victory, and he invited the Pope to come and resume possession of his dominions. His army, however, less generous than himself, committed atrocious pillage. The Roman populace, with its usual fickleness, attacked the houses of those whom he accused of being revolutionists, and destroyed them. The mortal remains of the unfortunate Duphot were exhumed and treated with the grossest indignity.

While the Neapolitans were thus wasting time at Rome, Championnet was executing with extraordinary activity the skilful determination which he had taken. Aware that the essential point was at the centre, on the Upper Tiber, he directed Macdonald to take a strong position at Civita Castellana, and reinforced him with all the troops that he could spare. He transferred part of the forces that he had in the Marches to the other side of the Apennines, and left General Casa Bianca no more than were absolutely necessary to retard the march of the enemy in that quarter. He hastened in person to Ancona, to accelerate the arrival of his artillery and ammunition. Concerning himself no more than he could help respecting what was doing in his rear in Tuscany, he sent an officer with a small detachment to observe what was passing on that side.

The Neapolitans at length fell in with the French on the different roads by which they were advancing. They were thrice as numerous, but they had to deal with the famous soldiers of Italy, and they found the task a hard one. In the Marches, the column advancing by Ascoli was driven back to a great distance by Casca Bianca. On the Terni road, a Neapolitan colonel was taken, with his whole corps, by General Lemoine. This first experience of war with the French was not calculated to encourage the Neapolitans. Mack, nevertheless, made his dispositions for carrying the position which he felt to be the most important, that of Civita Castellana, where Macdonald was with the main body of our troops. Civita Castellana is the ancient Veji. It is seated on a ravine, in a very strong position. The French held several distant posts, which covered the approaches to it. On the 14th of Frimaire (December 4), Mack caused Borghetto, Nepi, and Rignano to be attacked by a considerable force. He sent an accessory column along the opposite bank of the Tiber, to take possession of Rignano. None of these attacks proved successful. One of the columns, put to flight, lost all its artillery. A second, being enveloped, lost three thousand prisoners. The others, disheartened, confined themselves to mere demonstrations. In no instance could the Neapolitan troops withstand the attack of the French. Mack, somewhat disconcerted, renounced the attempt to take the central position of Civita Castellana, and began to discover that it was not on this point that he ought to have endeavoured to force the enemy's line. It was at Terni, a point much nearer to the Apennines, and much less defended by the French, that he ought to have struck the principal blow. He then began to think how to remove his troops and to make them fall back from Civita Castellana upon Terni. But i

* "When the King of Naples made his triumphant entry into Rome, such was the state of discipline of his troops, that they fell into confusion merely from the fatigues of the march and the severity of the rains, and arrived in as great disorder at the termination of a few days' advance, as if they had sustained a disastrous retreat."—*Alison*. E

would have required that rapidity of execution which was impossible with undisciplined troops, to conceal that movement. It took several days to make the main body of the army recross the Tiber; and Mack delayed still more by his own fault an operation already too slow. Macdonald, whom he hoped to detain by demonstrations at Civita Castellana, had already quitted that place and crossed the Tiber. Lemoine had been reinforced at Terni. Thus the Neapolitans had been forestalled on all the points which they purposed to surprise. The first movement of General Metsch, from Calvi on Otricoli, was productive only of disaster. On the 19th of Frimaire (December 9), driven back from Otricoli upon Calvi, that general was surrounded and obliged to lay down his arms, with four thousand men, before a corps of three thousand five hundred. From that moment, Mack thought only of returning to Rome, and falling back from Rome to the foot of the mountains of Frascati and Albano, with a view to rally his army there and to reinforce it with fresh battalions. This was but a sorry resource, for it was not the quantity of his soldiers that it behoved him to augment, but their quality that he ought to have changed; and it was not by retiring a few leagues from the field of battle that he could gain time to give them discipline and bravery.*

The King of Naples, when apprized of these disastrous events, stole away from Rome, which he had entered a few days before in triumph. The Neapolitans evacuated it in disorder, to the great satisfaction of the Romans, who were already much more annoyed by their presence than they had been by that of the French. Championnet re-entered Rome seventeen days after he had quitted it. He had truly deserved the honours of a triumph. Skilfully concentrating himself with fifteen or sixteen thousand men, he had contrived to take the offensive against forty thousand, and driven them in disorder before him. Championnet would not confine himself to the mere defence of the Roman states. He conceived the daring plan of conquering the kingdom of Naples with his little army. The enterprise was difficult, not so much on account of the force of the Neapolitan army, as the disposition of the inhabitants, who might involve us in a long and very dangerous partisan warfare. Championnet nevertheless persisted in advancing. He left Rome to pursue Mack in his retreat. He took from him by the way a great number of prisoners, and put completely to the rout the column which had landed in Tuscany, and only three thousand men of which escaped.

Mack, in complete disorder, retreated rapidly into the kingdom of Naples, and did not stop till he was before Capua, on the line of the Volturno. He selected his best troops, placed them in front of Capua, and along the whole line of the river, which is very deep, and forms a barrier that it is difficult to surmount. Meanwhile the king had reached Naples, and his sudden return had produced consternation there. The populace, enraged at the checks sustained by the army, cried treason, demanded arms, and threatened to murder the generals, the ministers, and all those to whom they attributed the disasters of the war. That odious court did not hesitate to give arms to the lazzaroni, though it was easy to foresee the use that they would make of them. No sooner had these little better than barbarians received the spoils of the arsenals, than they rose and made

* “The Neapolitan soldiers did not lose much honour,” said Nelson, “for God knows they had little to lose, but they lost what they had.” —*Southey's Life of Nelson* E.

themselves masters of Naples. Still shouting treason, they seized a king's messenger and put him to death. Acton, the favourite, to whom the public calamities began to be attributed, the queen, the king, the whole court, were filled with dismay. Naples appeared to be no longer a safe abode. The idea of seeking refuge in Sicily was immediately conceived and adopted. On the 11th of Nivose (December 31), the most valuable moveables of the crown, all the treasures of the palaces of Caserta and Naples, and twenty millions in money, were put on board Nelson's squadron, which sailed for Sicily. Acton, the author of all the public calamities, would not run the risk of staying at Naples, and embarked with the queen. All that could not be carried away was burned. It was amidst a storm, and by the light of the flames of the blazing dock-yard, that this cowardly and criminal court abandoned the kingdom which it had compromised to its dangers. It left orders, it is said, to put to death all the upper class of citizens accused of a revolutionary spirit. All were to be sacrificed down to the rank of notary. Prince Pignatelli remained at Naples, invested with the powers of viceroy.

Championnet was, meanwhile, advancing towards Naples. He had, in his turn, committed the same fault as Mack. He had divided his force into several columns, which were to rejoin one another before Capua. Their junction, after traversing a difficult country, amidst a fanatic population, excited everywhere against the pretended enemies of God and St. Januarius, was extremely uncertain.

Championnet, having arrived with his main body on the banks of the Volturno, resolved to make an attempt on Capua. Repulsed by a numerous artillery, he was obliged to relinquish the idea of a *coup-de-main*, to withdraw his troops, and to wait for the arrival of the other columns. This attempt took place on the 14th of Nivose (January 3, 1799). The Neapolitan peasantry, who had everywhere risen, intercepted our couriers and our convoys. Championnet received no intelligence concerning his other columns, and his position might be considered as extremely critical. Mack availed himself of this occasion to make amicable overtures. Championnet, reckoning upon the fortune of the French, peremptorily rejected Mack's proposals. Fortunately, he was rejoined by his columns, and an armistice was then concluded on the following conditions: Mack was to abandon the line of the Volturno, to give up the city of Capua to the French, to retire behind the line of the Regi Lagni on the Mediterranean side, and of the Ofanto on the Adriatic side, and thus to cede a great portion of the kingdom of Naples. Besides these concessions of territory, a contribution of eight millions in money was stipulated. The armistice was signed on the 22d of Nivose (January 11).

When the tidings of the armistice reached Naples, the fury of the populace was unbounded. They cried out more vehemently than ever that they were betrayed by the officers of the crown. The appearance of the commissioner appointed to receive the contribution of eight millions excited the rabble to the utmost. It rebelled and prevented the execution of the armistice. The tumult was carried to such a height that Prince Pignatelli was terrified and quitted Naples. That fine capital was now left at the mercy of the lazzaroni. There was no longer any recognized authority, and the city was threatened with a terrible convulsion. At length, after a tumult of three days, a chief was chosen, who possessed the confidence of the lazzaroni, and who had some means of restraining their fury. This

was the Prince of Moliterno. Meanwhile, the like fury burst forth in Mack's army. His soldiers, instead of charging their misfortunes to their own cowardice, were incensed against their general on account of them, and would have murdered him. The so-called liberator of Italy, who a month before had received the honours of triumph, had no other asylum than the very camp of the French. He solicited permission of Championnet to take refuge with him. The generous republican, overlooking the indecorous language of Mack in his correspondence, afforded him an asylum, gave him a place at his table, and allowed him to retain his sword.

Championnet, authorized by the refusal given at Naples to execute the conditions of the armistice, advanced upon that capital, with a view to gain possession of it. The thing was difficult, for an immense population, which, in the open field, a few squadrons of cavalry would have swept away, became extremely formidable behind the walls of a city. He was obliged to fight several battles before he could approach the place, and the lazzaroni displayed there more courage than the Neapolitan army.* The imminence of the danger had redoubled their fury. The Prince of Moliterno, who strove to soothe them, had soon incurred their dislike, and they had chosen for leaders two of their number, called Paggio and Mad Michael. From that moment they gave a loose to the utmost excesses, and committed all sorts of outrages against the citizens and nobles accused of Jacobinism. To such a length were these excesses carried, that all the classes interested in the maintenance of order wished for the entry of the French. The inhabitants sent word to Mack that they would join him for the purpose of delivering up Naples. The Prince of Moliterno himself promised to seize Fort St. Elmo, and to give it up to the French. On the 4th of Pluviose (January 23d) Championnet made the assault. The lazzaroni defended themselves courageously; but the citizens, having gained possession of Fort St. Elmo and different posts of the city, gave admittance to the French. The lazzaroni, intrenched, nevertheless, in the houses, would have defended themselves, retiring from street to street, and perhaps have set fire to the city, had not one of their chiefs been taken prisoner. The French paid him particular attention, promised to respect St. Januarius, and at length induced him to prevail upon all his followers to lay down their arms.

From that moment Championnet found himself master of Naples† and of the whole kingdom. He lost no time in restoring order, and disarming the lazzaroni. Agreeably to the intentions of the French government, he proclaimed the new republic. An ancient name was given to it, that of Parthenopean republic. Such was the result of the follies and malignity of the court of Naples. Twenty thousand French and two months were sufficient to foil its vast designs, and to convert its dominions into a repub-

* "The naked rabble, called lazzaroni, showed the most desperate courage; and notwithstanding a murderous defeat, they held out Naples two days with their irregular musketry only, against regular forces amply supplied with artillery. What can we say of a country where the rabble are courageous and the soldiers cowards? What, unless that the higher classes, from whom the officers are chosen, must be the parties to be censured."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† "General Championnet once more brought back victory to our standards by defeating Mack and taking Naples; but the Directory determined to sacrifice the glory of one of her sons on the altar of his country; and Championnet was deprived of his command, arrested, tried by a court-martial, and was on the point of being shot. All this was because he resisted the designs of certain base and avaricious proconsuls." *Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

lic. This short campaign of Championnet immediately procured him a brilliant reputation. The army of Rome thenceforth assumed the title of army of Naples, and was separated from the army of Italy. Championnet became independent of Joubert.

During the occurrence of these events in the Peninsula, the fall of the kingdom of Piedmont was at length consummated. From a precaution which circumstances sufficiently authorized, Joubert had already taken possession of the citadel of Turin, and armed it with artillery taken from the Piedmontese arsenals. But this precaution was wholly inadequate in the present state of affairs. Disturbances still prevailed in Piedmont. The republicans were incessantly making new efforts, and they had even just sustained a loss of six hundred men in an attempt to surprise Alexandria. A masquerade, sallying forth from the citadel of Turin, in which the whole court was represented, and which was the joint work of Piedmontese and of French officers, whom the generals could not always restrain, had well nigh provoked a sanguinary combat in Turin itself. The court of Turin could not be a friend to France, and the correspondence of the Neapolitan minister with M. de Priocca, directing minister of Piedmont, afforded sufficient evidence of this. Under such circumstances, France, exposed to a new war, could not leave upon her communications with the Alps two parties at open war with one another, and a hostile government. It possessed, in regard to the court of Piedmont, the same right that the defenders of a fortress have over all the buildings which cramp it or obstruct its defence. It was decided that the king should be compelled to abdicate. The republicans were supported, and they were assisted to gain possession of Novara, Alexandria, Susa, and Chivasso.* The king was then told that he could not live any longer in a country which was in a state of rebellion, and which was likely to become soon the theatre of war. He was required to abdicate the sovereignty of Piedmont, retaining that of Sardinia. The abdication was signed on the 19th of Frimaire (December 9, 1798). Thus the two most powerful princes of Italy, those of Naples and Piedmont, had no part of their dominions left but two islands. Under the circumstances that were preparing, the French government would not be at the trouble of creating a new republic, and it was decided that, until the conclusion of the war, Piedmont should be provisionally administered by France. There was nothing left to seize in Italy but Tuscany. A mere notification would have sufficed for taking possession of it, but this notification was deferred till Austria should openly declare her intentions.

War, however, was no longer doubtful. The intercepted correspondence, the lifting of the sword by the court of Naples, which would not have commenced without the certainty of a powerful intervention, the immense preparations of Austria, lastly, the arrival of a Russian corps, in Moravia, left no doubt whatever. It was now Nivose (January, 1799), and it was evident that hostilities would commence before the expiration of two months. Thus the incompatibility of the two great systems which the Revolution had arrayed against each other, was demonstrated by facts. France had begun the year 1798 with three republics by her side, the Batavian, the Cisalpine, and the Ligurian, and by the end of that year there

* "When too late for any useful purpose, the Piedmontese government issued a manifesto, in which, among other things, they complained that the French had treacherously taken possession of the towns of Novara, Alexandria, Chivasso, and Suza. Grouchy, the French general, forced the king to suppress this proclamation, threatening, in case of refusal, to bombard him in his own palace."—*Prince Hardenberg's Memoirs*. E.

existed six, in consequence of the creation of the Helvetic, the Roman, and the Parthenopean republics. This extension had not been so much the result of the spirit of conquest, as of the spirit of system. The French had been obliged to assist the oppressed Vaudois : they had been provoked at Rome to avenge the death of the unfortunate Duphot, sacrificed while endeavouring to separate the two parties : at Naples they had done no more than repel an aggression. Thus they had been absolutely forced to renew the struggle. It is certain that the Directory, though it had unbounded confidence in French power, was nevertheless desirous of peace for political and financial reasons ; it is certain, too, that the emperor, though desirous of war, wished to defer it for some time longer. Both had, nevertheless, conducted themselves as though anxious to renew the conflict immediately, so great had been the incompatibility of the two systems.

The revolution had imparted to the French government extraordinary confidence and hardihood. The recent event in Naples, though inconsiderable in itself, had confirmed it in the persuasion that everything must give way before French bayonets. Such, indeed, was the opinion of all Europe. It required nothing short of the immense means combined against France, to impart the courage to engage her. But this confidence of the French government in its strength was exaggerated, and concealed from it part of the difficulties of its position. The sequel has proved that its resources were immense, but that at the moment these resources were not sufficiently prepared to insure victory. Besides France, the Directory had to administer Holland, Switzerland, the whole of Italy, divided into so many republics. To administer them through the medium of their own government, was, as we have seen, a more difficult task than if it had taken the immediate command of them into its own hands. Owing to defective organization, it could derive from them scarcely any resource, either in money or men. It was nevertheless obliged to defend them, and consequently to fight upon a line extending without interruption from the Texel to the Adriatic—a line which, attacked in front by Russia and Austria, was assailed in rear by the English fleets, either in Holland or at Naples.

The forces which such a military situation required, it was obliged to draw from France alone. Now, the armies were most materially weakened. Forty thousand soldiers, our very best, were in Egypt, under our great captain. The armies left in France were reduced one-half by desertions, which peace always brings along with it. The government paid for the same number of soldiers, but it had not perhaps one hundred thousand effective men. The administrations and the staffs made a profit of the pay, and it was a useless surcharge for the finances. These one hundred and fifty thousand effective men formed excellent skeletons, which might be filled up by the new levy of conscripts ; but this would require time, and there had not been sufficient since the establishment of the conscription. Lastly, the finances were still in the same disorder as ever, owing to the vicious system of collection. There had been voted a budget of 600 millions, and an extraordinary resource of 125 millions out of the 400 millions' worth of national domains remaining on hand ; but the tardiness of the receipts, and the error in the estimate of certain products, left a considerable deficit. Lastly, subordination, most necessary in so vast a machine, began to disappear. It became extremely difficult to curb the military. This state of perpetual war caused them to feel that they were necessary, and they grew imperious and importunate. Placed in wealthy countries, they determined

to profit by the circumstance, and they were accomplices in all peculations. They strove also to gain a triumph for their opinions wherever they resided, and scarcely heeded the directions of the civil agents. We have seen an instance of this in the quarrel between Brune and Trouvé. Lastly, in the interior, the opposition, which we have seen rearing its head again since the 18th of Fructidor, and assuming two characters, was daily becoming bolder. The patriots, put down at the last elections, were preparing to triumph in the new elections. The moderate party criticised coolly, but keenly, all the measures of the government, and, according to the custom of all oppositions, reproached it even with the difficulties which it had to encounter, and which were most frequently insurmountable. The government is power itself: it ought to triumph; the worse for it if it does not. Nobody listens to its excuses when it explains why it has not succeeded.

Such was the situation of the Directory at the moment when war again began with Europe. It made mighty efforts to restore order in this vast machine. Confusion still prevailed in Italy. The resources of that fine country were squandered and uselessly wasted for the army. A few plunderers monopolized all the benefit from them. The commission appointed to institute and to administer the Roman republic had just resigned its functions, and the influence of the staffs had immediately manifested itself. The consuls who were deemed too moderate had been changed. The advantageous contracts made for the supply of the army had been broken. The commission, in which Faypoult had the direction of the finances, had contracted for the subsistence and the payment of the troops stationed in Rome, and for the carriage of all the works of art sent to France. It had assigned in payment national domains taken from the clergy. The bargain, besides being moderate in regard to price, had the advantage of furnishing an occasion for disposing of the national domains. It was cancelled, in order to give the contract to Baudin and Company, who were devouring Italy. They were supported by the staffs, to which they allowed a profit of one per cent. Piedmont, which had just been occupied, presented a new prey to pounce upon; and the probity of Joubert, the commander-in-chief of the army of Italy, was not a guarantee against the rapacity of the staffs and of the companies. Naples, in particular, was marked out for pillage. There were in the Directory four upright men, Rewbel, Lareveillère, Merlin, and Treilhard, who were indignant at all disorders. Lareveillère especially, the strictest of all, and the most intimately acquainted with facts (from his particular relations with Trouvé, the ambassador, and with the members of the commission of Rome), recommended the display of the greatest energy. He proposed and obtained the adoption of a very judicious plan, namely, to institute in all the countries dependent on France, or in which our armies resided, commissions to superintend the civil and financial departments, and wholly independent of the staffs. At Milan, Turin, Rome, and Naples, civil commissions were to receive the contributions stipulated with the countries allied with France, to make contracts and all the financial arrangements, to supply, in short, the wants of the armies, but not to leave the management of any funds to the military chiefs. The commissioners were, nevertheless, ordered to furnish the generals with such funds as they should require; they were not to be obliged to specify for what purpose they were wanted, and were to be accountable for them to the government alone. Here again great deference was shown to the military authority. The four directors procured the

adoption of the measure, and orders were given to Scherer* to carry it into immediate execution with the utmost rigour. As he manifested some indulgence for his comrades, it was notified to him that he should be held responsible for all the disorders that were not repressed.

This measure, however just it might be, could not fail to give great offence to the staffs. In Italy, especially, they appeared ready to mutiny. They alleged that the government dishonoured the military by the precautions which it was taking in regard to them, that it was absolutely tying the hands of the generals and depriving them of all authority. Championnet, at Naples, had already set up for legislator, and appointed commissions for administering the conquered country. Faypoult was sent to Naples, to take the management of the whole financial department. He issued the ordinances necessary for placing the administration in his hands, and revoked certain very injudicious measures adopted by Championnet. The latter, with all the pride of men of his profession, especially when they are victorious, deemed himself insulted. He had the hardihood to issue an ordinance by which he enjoined Faypoult and the other commissioners to quit Naples within twenty-four hours. Such conduct was not to be endured. To disobey the orders of the Directory, and to drive from Naples the envoys invested with its powers, was an act which deserved the severest reprehension, unless it meant to abdicate the supreme authority and to transfer it to the generals. The Directory did not flinch; and, owing to the energy of the upright members who were determined to put an end to speculations, it exerted in this instance all its authority. It took the command from Championnet, and ordered him to be tried by a court martial. Unfortunately, the insubordination did not stop there. The gallant Joubert suffered himself to be persuaded that military honour was stained by the ordinances of the Directory. He would not retain the command on the new conditions prescribed to the generals, and tendered his resignation. The Directory accepted it. Bernadotte refused to succeed Joubert from the same motives. The Directory, nevertheless, would not give way, and persisted in its ordinances.

The Directory then turned its attention to the levy of the conscripts, which was proceeding slowly. As the first two classes could not furnish the two hundred thousand men, it procured authority to take them out of all the classes, till the number required should be complete. In order to gain time, it was decided that the communes should take upon themselves the equipment of the new recruits, and that this expense should be deducted from the amount of the land-tax. These new conscripts, scarcely equipped, were to repair to the frontiers, to be there formed into garrison battalions, to replace the old troops in the fortresses and the camps of reserve; and, when they should be sufficiently trained, to march and join the active armies.

The deficit was another subject that engaged the attention of the Directory. Ramel, the minister, who had managed our finances with intelligence and probity ever since the establishment of the Directory, after he had verified the produce of the taxes, ascertained that the deficit would amount to 65 millions at least, without reckoning all the arrear arising from the delay in the receipts. A violent dispute took place respecting the amount

* "General Scherer is a man of honourable deportment. To great facility in expressing himself, he unites an extent of general and military knowledge which may probably induce you to deem his services useful in some important station."—*Napoleon's Letter to the Directory.* E.

of the deficit. The adversaries of the Directory estimated it at no more than 15 millions. Ramel proved that it would be at least 65, and perhaps even 75. The tax on doors and windows had been devised, but it was insufficient. The tax on salt was brought under discussion. A great outcry was raised: the people, it was alleged, were oppressed; the public burdens were made to bear upon a single class; the *gabelles* were renewed. It was Lucien Bonaparte who urged these complaints with the greatest vehemence.* The partisans of the government replied by asserting the necessity of the case. The tax was rejected by the Council of the Ancients. In order to make amends, the tax on doors and windows was doubled, and that on carriage entrances was even increased tenfold. The possessions of the Protestant clergy were put up for sale, and it was decreed that salaries should be paid to those ministers by way of compensation. The sums recoverable from purchasers of domains who still remained indebted to the state were placed at the disposal of the government.

Unfortunately all these resources were not sufficiently prompt. Besides the difficulty of raising the produce of the taxes to 600 millions, there was another inconvenience in the tardiness of the receipts. It was found necessary in this, as in the preceding years, to give orders to the contractors on the produce not yet received. Even the annuitants, to whom, since the paying off of the two-thirds, the utmost punctuality had been promised, were paid with *bons* receivable for the taxes. Thus the government was again obliged to have recourse to expedients.

It was not enough to have collected soldiers and funds for their support; it was requisite to distribute them in a suitable manner, and to select generals for them. It was necessary, as we have observed, to guard Holland, the line of the Rhine, Switzerland, and all Italy, that is, to operate from the Gulf of Tarento to the Texel. Holland was covered on one side by the neutrality of Prussia, which appeared certain; but an Anglo-Russian fleet was to attempt a landing there, and it was urgent to protect her from that danger. The line of the Rhine was protected by the two fortresses, Mayence and Strasburg; and though it was not probable that Austria would endeavour to cross it, still it was but prudent to cover it by a corps of observation. Whether the French took the offensive or waited for it, it was on the banks of the Upper Danube, towards the Lake of Constance or in Switzerland, that they would have to encounter the Austrian armies. It was requisite to have an active army, which, starting from Alsace or Switzerland, should advance into the plains of Bavaria. In the next place, it was requisite to have a corps of observation to cover Switzerland; and lastly, a strong army was required to cover Upper Italy against the Austrians, and Lower Italy against the united Neapolitans and English.

This field of battle was immense, and it was not then known and appreciated as it has since been, in consequence of long wars and glorious campaigns. It was then thought that the key to the plain was in the mountains. Switzerland, situated amidst the immense line upon which the hostile armies would have to fight, appeared to be the key to the whole continent. France, which occupied Switzerland, seemed to have a decided

* "During Napoleon's absence in Egypt, Lucien Bonaparte acted the useful part of a spy on the proceedings of the Directory, powerless in ability, and still more so in public opinion—despised by the bold for their weakness, and by the good for their undisguised rapacity. Lucien saw that the moment was not far off when a daring hand might hurl them from the seat they so ill filled, and seize the supreme authority."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

advantage. In possessing the sources of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Po, she seemed to command the whole course of those rivers. This was a mistake. It is to be conceived that two armies which support one wing immediately upon mountains, as the French did when they fought in the environs of Verona, or in the environs of Rastadt, should attach importance to the possession of those mountains, because one of the two which is master of them can come upon the enemy from the heights. But when they are fighting at the distance of fifty or one hundred leagues from mountains, these cease to have the same influence. While they would be exhausting themselves for the possession of the St. Gothard, armies on the Rhine or on the Lower Po would have time to decide the fate of Europe. But conclusions were drawn from the minor to the major. Because heights are important on a field of battle of a few leagues, it was concluded that the power which was master of the Alps must be master of the continent. Switzerland has but one real advantage, that of opening direct routes to France upon Austria and to Austria upon France. Hence it is obvious, that, for the peace of the two powers and of Europe, the closing of these routes is a benefit. The more you can prevent points of contact and means of invasion, the more good you effect, especially between two states which cannot come into collision without shaking the continent. It is in this sense that the neutrality of Switzerland interests all Europe, and that it has always been judicious to make it a principle of general safety.

France, by invading it, had gained the advantage of the direct routes to Austria and Italy; and, in this sense, the possession of Switzerland might be considered as important for her. But if the multiplicity of routes is an advantage for the power which is to take the offensive, and which has the means of doing so, it becomes an inconvenience for the power which is confined to the defensive, owing to the inferiority of its forces. The latter must wish the number of the points of attack to be as limited as possible, in order that it may be able to concentrate its forces with advantage. If it would be advantageous for France, sufficiently prepared for the offensive, to be able to debouch to Bavaria by way of Switzerland, it would be prejudicial to France, when reduced to the defensive, not to be able to rely on the Swiss neutrality; it would be prejudicial to her to have to guard the whole space between Mayence and Genoa, instead of having it in her power, as in 1793, to concentrate her forces between Mayence and Strasburg, on one side, and between Mont Blanc and Genoa, on the other.

Thus the occupation of Switzerland might become dangerous to France, in case of the defensive. But she was far from anticipating such a case. The intention of the government was to take the offensive everywhere, and to proceed, as formerly, by overwhelming strokes. But the distribution of her forces was most unpropitious. One army of observation was placed in Holland, and another army of observation on the Rhine. One active army was to set out from Strasburg, to cross the Black Forest, and to invade Bavaria. Another active army was to fight in Switzerland for the possession of the mountains, and thus to support, on the one hand, that which was to act on the Danube, and on the other, that which was to act in Italy. A large army was to set out from the Adige, to drive the Austrians completely beyond the Isonzo. A last army of observation was to cover Lower Italy and to guard Naples. It was intended that the army of Holland should amount to twenty thousand men, that of the Rhine to forty thousand, that of the Danube to eighty thousand, that of Switzerland to forty thousand.

that of Italy to eighty thousand, and that of Naples to forty thousand, making a total of three hundred thousand men, exclusively of garrisons. With such forces, this distribution would have been less faulty. But if, by the levy of the conscripts, our armies could be increased in time to that number, they were far from reaching it at the moment. It was not possible to leave more than ten thousand men in Holland. On the Rhine scarcely a few thousand could be collected. The troops destined to compose this army of observation, were detained in the interior, either to watch La Vendée, which was still threatened, or to maintain the public tranquillity during the approaching elections. The army destined to act on the Danube, comprised at most forty thousand men, that of Switzerland thirty, that of Italy fifty, that of Naples thirty. Thus we numbered scarcely one hundred and sixty or one hundred and seventy thousand men.* To scatter them from the Texel to the Gulf of Tarento, was the most imprudent course that could be pursued.

Since the Directory, hurried away by revolutionary daring, was determined to take the offensive, it became, in that case, more necessary than ever, to choose the points of attack, to assemble forces in sufficient mass at those points, and not to disperse for the purpose of fighting on all at once. Thus in Italy, instead of scattering its forces from Verona to Naples, it ought, after the example of Bonaparte, to collect the greater part of them on the Adige, and to strike there the hardest blows. It was sufficiently demonstrated that, by beating the Austrians on the Adige, it was possible to keep Rome, Florence, and Naples, in awe. Towards the Danube, instead of throwing away, to no purpose, thousands of brave men at the foot of the St. Gothard, it was requisite to diminish the army of Switzerland and of the Rhine; to augment the active army of the Danube; and to fight with the latter a decisive battle in Bavaria. It was possible even to reduce the points of attack still more, to remain in observation on the Adige, to act offensively on the Danube only, and there strike a more vigorous and a surer blow, by increasing the mass that was to deal it. Napoleon and the Archduke Charles have proved, the first by great examples, the second by profound arguments, that a quarrel between Austria and France ought to be settled on the Danube. That is the shortest route for reaching the goal. A victorious French army in Bavaria, renders null all the successes of a victorious Austrian army in Italy, because it is much nearer to Vienna.

As an excuse for the plans of the Directory, it must be observed that men had not yet learned to embrace such extensive fields of battle, and that the only person then capable of doing so was in Egypt. The one hundred and sixty thousand men, or thereabouts, actually disposable, were therefore scattered upon the immense line which we have described, and they were distributed as we have indicated. Ten thousand were to observe Holland, a few thousand watched the Rhine, forty thousand formed the army of the Danube, thirty thousand that of Switzerland, fifty thousand that of Italy, thirty thousand that of Naples. The conscripts were soon to reinforce

* "Five-and-thirty thousand of the best troops were exiled under Napoleon on a distant shore, and though the addition of two hundred thousand conscripts had been ordered, yet the levy proceeded but slowly; the result of the whole was, that for the actual shock of war from the Adige to the Maine, the Directory could only count on a hundred and seventy thousand men; the remainder of their great forces was buried in the Italian peninsula, or too far removed from the theatre of hostilities, to be able to take an active part in the approaching contest."—*Atison*. E.

these masses, and to increase them to the number fixed by the plans of the ministry.

The selection of the generals was not happier than the conception of the plans. It is true that, since the death of Hoche, and the departure of Bonaparte, Desaix, and Kleber, for Egypt, the choice was much more limited. There was left one general whose reputation was high and deserved. This was Moreau. It was possible to be more daring, more enterprising, but not to be firmer or surer. A state defended by such a man could not perish. Disgraced on account of his conduct in Pichegru's affair, he had modestly consented to become a mere inspector of infantry. He was recommended to the Directory for commander in Italy. Ever since Bonaparte had drawn such attention to that fine country, ever since it was the apple of discord, as it were, between Austria and France, that command seemed to be the most important. For this reason Moreau was thought of. Barras opposed his appointment with all his might. He assigned the reasons of a fiery patriot, and represented Moreau as a suspicious person, on account of his conduct on the 18th of Fructidor. His colleagues had the weakness to give way to him. Moreau was set aside, and continued to be a mere general of division in the army which he ought to have commanded in chief. He nobly accepted this sabalturn rank, which was beneath his talents. Joubert and Bernadotte had refused the command of the army of Italy—it has been already shown from what motives. Scherer, the minister at war, was therefore thought of. This general had gained a high reputation by his successes in Belgium, and by his glorious battle at Loano. He possessed a superior mind, but a body worn out with age and infirmities; he was no longer capable of commanding young men, full of vigour and daring. Besides, he had quarrelled with most of his comrades by endeavouring to introduce some strictness in the repression of military licentiousness. Barras proposed him for general of the army of Italy, it is said, merely to oblige him to give up the ministry at war, in which office he began to be troublesome on account of his severity. However, the military men who were consulted, especially Bernadotte and Joubert, having spoken of his capacity as it was then estimated in the army, that is to say, very highly, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the army of Italy. He strongly objected to accept it, alleging his age, the state of his health, and, above all, his unpopularity, owing to the office which he had held; but the Directory insisted, and he was obliged to comply.

Championnet, sent for trial before a commission, was succeeded in the command of the army of Naples by Macdonald. The command of the army of Helvetia was conferred on Massena. These selections were excellent, and the republic could do no other than applaud them. The important army of the Danube was given to General Jourdan. Notwithstanding his ill success in the campaign of 1798, the services which he had rendered in 1793 and 1794 were not forgotten, and it was hoped that he would not fall short of his first exploits. As the army of the Danube was not given to Moreau, it could not be in better hands. Unfortunately, it was so inferior in point of number, that it would have required the daring of the victor of Arcole and Rivoli to command it with confidence. Bernadotte had the army of the Rhine; Brune* that of Holland.

* "Brune, like all natives of the South, was ardent, active, fond of literature, poetry and the fine arts; he possessed much information, and betook himself to composition. To facilitate the publication of his works, he became a printer; and at this period the

Austria had made preparations far superior to ours. Not confiding, like us, in her successes, she had employed the two years which had elapsed since the armistice of Leoben, in levying, equipping, and training fresh troops. She had provided them with everything that was necessary, and had studied to select the best generals. She could at this moment bring into line two hundred and twenty-five thousand effective men, exclusively of the recruits which were still preparing. Russia was furnishing her with a contingent of sixty thousand men, whose fanatic bravery was extolled throughout all Europe, and who were commanded by the celebrated Suwarrow.* Thus the new coalition was ready to operate on the front of

Revolution opened. Brune was young; his head and heart confessed but one idea—glory and his country. He soon cast away pen, ink, and paper, and took to the sword. None of our marshals have been so falsely represented in public opinion as Brune. He was not in Paris in the autumn of 1792, but at Radmack; so, of course, could have had no share in the September massacres. He advanced rapidly to an elevated rank in the army; distinguished himself in the campaign of Italy; was afterwards named general-in-chief of the army in Helvetia; and from thence was removed to the Texel, to oppose the landing of the Anglo-Russian army under the command of the Duke of York, who was entirely beaten at Bergen. On the establishment of the Consulate, Brune was appointed to the army of Italy, when, with the assistance of Suchet and Davoust, he nearly destroyed the Austrian army. In 1804, he was one of the sixteen marshals whom Bonaparte appointed when he ascended the imperial throne. He was afterwards, for many years, in disgrace; but on Napoleon's return in 1815, he accepted the command of the eighth military division. On the restoration of Louis, Brune went to Toulon, to restore the white flag there; after which he was summoned to Paris. On his way thither, at Avignon, he was warned that much agitation prevailed in the town, particularly directed against him, and was advised not to pass through it; but turning a deaf ear to all remonstrance, he commanded his postilions to drive to the post-house. Here an armed mob, calling themselves royalists, besieged him in a room to which they had driven him for refuge; the mayor and a few gendarmes succeeded in protecting him for some time, while three thousand citizens looked on with apathy. All resistance, however, was at length overpowered, and, under the pretext that Brune had been the murderer of the Princess Lamballe, he was put to death by the mob; his lacerated corpse, after being dragged through the mud, was thrown into the Rhone, and the river refusing to retain it, it lay two days unburied on the strand."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

* "Alexander Suwarrow Rymniski, a Russian field-marshal, was born in 1730, of an ancient family. In 1742 he entered the army as a common soldier, and attained the rank of colonel in 1762, after having distinguished himself in the famous Seven Years' War. He displayed equal talents in fighting the confederates of Poland from 1769 to 1772, which brought on the first dismemberment of that state. In 1774 he joined the army which Romanzow commanded against the Turks, and performed prodigies of valour. In 1783 he subdued the Kuban and Budziack Tartars, and was made commander-in-chief. In 1788 he caused the Turks to be attacked by the Russian fleet under the command of Paul Jones and the Prince of Nassau-Siegen, who defeated them twice. In the following year he was employed at the head of a detached body of Potemkin's army, besieged Ismael, took it, and put twenty thousand Turks to the sword, which procured him the name of the Butcher. In 1792 he was appointed to act in Poland; marched to Warsaw, and forced the suburbs of Prague after a bloody assault, which decided the fate of that kingdom. For his conduct on this occasion Catherine created him field-marshal. In 1799 he was sent into Italy against the French, and defeated Moreau at the passage of the Adda. A misunderstanding taking place soon afterwards between the courts of St. Petersburg and Vienna, Suwarrow received orders to separate from the Austrians and march into Switzerland, where Massena had just routed at Zurich the army that he was going to join. After many severe and doubtful conflicts, he arrived in Germany with the shattered remains of his army, which was his last exploit, the Russian troops having been recalled by their sovereign. On his arrival at St. Petersburg he was rather coldly received by Paul, and died at his estate of Poldorf, in Esthonia, at the age of seventy-one. Born with great talent and vivacity, Suwarrow possessed considerable information, and spoke several languages with facility. He was master of great skill and finesse, and knew how to make them instruments of success. Catherine liked whatever was extraordinary; he therefore took care to an

our line with about three hundred thousand men. Two other Russian contingents, combined with English troops, were talked of, the one destined for Holland, the other for Naples.

The plan of campaign formed by the coalition was not more judicious than ours. It was a pedantic conception of the Aulic Council's, strongly disapproved of by the Archduke Charles, but imposed upon him and all the generals, who were not permitted to make any alteration in it. This plan, like that of the French, was grounded on the principle that mountains are the key to the plain. Thus considerable forces were accumulated to guard the Tyrol and the Grisons, and wrest, if possible, the great chain of the Alps from the French. The second object on which the Aulic Council seemed to lay most stress, was Italy. Considerable forces were placed behind the Adige. The most important theatre of war, that of the Danube, did not appear to be the one that received most attention. The most judicious thing that had been done in that quarter was to place the Archduke Charles there. The Austrian forces were distributed as follows: The archduke was in Bavaria with fifty-four thousand infantry and twenty-four thousand cavalry. In the Vorarlberg, all along the Rhine, till it enters the Lake of Constance, General Hotze commanded twenty-four thousand foot and two thousand horse. Bellegarde was in the Tyrol, with forty-six thousand men, two thousand of whom were cavalry. Kray had on the Adige sixty-four thousand infantry and eleven thousand horse, forming a total of seventy-five thousand men. The Russian corps was destined to join Kray, for the purpose of acting in Italy.

It is obvious that Hotze's twenty-six thousand men and Bellegarde's forty-eight thousand were intended to act in the mountains. They were to gain the sources of the rivers, while the armies acting in the plain were to strive to cross their streams. On the part of the French, the like duty was allotted to the army of Helvetia. Thus, on both sides, a multitude of brave men were about to destroy one another to no purpose among inaccessible

nounce his victories to her in a laconic style that delighted her. Having taken the town of Toutoukai, in Bulgaria, he wrote, 'Glory to God! Praise to Catherine! The town is taken, and I am in it.' He announced the capture of Ismael in these terms: 'Madam, the proud Ismael is at your feet!' He frequently put his orders into verse, and sent his reports so to the empress. He never went into battle without kissing a little image of the Virgin or St. Nicholas, which he always carried about him. He used to tell his soldiers that all those who should be killed fighting would go to Paradise; and in the evening, after beat of drum, obliged his officers to recite a prayer before the soldiers. He was strict in service, and banished luxury from his camp. The soldiers adored him, but not so the officers, many of whom were his secret enemies—made so by his severe habits of discipline. He often changed his shirt in the middle of the camp, and wore sheepskin only. His frugal way of life enabled him to support all the fatigues of war. When he laid aside his sheepskin to put on the marshal's uniform, he took care to load himself immediately with all his honours and decorations, so as to be remarkable for the other extreme. He was bold, active, and had the art of attaching the soldiers to his destiny; but he has been reproached with shallow combinations and extreme cruelty."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

"Suwarrow is a most extraordinary man.—He dines every morning about nine. He sleeps almost naked; affects a perfect indifference to heat and cold; and quits his chamber, which approaches to suffocation, in order to review his troops, in a thin linen jacket, while the thermometer is at ten degrees below freezing. A great deal of his whimsical manner is affected. He finds that it suits his troops and the people he has to deal with. I dined with him this morning. He cried out to me across the table, 'Tweddell, the French have taken Portsmouth. I have just received a courier from England. The king is in the Tower, and Sheridan is protector!'"—*Tweddell's Remains*. E.

rocks, the possession of which could not have any influence whatever on the issue of the war.*

The French generals had not failed to represent to the Directory the inadequacy of their means of every kind. Jourdan's forces, since he had been obliged to send several battalions to Belgium to quell some commotions, and a demi-brigade to the army of Helvetia to replace another demi-brigade despatched to Italy, amounted to no more than thirty-eight thousand effective men. Such a force was too disproportionate to that of the archduke, to oppose him with advantage. He solicited the prompt formation of Bernadotte's army, which hitherto comprised no more than four or five thousand men, and especially the organization of the new field battalions. He wished to obtain permission to draw to him either the army of the Rhine or the army of Helvetia—and in this he was right. Massena complained that he had neither magazines nor the means of transport indispensably necessary for the supply of his army in a country barren and extremely difficult of access.

To these observations the Directory replied that the conscripts were about to join, and would soon be formed into field battalions; that the army of Helvetia should be immediately increased to forty thousand men, and that of the Danube to sixty thousand; that, as soon as the elections were over, the old battalions, retained in the interior, should be sent off to form the nucleus of the army of the Rhine. Bernadotte and Massena were ordered to concur in Jourdan's operations, and to conform to his views. The Directory, still relying on the effect of the offensive, and feeling the same confidence as ever in its soldiers, wished its generals, in spite of the disproportion of number, to lose no time in making a sudden attack and disconcerting the Austrians by an impetuous charge. Orders were issued accordingly.

The Grisons, divided into two factions, had long hesitated between the Austrian domination and the Swiss domination. They had at last called the Austrians into their valleys. The Directory, considering them as Swiss subjects, ordered Massena to occupy their territory, but previously to send the Austrians a summons to evacuate it. In case of refusal, he was to attack immediately. At the same time, as the Russians continued advancing into Austria, it addressed two notes on this subject, the one to the congress at Rastadt, the other to the emperor, intimating, that if in the space of eight days counter-orders were not issued to the march of the Russians, it should consider war as declared. Jourdan was ordered to cross the Rhine as soon as that time should have expired.

The congress of Rastadt had made great progress in its labours. The questions of the line of the Rhine, the division of the islands, and the construction of bridges, were settled; the question of the debts was now the only one that occupied its attention. Most of the Germanic princes, excepting the ecclesiastical princes, were sincerely desirous of arranging matters so as to avoid war; but, most of them being under the control of Austria, they durst not speak out. The members of the deputation successively quitted the congress, and it appeared likely that it would soon be impossible to deliberate. The congress declared that it could not reply to the note of the Directory, and referred it to the diet of Ratisbon. The note addressed to the emperor was sent to Vienna and remained unan-

* All these assertions are justified by the detailed comments of the Archduke Charles, General Jomini, and Napoleon.

swered War was declared *de facto*. Jourdan was ordered to cross the Rhine, and to advance through the Black Forest to the sources of the Danube. He passed the Rhine on the 11th of Ventose (March 1). The Archduke Charles crossed the Lech on the 13th of Ventose (March 3). Thus the limits which the two powers had prescribed for themselves were passed, and they were about to come once more to blows. At the same time, Jourdan, though making an offensive march, was ordered to let the enemy fire the first shots, till the declaration of war should be approved by the legislative body.

Massena was meanwhile acting in the Grisons. On the 16th of Ventose (March 6), he summoned the Austrians to evacuate them. The Grisons are composed of the upper valley of the Rhine and the upper valley of the Inn, or the Engadine. Massena resolved to cross the Rhine near its entrance into the Lake of Constance, and thus to pick up all the corps dispersed in the upper valleys. Lecourbe, who formed his right wing, and who, from his extraordinary activity and daring, was the most accomplished general for mountain warfare, was to start from the environs of the St. Gothard, cross the Rhine towards its sources, and throw himself in the valley of the Inn. General Dessoles, with a division of the army of Italy, was to second him, by proceeding from the Valteline into the valley of the Upper Adige.

These skilful dispositions were made with great vigour. On the 16th of Ventose (March 6), the Rhine was boldly crossed at all points. The soldiers threw carts into the river, and passed over them as upon a bridge. In two days Massena was master of the whole course of the Rhine, from its sources to its mouth in the Lake of Constance, and had taken fifteen pieces of cannon and five thousand prisoners. Lecourbe, on his part, executed with equal success the orders of his commander-in-chief. He crossed the Upper Rhine, passed from Dissentis to Tüsis in the valley of the Albula, and from this valley he boldly threw himself into that of the Inn, by crossing the loftiest mountains in Europe, still covered with the snows of winter. A compulsory delay having prevented Dessoles from proceeding from the Valteline towards the Upper Adige, Lecourbe found himself exposed to the attack of all the Austrian forces cantoned in the Tyrol. While, in fact, he was boldly advancing into the valley of the Inn, and marching upon Martinsbrück, Laudohn threw himself with the corps upon his rear; but the intrepid Lecourbe, turning back, attacked Laudohn, overthrew him, took a great number of prisoners, and resumed his march for the valley of the Inn.*

This brilliant commencement seemed to induce a belief that the French could everywhere, in the Alps as at Naples, defy an enemy superior in number. It confirmed the Directory in the notion that it was right to persist in the offensive, and to make amends by daring for inferiority of number.

The Directory sent to Jourdan the declaration of war, which it had obtained from the Councils, with orders to attack immediately. Jourdan had debouched by the defiles of the Black Forest into the country between the Danube and the Lake of Constance. The angle formed by the river and the lake opens more and more as it advances into Germany. Jourdan,

* "This glorious victory was achieved with forces scarcely half the number of the vanquished, and by it the French found themselves masters of the upper extremity of the two great valleys of the Tyrol, the Inn, and the Adige."—*Jomini*. E.

who purposed to support his left on the Danube and his right on the Lake of Constance, was therefore obliged, as he proceeded, to keep extended his line, and consequently to weaken it in a dangerous manner, especially in the face of an enemy very superior in number. He had at first advanced as far as Mengen on the one hand, and Markdorf on the other. But, learning that the army of the Rhine would not be organized before the 10th of Germinal (March 30), and fearing lest he should be turned by the valley of the Necker, he felt some apprehension, and made a retrograde movement. The orders of his government and the success of Massena decided him to march forward again. He chose a good position between the Lake of Constance and the Danube. Two streams, the Ostrach and the Aach, commencing nearly at the same point, and falling, the one into the Danube, and the other into the Lake of Constance, form one and the same right line, behind which Jourdan established himself. St. Cyr, forming his left, was at Mengen; Souham, with the centre, at Pfüllendorf; Ferino, with the right, at Bärendorf. D'Hautpoult was placed with the reserve. Lefebvre, with the division of the advanced guard, was at Ostrach. This was the most accessible point of the line. Situated at the origin of the two streams, it presented marshes, which might be crossed by means of a long causeway. It was upon this point that the Archduke Charles, who meant not to suffer himself to be anticipated, resolved to make his principal effort. He directed two columns to the left and right of the French, against St. Cyr and Ferino. But the whole of his main body, nearly fifty thousand strong, was directed upon the point of Ostrach, where there were at most nine thousand French. The battle commenced in the morning of the 2d of Germinal (March 21), and was most obstinate. The French displayed, in this first encounter, a bravery and perseverance which excited the admiration of Prince Charles himself. Jourdan hastened to this point; but the extent of his line and the nature of the country did not allow him by a rapid movement to transfer his forces from his wings to his centre. The passage was forced, and, after an honourable resistance, Jourdan found himself obliged to beat a retreat. He fell back between Singen and Tuttlingen.

A check at the opening of the campaign was disastrous. It destroyed that spell of daring and invincibility by means of which the French had need to make amends for number. At the same time, their inferiority of force had rendered that check almost inevitable. Jourdan, nevertheless, had not relinquished the intention of taking the offensive. Knowing that Massena was advancing on the other side of the Rhine, in full reliance upon the army of the Danube, he deemed it incumbent on him to make a last effort to aid his colleague, and to support him by proceeding towards the Lake of Constance. He had another motive for advancing again; this was to occupy Stockach, where the roads from Switzerland and Swabia meet—a point which he had done wrong to abandon, when retreating between Singen and Tuttlingen. He fixed his movement for the 5th of Germinal (March 25).

The Archduke Charles had not yet decided what direction he ought to give to his movements. He knew not whether he ought to direct his march to Switzerland, so as to separate Jourdan from Massena, or to the sources of the Danube, so as to separate the former from his base of the Rhine. The direction towards Switzerland seemed to him to be more advantageous for the two armies, for the French had as strong an interest in connecting themselves with the army of Helvetia, as the Austrians had

to separate them from it. But he was ignorant of Jourdan's plans, and resolved to make a reconnaissance for the purpose of ascertaining them. He had fixed this reconnaissance for the 5th of Germinal (March 25), the very day on which Jourdan intended to attack him.

The nature of the ground rendered the position of the two armies extremely complicated. The strategic point was that of Stockach, where the roads from Swabia and Switzerland meet. It was this point that Jourdan was anxious to retake, and the archduke to keep. The Stockach, a small stream, runs, making many windings, before the town of the same name, and finishes its sinuous course in the Lake of Constance. On this stream the archduke had taken position. He had placed his left between Nenzingen and Wahlwies, on the heights, and behind one of the windings of the Stockach. His centre was placed on an elevated plateau, called the Nellenberg, in advance of the Stockach. His right was on the prolongation of this plateau, along the causeway which runs from Stockach to Liptingen. It was like the centre, in advance of the Stockach. The extremity of this wing was covered by the thick woods which extend along the road to Liptingen. There were great defects in this position. If the left had the Stockach before it, the centre and the right had it at their backs, and were liable to be driven into it by an effort of the enemy. Besides, all the positions of the army had but one and the same outlet towards the town of Stockach, and, in case of a forced retreat, the left, the centre, and the right, would be crowded one upon another on a single road, and might, by meeting there, produce disastrous confusion. But the archduke, in resolving to cover Stockach, could not take any other position; and necessity was his excuse. He had but two faults to reproach himself with: the one, that of having omitted to throw up some works for the better protection of his centre, and his right; and the other, of having placed too many troops on his left, which was sufficiently protected by the river. It was his extreme solicitude to retain the important point of Stockach which had induced him to distribute his troops in this manner. He had, in other respects, the advantage of an immense numerical superiority.

Jourdan was ignorant of part of the dispositions of the archduke, for nothing is more difficult than reconnaissances, especially in a country of such a nature as that on which the two armies were acting. He still occupied the opening of the angle formed by the Danube and the Lake of Constance, from Tuttlingen to Steusslingen. This line is very extensive, and the nature of the country, which scarcely admitted of a rapid concentration, rendered this inconvenience still more serious. He ordered General Ferino, who commanded his right towards Steusslingen, to march upon Wahlwies; and Souham, who commanded the centre towards Eigeltingen, to march upon Zenzingen. These two generals were to combine their efforts to carry the archduke's left and centre, by crossing the Stockach and climbing the Nellenberg. Jourdan purposed then to make his left, his advanced guard, and his reserve, act upon the point of Liptingen, in order to penetrate through the woods which covered the archduke's right, and to succeed in forcing it. These dispositions had the advantage of directing the greatest mass of forces upon the archduke's right wing, which was most compromised. Unfortunately, all the columns of the army had too distant points of departure. In order to act upon Liptingen, the advanced guard and the reserve started from Emmingen-ob-Ek, and the left from Tuttlingen, at the distance of a day's march. This separation was the

more dangerous, because the French army, nearly thirty-six thousand strong, was inferior by at least one-third to the Austrian army.

On the 5th of Germinal (March 25), in the morning, the two armies met. The French army marched to a battle, that of the Austrians to a reconnaissance. The Austrians, who had broken up a little before us, surprised our advanced guards, but were soon driven in at all points by the mass of our divisions. Ferino on the right, Souham in the centre, arrived at Wahlwies, Orsingen, Nenzingen, on the bank of the Stockach, at the foot of the Nellenberg, drove back the Austrians to the position which they had occupied in the morning, and commenced a serious attack on that position. They had to cross the Stockach and to force the Nellenberg. A long cannonade took place along the whole line.

On our left, the success was more speedy and more complete. The advanced guard, now commanded by Soult,* since Lefebvre had been wounded, repulsed the Austrians, who had advanced to Emmingen-ob-Ek, took Liptingen, put them to the rout in the plain, pursued them with extreme ardour, and succeeded in taking the woods from them. These woods were the same that covered the Austrian right. By following up

* "Jean-de-Dieu Soult was born in the year 1769, and entered the army in his sixteenth year. Under Hoche, and then under Jourdan, he distinguished himself by his skill and bravery; and at the battle of Fleurus, in particular, he exhibited talents of the highest order. In 1794 he was made general of brigade, and, four years afterwards, of division. The First Consul knew Soult by report, and one day inquired of Massena whether he deserved his reputation. 'Both for judgment and courage,' replied the veteran, 'I can recommend him as one who, in my opinion, has scarcely a superior.' In consequence of this praise Soult was intrusted with the command of the chasseurs of the consular guard. When the invasion of England was resolved on, he was placed over the army encamped from Boulogne to Calais, where he established the severest discipline. In 1804 he was presented with the marshal's truncheon. When his generals surrounded Napoleon to receive his final instructions at Austerlitz, all that he said to Soult was, 'To you, marshal, I have only to observe—act as you always do.' In the heat of this celebrated battle an aide-de-camp arrived with an order that he should instantly take the heights of Pratzen. 'I will obey the Emperor's commands as soon as I can,' replied the marshal; 'but this is not the proper time.' This kindled the Emperor's rage, who despatched another aide-de-camp with a more peremptory mandate. He arrived just as Soult was putting his column in motion. The manœuvre had been delayed only because the Russians were extending their line to the left, and so weakening their centre, which was in possession of the heights. Complete success attended the marshal's attack. Napoleon from his eminence perceived at once the reason of the delay and the brilliancy of the movement. He rode up to Soult, and, in presence of the whole staff, told him that he accounted him the ablest tactician in the empire. For his behaviour at Eylau he was created Duke of Dalmatia, and soon afterwards sent to Spain, where he was defeated by Sir John Moore at Corunna, to whose memory he erected a statue near the spot where he had fallen. He next invaded Portugal, where he met with no better success. After remaining two years in the Peninsula, defeated in every action he fought with Wellington, Soult was called to Germany, and was present at the battle of Bautzen. While at Dresden, news arrived of the defeat of the French at Vittoria, on which he was again hurried off to Spain to check the advance of Wellington. But he was as unsuccessful as on the former occasion, and received his final defeat under the walls of Toulouse. On the restoration of the Bourbons he received the portfolio of the ministry at war, but on the escape of Napoleon from Elba he sided with him, and fought at Waterloo. In 1816 he was banished from France, but in three years he received permission to return, and in 1821 his marshal's staff was restored to him."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

Soult, by a show of superior piety, had the art to ingratiate himself with Charles X and his priestly advisers. On the downfall of that dynasty in 1830, Louis-Philippe appointed him to a place in the ministry, which he held for some time, and then resigned. The marshal is a shrewd, worldly man, a skilful soldier, and a consummate courtier, and is at this period (July, 1838) officiating as ambassador extraordinary of France to England in honour of the coronation of Queen Victoria. E.

their movement, the French might possibly throw it into the ravine of the Stockach, and place it in great jeopardy. But it was clear that this wing had just been reinforced at the expense of the centre and the left, and that it was requisite to act upon it with a great mass of force. It was necessary, therefore, as in the original plan, to make the advanced guard, the reserve, and the left, converge upon this same point. Unfortunately, General Jourdan, presuming upon the too easy success which he had already won, aimed at attaining too remote an object, and, instead of calling St. Cyr to him, he ordered that general to make a long circuit for the purpose of turning the Austrians and cutting off their retreat. This was hastening to reap the fruits of victory before the victory was achieved. General Jourdan kept at the decisive point only the division of the advanced guard, and the reserve under d'Hautpoul.

Meanwhile the right of the Austrians, seeing the woods which covered them forced by the enemy, faced about, and disputed with extreme obstinacy the causeway from Liptingen to Stockach, which runs through those woods. They were fighting furiously, when the archduke came up in the utmost haste. Forming a correct judgment of the danger, he withdrew the grenadiers and the cuirassiers from the centre and the left, and moved them to his right. Giving himself no concern about the movement of St. Cyr on his rear, he concluded that, if Jourdan were repulsed, St. Cyr would be in so much the greater danger; and he resolved to confine himself to a decisive effort towards the point actually threatened.

The woods were disputed with extraordinary obstinacy. The French, very inferior in number, resisted with a courage which the archduke calls admirable; but the prince charged in person with some battalions on the causeway of Liptingen, and made the French loose their hold. The latter were driven out of the woods, and at length found themselves in the uncovered plain of Liptingen, from which they had started. Jourdan sent to demand succours of St. Cyr; but it was too late. He had his reserve left, and he determined to order a charge of cavalry, with a view to regain the advantages that he had lost. He despatched four regiments of cavalry at once. This charge, probably checked by another charge, made seasonably by the archduke's cuirassiers, was not successful. A terrible confusion ensued in the plain of Liptingen. The French, after performing prodigies of valour, fled. General Jourdan made heroic efforts to stop the fugitives; he was himself hurried along by them. The Austrians, however, exhausted by this long combat, durst not pursue us.

The engagement was now over. Ferino and Souham had maintained their ground, but they had not forced either the centre or the left of the Austrians. St. Cyr was getting upon their rear. It could not be said that the battle was lost: the French, inferior by one-third, had everywhere retained the field of battle, and displayed remarkable intrepidity; but, with their inferiority, and separated as their different corps were, not to have conquered, was to be beaten. It was necessary immediately to call in St. Cyr, who was in a very precarious situation, to rally the advanced guard and the reserve, which had suffered severely, and to bring back the centre and the right. Jourdan forthwith issued orders accordingly, and directed St. Cyr to fall back as speedily as possible. The position of the latter had become extremely perilous, but he effected his retreat with the steadiness which has always distinguished him, and regained the Danube without accident. The loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, had been nearly equal on both sides. It amounted to about four or five thousand men

After this unfortunate day, the French were unable to keep the field, and it became necessary for them to seek shelter behind some formidable line. Were they to retreat to Switzerland or to the Rhine? It was evident that, in retreating to Switzerland, they might combine their efforts with Massena's army, and be enabled by that junction to resume an imposing attitude. Unluckily, General Jourdan did not deem it right to follow this course. He was apprehensive for the line of the Rhine, on which Bernadotte had not yet collected more than seven or eight thousand men, and he resolved to fall back to the entrance of the defiles of the Black Forest. He there took a position which he conceived to be strong, and leaving the command to Ernoulf, the chief of his staff, he set out for Paris, to complain of the state of inferiority in which his army had been left. The results spoke much more loudly than all the complaints in the world, and it would have been far better to remain with his army than to go to Paris to complain.

Most fortunately, the Aulic Council imposed upon the Archduke Charles a serious fault, which partly balanced ours. If the archduke, following up his advantages, had pursued our vanquished army without intermission, he might have thrown it into complete disorder, and perhaps even destroyed it. He would then have had time to return towards Switzerland, to attack Massena, deprived of all assistance, reduced to his thirty thousand men, and entangled in the upper valleys of the Alps. It would not have been impossible to cut him off from the road to France. But the Aulic Council forbade the archduke to push on for the Rhine, before Switzerland was evacuated. This was a consequence of the principle that the key to the theatre of the war was in the mountains.

During these occurrences in Swabia, the war was proceeding in the Upper Alps. Massena was operating towards the sources of the Rhine, Lecourbe towards those of the Inn, Dessoles towards those of the Adige, with balanced success. There was, on the other side of the Rhine, a little above the point where it falls into the Lake of Constance, a position which it was necessary to carry—that of Feldkirch. Massena had exerted all his energy to accomplish this purpose, but he had lost two thousand men without result. Lecourbe and Dessoles had fought brilliant actions, the former at Taufers, the latter at Nauders, which had put three or four thousand prisoners into the hands of each, and amply compensated the check at Feldkirch. Thus the French, from their spirit and hardihood, maintained the superiority in the Alps.

Operations commenced in Italy the very day after the battle of Stockach. The French had received about thirty thousand conscripts, which increased the mass of their forces in Italy to very nearly one hundred and sixteen thousand men. They were distributed as follows. Thirty thousand old troops, under Macdonald, guarded Rome and Naples. The thirty thousand young soldiers were in the fortresses. There remained fifty-six thousand men under Scherer. Of these fifty-six thousand men, he had detached five thousand under General Gauthier to occupy Tuscany, and five thousand under General Dessoles to act in the Valteline. Thus Scherer had forty-six thousand left to fight upon the Adige, an essential point, to which the whole mass of our forces ought to have been directed. Besides the disadvantage of the small number of men on this decisive point, there was another which was not less fatal to the French. The general inspired no confidence. He was not young enough, as we have observed; he had, besides, rendered himself unpopular during his ministry. He was himself

aware of this, and it was with great reluctance that he had accepted the command. He went about at night to listen to the conversation of the soldiers in their tents, and to collect with his own ears the proofs of his unpopularity. These were most unfavourable circumstances at the outset of a great and difficult campaign.

The Austrians were to be commanded by Melas and Suwarrow. Meanwhile they were under the Baron de Kray, one of the emperor's best generals. They amounted, even before the arrival of the Russians, to eighty-five thousand men in Upper Italy. Very nearly sixty thousand were already on the Adige. In both armies orders had been given to take the offensive. The Austrians were to debouch from Verona, to skirt the foot of the mountains, and to advance on the other side of the river, masking all the fortresses. The object of this movement was to support that of the army of the Tyrol in the mountains.

Scherer had received no other injunction than to cross the Adige. The commission was difficult, and the Austrians had all the advantage of that line, which must be sufficiently known from the events of 1796. Verona and Legnago, which command it, belonged to the Austrians. The attempt to throw a bridge at any point whatever would have been extremely dangerous, for the Austrians, possessing Verona and Legnago, would have had it in their power to debouch on the flank of the army while so engaged. The safest course, if orders had not been received to take the offensive, would have been to allow the enemy to debouch beyond Verona, to attack him on a ground which we should have had time to choose, to give him battle, and to take advantage of the results of the victory to cross the Adige at his heels.

Scherer, being obliged to take the initiative, hesitated as to what course he should pursue, but at length decided upon an attack towards his left. The reader recollects, no doubt, the position of Rivoli in the mountains, at the entrance of the Tyrol, and very far above Verona. The Austrians had intrenched all the approaches to it and formed a camp at Pastrengo. Scherer resolved, in the first place, to take this camp from them, and to throw them back on this side beyond the Adige. The three divisions of Serrurier, Delmas, and Grenier, were destined for this service. Moreau, who had become merely a general of division under Scherer, was, with Hatry's and Victor's divisions, to alarm Verona. General Montrichard, with one division, was to make a demonstration upon Legnago. This distribution of force indicated the hesitation and uncertainty of the commander-in-chief.

The attack took place on the 6th of Germinal (March 26), the day after the battle of Stockach. The three divisions directed to attack the camp of Pastrengo on several points, took it with an intrepidity worthy of the old army of Italy, and made themselves masters of Rivoli. They took fifteen hundred prisoners and a great number of cannon from the Austrians. The latter recrossed the Adige in haste, by a bridge which they had thrown across at Polo, and which they had time to destroy. At the centre, under Verona, there was fighting for the villages situated in advance of that city. Kaim displayed a useless obstinacy in defending and recovering them. That of San Massimo was seven times taken and retaken. Moreau, not less obstinate than his antagonist, did not allow him to acquire any advantage, and cooped him up in Verona. Montrichard, in making a useless demonstration on Legnago, incurred real danger. Kray, deceived by false intelligence, had imagined that the French would direct their principal

effort upon the Lower Adige. He had despatched thither great part of his forces, and in debouching from Legnago he placed Montrichard in the most imminent peril. The latter fortunately covered himself by the accidents of the ground, and prudently fell back upon Moreau.

The action had been bloody and entirely to the advantage of the French on the left and at the centre. Their loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, might be estimated at four thousand, and that of the Austrians at eight thousand at least.* In spite, however, of the advantage acquired by the French, they had obtained but very unimportant results. At Verona, they had only shut up the Austrians; above Verona, they had driven them across the Adige, and they had gained the means of passing it after them by repairing the bridge of Polo. It should be recollected that the road which runs outside of that river passes through Verona, and that there is no other outlet for debouching into the plain. It was not enough, then, to cross the Adige at Polo; after crossing it, our troops found themselves facing Verona, in the same position as Moreau at the centre, and it was necessary to take the place. If, on the same day, advantage had been taken of the disorder into which the attack on the camp of Pastrengo had thrown the Austrians, and if no time had been lost in re-establishing the bridge of Polo, perhaps the French might have entered the place at the heels of the fugitives, especially by favour of the obstinate battle which Moreau was fighting on the other side of the Adige with General Kaim.

Unfortunately, not one of these plans was adopted. This fault, however, might have been repaired on the following day by operating briskly, and by moving the bulk of the forces before and above Verona towards the point of Polo. But Scherer took three successive days to consider what course he should pursue. He directed a road to be sought on the other side of the Adige, which would allow him to avoid Verona. The army was indignant at this hesitation, and loudly complained that the advantages gained in the action of the 6th (March 26), were not followed up. At length, on the 9th of Germinal (March 29), a council of war was held, and Scherer decided to act. He formed the singular plan of throwing Serrurier's division across the Adige by the bridge of Polo, and of directing the mass of his army between Verona and Legnago, for the purpose of attempting the passage of the river there. To effect the removal of his forces, he sent two divisions of his left to his right, made them pass behind his centre, and exposed them to useless fatigues, upon wretched roads, utterly ruined by the rains.

On the 10th of Germinal (March 30), the new plan was put in execution. Serrurier, with his division, six thousand strong, crossed the Adige alone at Polo, while the bulk of the army was moving lower down between Verona and Legnago. It was easy to foresee what must be the fate of Serrurier's division. Proceeding, after crossing the Adige, along a road which was closed by Verona, and which thus formed a kind of *cul-de-sac*, he incurred great risks. Kray, having a correct notion of its situation, despatched against it a mass of forces three times its number, and drove it

* "The loss of the French in this battle amounted to four thousand men, while that of the Imperialists was nearly seven thousand; but, nevertheless, as the success on the left and centre was in some degree balanced by the disaster on the right, they were unable to derive any decisive advantage from this large difference in their favour. Alread the courage of the Austrians was elevated by the balanced success which they had obtained; and, from the hesitation of the enemy in following up his advantage at Pastrengo, they perceived with pleasure, that the genius of Napoleon had not been inherited by his successor."—*Alison*. E.

riskily back upon the bridge of Polo. Confusion ensued in the ranks. The river was recrossed, but this was effected in disorder. Detachments were obliged to cut their way through, and fifteen hundred prisoners remained in the hands of the Austrians. Scherer, when apprized of this check, which was inevitable, contented himself with picking up the beaten division, and bringing it nearer to the Lower Adige, where he had now concentrated the greater part of his forces.

Several more days were passed by both parties in feeling their way. At length Kray took a determination, and resolved, while Scherer was proceeding to the Lower Adige, to debouch *en masse* from Verona, to march upon Scherer's flank, and to drive him between the Lower Adige and the sea. The disposition was good; but, fortunately, an intercepted order made Moreau acquainted with Kray's plan; he immediately communicated it to the general-in-chief, and urged him to direct his divisions to ascend the river again, in order to make head towards Verona, by which place the enemy was about to debouch.

It was while executing this movement that the two armies met on the 16th of Germinal (April 5), in the environs of Magnano. Victor's and Grenier's divisions, forming the right, towards the Adige, were ascending the river by San Giovanni and Tomba; with the intention of proceeding to Verona. They overthrew Mercantin's division, which was opposed to them, and completely destroyed Wartensleben's regiment. Thus these two divisions arrived nearly opposite to Verona, and were enabled to accomplish their object, which was to cut off from that city all the troops that Kray might have sent out of it. Delmas's division, which was to move to the centre, towards Butta Preda and Magnano, was delayed, and afforded the Austrian division of Kaim occasion to advance as far as Butta Preda, and thus to form a salient point about the middle of our line. But Moreau, on the left, with Serrurier's, Hatry's, and Montrichard's divisions, victoriously advanced. He had ordered Montrichard's division to change front, in order to face Butta Preda, about the spot where the enemy had formed a point, and was marching with his two other divisions towards Dazano. Delmas, having at length arrived at Butta Preda, covered our centre; and at this moment fortune seemed to declare in our favour, for our right, completely victorious on the side next to the Adige, was preparing to intercept the retreat of the Austrians to Verona.

But Kray, judging that the essential point was on our right, and that he ought to renounce success on all the other points for the purpose of securing it on that, directed thither the greatest mass of his forces. He had one advantage over Scherer, namely, the proximity of his divisions, which permitted him to displace them with greater facility. The French divisions, on the contrary, were at a great distance from one another, and fought on ground intersected by numerous inclosures. Kray fell unawares, with his whole reserve, upon Grenier's division. Victor was proceeding to the succour of the latter, when he was himself charged by the Nadasty and Reisky regiments. Kray was not content with this first advantage. He had caused Mercantin's division, beaten in the morning, to be rallied in the rear; he despatched it afresh against Grenier's and Victor's divisions, and thus decided their defeat. Those two divisions, in spite of a warm resistance, were obliged to abandon the field of battle. The right being put to the rout, our centre found itself threatened. Kray did not fail to proceed against it; but Moreau was there, and he prevented Kray from following up his advantage.

The battle was evidently lost, and it was necessary to think of retreating.* The loss had been great on both sides. The Austrians had three thousand killed and wounded, and two thousand of them were prisoners. The French had an equal number killed and wounded, but they had lost four thousand prisoners. It was there that General Pigeon, who, during the first campaign in Italy, had displayed such talent and daring in the advanced guards, was mortally wounded.

Moreau advised that the army should sleep on the field of battle, to avoid the confusion of a nocturnal retreat, but Scherer resolved to fall back the same evening. Next day, he retired behind the Molinella, and on the day following, the 18th of Germinal (April 7), to the Mincio. Supported upon Peschiera on the one hand, and Mantua on the other, he would be enabled to oppose a vigorous resistance, to recall Macdonald from the further extremity of the Peninsula, and by this concentration of his forces to recover the superiority which he had lost by the battle of Magnano. But the unfortunate Scherer had entirely lost his self-possession. His soldiers were worse disposed than ever. Masters for three years of Italy, they were indignant at seeing it wrested from them, and they imputed their reverses to the unskilfulness of their general. It is certain that, for their parts, they had done their duty as well as in the days of their brightest glory. The reproaches of his army had shocked Scherer as much as his defeat. Conceiving that he could not maintain his ground on the Mincio, he retired to the Oglio, and then to the Adda, which he reached on the 12th of April. No one could tell where this retrograde movement would end.

The campaign had been opened scarcely six weeks, and we were already retreating at all points. Ernoulf, chief of the staff, whom Jourdan had left with the army of the Danube at the entrance of the defiles of the Black Forest, had taken fright on being informed of an incursion of a few light troops on his flanks, and retired in disorder towards the Rhine. Thus, both in Germany and in Italy, our armies, as brave as ever, nevertheless lost their conquests, and retreated beaten towards the frontier. It was in Switzerland only that we had retained the advantage. There Massena kept his ground with all the tenacity of his character; and, excepting the fruitless attempt on Feldkirch, had uniformly come off conqueror. But, established on the projecting point formed by Switzerland between Germany and Italy, he was placed between two victorious armies, and it became indispensably necessary for him to retreat. He accordingly gave orders to that effect to Lecourbe, and fell back into the interior of Switzerland, but in good order, and preserving the most imposing attitude.

Our arms were humbled, and our ministers abroad were destined to be the victims of the most disgraceful and atrocious outrage. War being declared against the emperor, and not against the Germanic empire, the congress of Rastadt had continued assembled. The parties had very nearly arranged matters as to the last difficulty, that of the debts: but two-thirds of the states had already recalled their deputies. This was an effect of the influence of Austria, which did not wish peace to be concluded. Some only of the deputies of Germany still remained, and, the retreat of the army

* "Before night, Scherer drew off his shattered forces behind the Tararo, carrying with them two thousand prisoners and several pieces of cannon—a poor compensation for the loss of four thousand killed and wounded, four thousand prisoners, seven standards, eight pieces of cannon, and forty caissons, which had fallen into the hands of the Imperialists. This victory, one of the most signal in the Austrian annals, decided the fate of Italy."—*Jomini*. E

of the Danube having opened the country, the deliberations were held amidst Austrian troops. The cabinet of Vienna then conceived an infamous plan, which reflected long dishonour on its policy. It had loudly complained of the haughtiness and energy which our ministers had displayed at Rastadt. It imputed to them a disclosure which had deeply compromised it in the estimation of the Germanic body. It was that of the secret articles arranged with Bonaparte for the occupation of Mayence. These secret articles proved that, in order to obtain Palma Nova in the Friule, the Austrian cabinet had ceded Mayence, and unworthily betrayed the interests of the Empire. That cabinet was highly incensed, and resolved to take vengeance on our ministers. It wished, moreover, to seize their papers, to ascertain which of the German princes were at the moment treating individually with the French republic. It therefore conceived the criminal idea of securing the persons of our ministers on their return to France, of robbing, ill-using, and perhaps even murdering them. It was never known, however, whether the order for murdering them had been given in a positive manner.

Our ministers already felt some distrust, and, without apprehending any attack on their persons, they had some fears for their correspondence. It was, in fact, interrupted on the 30th of Germinal by the removal of the pontoniers who conveyed it across. Our ministers remonstrated; the deputation of the Empire remonstrated too, and asked if the congress could consider itself safe. The Austrian officer to whom it addressed itself, did not return a satisfactory answer. Our ministers then declared that they would set out in three days, that is to say, on the 9th of Floreal (April 29), for Strasburg, adding that they should stay in that city, ready to renew the negotiations as soon as any wish to that effect should be expressed. On the 7th of Floreal, a courier of the legation was seized. Fresh remonstrances were made by the whole congress, and it was expressly asked whether the French ministers were safe. The Austrian colonel commanding the Szekler hussars, cantoned near Rastadt, replied that the French ministers had but to set out within twenty-four hours. He was applied to for an escort for them, but refused it, and declared that their persons would be respected. Our three ministers, Jean Debry, Bonnier, and Roberjeot, set out at nine in the evening of the 9th of Floreal (April 28). They occupied three carriages with their families. They were followed by the Ligurian legation and the secretaries of embassy. At first an objection was made to permit them to leave Rastadt; but at length all obstacles were removed, and they departed. They were scarcely fifty paces from Rastadt, when a troop of Szekler hussars rushed upon them with drawn swords, and stopped the carriages. That of Jean Debry was the first. The hussars violently opened the door, and asked, in a semi-barbarous jargon, if he was Jean Debry. On his reply in the affirmative, they seized him by the throat, dragged him out of the carriage, and in presence of his wife and children fell upon him with their sabres. Believing him to be dead, they went to the other carriages and murdered Roberjeot and Bonnier, in the arms of their families. The members of the Ligurian legation and the secretaries of embassy had time to escape. The ruffians charged with this execution then plundered the carriages, and carried off all the papers.

Jean Debry had not received any mortal wound. The coolness of the night restored to him the use of his senses, and he crawled, covered with blood, to Rastadt. When this outrage was known, it excited the indig-

nation of the inhabitants and of the members of the congress. German honour was shocked at a violation of the law of nations unheard-of among civilized people, and which was only conceivable of a semi-barbarian cabinet. The members of the deputation left at the congress paid all possible attention to Jean Debry and to the families of the murdered ministers. They afterwards assembled, and drew up a declaration, in which they denounced to the world the outrage that had just been committed, and repelled all suspicion of connivance with Austria. This crime, known immediately throughout all Europe, excited universal indignation.* The Archduke Charles wrote a letter to Massena, intimating that he should direct proceedings to be instituted against the colonel of the Szekler hussars; but this cold and formal letter, which proved the embarrassment of the prince, was not worthy of him and of his character. Austria did not, and could not, make any reply to the accusations directed against her.

Thus the war between the two systems that divided the world was implacable. The republican ministers, ill-received at first, then insulted during a year of peace, were at last murdered in a most unworthy manner, and with a ferocity characteristic of savages alone. The law of nations, observed between the most inveterate enemies, was violated only in regard to them.

* "About this time our plenipotentiaries were massacred at Rastadt by the Shekler hussars, and notwithstanding the indignation expressed by all Frenchmen at that atrocious act, vengeance was still very tardy in overtaking the assassins. The two Councils were the first to render a melancholy tribute of honour to the victims. Who that saw that ceremony can ever forget its solemnity? Who can recollect without emotion the religious silence which reigned throughout the hall and tribunals, when the vote was put? The president turned towards the curule chair of the victim, on which lay the official costume of the assassinated representative covered with black crape, bent over it, and pronouncing the names of Robertjot and Bonnier, added in a voice, the tone of which was always thrilling, 'Assassinated at the congress of Rastadt!' Immediately all the representatives responded, 'May their blood be upon the heads of their murderers!' This crime was long attributed to the court of Austria; but I have positive evidence that the Queen of Naples and the colonel of the Shekler regiment were the sole authors of the murder. I do not now recollect at what battle it was that the Shekler hussars were in such a situation as obliged them to capitulate. Their consciences told them, however, that they ought not to expect quarter. 'Will you make us prisoners?' demanded the commander of the corps. He received for answer an exclamation of rage and indignation—'Defend yourselves, wretches!' The whole regiment was exterminated."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

THE DIRECTORY.

EFFECT OF OUR FIRST REVERSES; MULTIPLIED ACCUSATIONS AGAINST THE DIRECTORY—ELECTIONS OF THE YEAR VII; SIEYES NOMINATED DIRECTOR IN THE PLACE OF REWBEL—CONTINUATION OF THE CAMPAIGN—MASSENA IS INVESTED WITH THE JOINT COMMAND OF THE ARMIES OF HELVETIA AND THE DANUBE, AND OCCUPIES THE LINE OF THE LIMMAT—ARRIVAL OF SUWARROW IN ITALY; SCHERER TRANSFERS THE COMMAND TO MOREAU; BATTLE OF CASSANO; RETREAT OF MOREAU BEYOND THE PO AND THE APENNINES—ATTEMPT TO FORM A JUNCTION WITH THE ARMY OF NAPLES; BATTLE OF THE TREBBIA—COALITION OF ALL THE PARTIES AGAINST THE DIRECTORY; REVOLUTION OF THE THIRTIETH OF PRAIRIAL; TREILHARD, LAREVEILLERE, AND MERLIN, RESIGN THE DIRECTORSHIP.

THE unexpected reverses which marked the opening of the campaign, and the outrage at Rastadt, produced an impression most prejudicial to the Directory. From the very moment of the declaration of war, the two parties in opposition began to be violent, and they kept no bounds when they saw our armies beaten and our ministers murdered. The patriots excluded by the schisms, the military men whose licentiousness the government had attempted to repress, the royalists, concealing themselves behind the discontented of different classes, all made at once a handle of the late events for accusing the Directory. They preferred the most unjust and the most multiplied charges against it. The armies, they alleged, had been entirely neglected. The Directory had suffered their ranks to be thinned by desertion, and had not used any activity in replenishing them by means of the new conscription. It had retained in the interior a great number of old battalions, which, instead of being sent to the frontiers, were employed in cramping the freedom of the elections. The armies, thus reduced to a force so disproportionate to that of the enemy, had not been supplied by the Directory with magazines, or with provisions, or with accoutrements, or with means of transport, or with horses for remounts. It had abandoned them to the rapacity of the administrations, which had consumed to no purpose a revenue of six hundred millions. Lastly, it had made the very worst choice of generals to command them. Championnet, the conqueror of Naples, was in confinement for having endeavoured to repress the rapacity of the agents of the government. Moreau was reduced to the part of a mere general of division. Joubert, the conqueror of the Tyrol, Augereau, one of the heroes of Italy, were without command. Scherer, on the contrary, who had paved the way to all our defeats by his administration, had the command of the army of Italy, because he was a countryman and friend of Rewbel. But they did not stop here. There

were other names which they repeated with acrimony. The illustrious Bonaparte, his illustrious lieutenants, Kleber and Desaix, and their forty thousand companions in arms, the conquerors of Austria, where were they? In Egypt, in a distant land, where they were likely to perish from the imprudence of the government, perhaps from its malignity. It now began to be asserted that this enterprise, lately so admired, had been contrived by the Directory to get rid of a celebrated warrior of whom it was jealous.

They went back still farther. They reproached the government on account of the war itself. They insisted that it had provoked it by its imprudent conduct towards the powers. It had invaded Switzerland, overthrown the Pope and the court of Naples, and thus urged Austria to extremities, and all without being prepared to enter upon the conflict. By invading Egypt, it had decided the Porte to a rupture. In deciding the Porte, it had relieved Russia from all apprehension for her rear, and permitted her to send sixty thousand men into Germany. Lastly, such was their fury, that they went so far as to say the Directory was the secret author of the murders at Rastadt. It was, they alleged, an expedient for inflaming the public mind against the enemies of France, and demanding fresh resources from the legislative body.

These reproaches were repeated everywhere, in the tribune, in the newspapers, in the public places. Jourdan had hastened to Paris, to complain of the government and to impute to it all his reverses. Those generals who had not come had written to state their grievances. It was a universal attack, which would be incomprehensible, if we were not acquainted with the violence, and especially the contradictions, of the parties.

With ever so slight a recollection of facts, we shall be able to reply to all these reproaches. The Directory had not suffered the ranks of the armies to be thinned, for it had granted only twelve thousand furloughs; but it could not possibly prevent desertions in time of peace. There is not a government in the world that could have prevented them. The Directory would even have exposed itself to the charge of tyranny, by taking measures to oblige many soldiers to rejoin the armies. There would, in fact, have been some harshness in forcing men who had been spilling their blood for the last six years to return to their colours. It was but five months since the conscription was decreed; and it had not had the means, in so short a time, to organize that system of recruiting, and above all to equip and to train the conscripts, to form them into field battalions, and to send them to Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. It had retained some old battalions, because they were indispensable for maintaining tranquillity during the elections, and because this duty could not be committed to young soldiers, whose sentiments were not formed, and whose attachment to the republic was not sufficiently decided. Another important reason had justified this precaution, namely, La Vendée again excited by foreign emissaries,* and Holland threatened by the Anglo-Russian fleets.

As for the disorder of the administration, the charges brought against the Directory were not better founded. There had been dilapidations, indeed, but almost all to the advantage of the very persons who complained

* "The disturbances in the western provinces had again risen to a formidable height. The Vendéans and Chouans had yielded only a temporary submission to General Hoche; and with the arrival of less skilful leaders of the republican forces and the increasing weakness of government, their activity had again led them to insurrection -- *Lacretelle* E.

of them, and in spite of the utmost efforts of the Directory. There had been dilapidations in three ways : by the plunder of the conquered countries, by charging to the state the pay of the soldiers who had deserted, and lastly, by making disadvantageous contracts with the companies. Now, it was the generals and the staffs, who had committed and profited by all these dilapidations. It was they who had plundered the conquered countries, made a profit upon the pay, and shared that of the companies. We have seen that the latter sometimes relinquished so much as forty per cent. of their profits, in order to obtain the patronage of the staffs. Scherer, towards the end of his ministry, had embroiled himself with his brother officers by the resistance which he had opposed to all these disorders. The Directory had endeavoured to put a stop to them by appointing commissions independent of the staffs ; and we have seen how Championnet treated them at Naples. The disadvantageous bargains made with the companies arose from another cause—the state of the finances. Promises only were given to the contractors, and these, therefore, indemnified themselves by the price for the uncertainty of the payment. The credits opened this year amounted to 600 millions of ordinary and to 125 millions of extraordinary. Out of this sum, the minister had already assigned 400 millions for expenses incurred. Not 210 millions had yet been received ; orders had been delivered for the other 190.

Thus nothing could be imputed to the Directory on the score of dilapidations. Neither could it be reproached for its choice of generals excepting in one instance. Championnet, after his conduct towards the commissioners sent to Naples, could not be allowed to retain the command. Macdonald was at least equal to him, and was known to be a man of strict integrity. Joubert and Bernadotte had refused the command of the army of Italy. They had recommended Scherer. Moreau, who ought by right to have been appointed, had been rejected by Barras alone, who had insisted on Scherer's nomination. As for Augereau, his democratic turbulence was a just reason for refusing him a command ; and besides, notwithstanding his undeniable qualities, he was inadequate to a command in chief. With respect to the expedition to Egypt, we have seen whether the Directory was chargeable with that, and whether it is true that it was anxious to get rid of Bonaparte, Kleber, Desaix, and their forty thousand companions in arms. Lareveillère-Lepeaux had made an enemy of the hero of Italy by the firmness with which he opposed the expedition.

The provocation to war was no more the act of the Directory than any of the other mishaps with which it was charged. The reader must have perceived that the incompatibility of the passions raging in Europe had alone provoked the war. On this head, no reproach could justly be made against any one ; but, at any rate, it was most assuredly not the patriots, or military men, who had a right to accuse the Directory. What would the patriots have said, had it not supported the Vaudois, punished the papal government, overthrown the King of Naples, and forced the sovereign of Piedmont to abdicate ? Was it not the military men, who, in the army of Italy, had always driven them to the occupation of new countries ? The news of the war had delighted them all. Was it not, moreover, Bernadotte at Vienna, and a brother of Bonaparte at Rome, who had committed imprudences, if any had been committed ? It was not the determination of the Porte which had influenced that of Russia ; but, had the fact been so, it was the author of the expedition to Egypt, who would alone have deserved to be reproached for that.

Nothing, then, was more absurd than the mass of the accusations accumulated against the Directory. It merited but one of them—that of having participated in the excessive confidence felt by the patriots and the military men in the power of the republic. It had participated in the revolutionary passions, and suffered itself to be hurried along by them. It had conceived that one hundred and seventy thousand men would be sufficient at the outset of the war, and that the offensive would decide everything. As for its plans, they were bad, but not worse than Carnot's in 1796, not worse than those of the Aulic Council, and founded, moreover, in part, on a project of General Jourdan. There was but one man who could have formed better, as we have observed, and it was not the fault of the Directory that he was not in Europe.

It is but an act of equity in history to point out the injustice of these reproaches; but so much the worse for a government when everything is imputed to it as a crime. One of its indispensable qualities is to possess such a character as may repel injustice. When it has lost this, and people impute to it the faults of others, and even those of fortune, it has no longer the power to govern, and this impotence must doom it to resign. How many governments were worn out since the commencement of the Revolution! The action of France against Europe was so violent that it could not fail to destroy speedily all its springs. The Directory was worn out, as the committee of public welfare was before it, and as Napoleon himself has since been. All the accusations preferred against the Directory were evidence, not of its faults, but of its frailty.

It is not surprising that five civil magistrates, elected to power, not on account of their hereditary greatness or their personal reputation, but because they had deserved rather more esteem than their fellow-citizens—that five magistrates, armed with the sole power of the laws, to oppose the turbulent factions, to reduce to obedience numerous armies, generals covered with glory and with a full sense of their deserts, finally, to administer one-half of Europe—it is not surprising that they should soon appear incompetent, amid the terrible struggle that had anew commenced. It required but one reverse to render this incompetence apparent. The factions alternately beaten, the military men several times repressed, called them contemptuously the *lawyers*, and said that France could not be governed by them.

From a very strange singularity, but which is frequently seen in the conflict of revolutions, public opinion showed some indulgence for only that one of the five directors who least deserved it. Barras, alone, indisputably deserved all that could be urged against the Directory. In the first place, he had never attended to business, and had left all the toil to his colleagues. Excepting in decisive moments, when he raised his voice, which was superior to his courage, he did nothing whatever. He interfered only in the government appointments, which better suited his intriguing disposition. He had shared in all the profits of the companies, and alone justified the reproach of dilapidation. He had always been the defender of firebrands and rogues; it was he who had supported Brune, and sent Fouché to Italy. He was the cause of the bad choice of the generals, for he had opposed the appointment of Moreau, and strongly insisted on that of Scherer. Notwithstanding all these very serious faults, he alone was excepted from condemnation. In the first place, he was not considered, like his four colleagues, as a *lawyer*; for his indolence, his dissolute habits, his soldier-like manners, his connection with the Jacobins, and the recollection

of the 18th of Fructidor, which was attributed exclusively to him, made him in appearance a man more capable of governing than his colleagues. The patriots found in him points of resemblance to themselves, and conceived that he was devoted to them. The royalists received from him secret hopes. The staffs, which he flattered, and which he screened from the just severity of his colleagues, also held him in high favour. The contractors extolled him; and in this manner he gained exemption from the general discredit. He was even perfidious towards his colleagues, for all the reproaches which he had deserved he had the art to throw upon them alone. Such a part cannot prosper long; it may succeed for a moment: it did succeed on this occasion.

The reader is acquainted with the enmity of Barras against Rewbel. The latter, a really able administrator, had offended by his spleen and his superciliousness all those with whom he had had to deal. He had shown severity for the men of business, for all the *protégés* of Barras, and especially for all the military men. Hence he had become an object of general hatred. He was upright, though rather avaricious. Barras had the art, in his society, which was numerous, to throw upon him the most odious suspicions. An unlucky circumstance tended to authorize them. Rapinat, the agent of the Directory in Switzerland, was Rewbel's brother-in-law. The extortions practised in all conquered countries had been committed in Switzerland, but not to such an extent as everywhere else. The vehement complaints of that petty avaricious people had nevertheless produced an extraordinary sensation. Rapinat had been charged with the unfortunate commission of putting seals upon the coffers and treasures of Berne: he had treated the Helvetic government with haughtiness: these circumstances and his unlucky name had caused him to pass for the Verres of Switzerland, for the author of dilapidations in which he had no hand. He had even quitted Switzerland before the time when she had suffered most. The associates of Barras made wretched puns upon his name, and the whole odium fell on Rewbel, who was his brother-in-law. Thus Rewbel, in spite of his own probity, was exposed to all sorts of calumnies.

Lareveillère was not less odious than Rewbel, on account of his inflexible severity, and his influence in the political affairs of Italy. His life, however, was so simple and so modest, that it was impossible to attack his integrity. The society of Barras made him a subject of ridicule. They made game of his person and of his pretensions to a new papacy. They said that he had set up for the founder of the doctrine of Theophilanthropy, of which, however, he was not the author. Merlin and Treilhard, though not so long in power, and less conspicuous than Rewbel and Lareveillère, were, nevertheless, involved in the same unpopularity.

It was in this disposition of mind that the elections of the year VII. which were the last, took place. The furious patriots were determined not to be excluded this year, as in the preceding, from the legislative body. They had inveighed against the system of schisms, and endeavoured to brand it beforehand, and with such success that people durst not again resort to it. In this state of agitation, when men impute to their adversaries all the designs which they apprehend them to entertain, they said that the Directory, recurring, as on the 18th of Fructidor, to extraordinary means, was about to prolong for five years the powers of the existing deputies, and to suspend for all that time the exercise of electoral prerogatives. Because the Directory was engaged in organizing the Helvetic contingent, they alleged that it was going to bring Swiss to Paris. They made a great

noise about a circular to the electors, issued by the commissioner of the government (the prefect) to the department of the Sarthe. It was not a circular, as we have since seen, but an exhortation. The Directory was compelled to express its disapprobation of it in a message. The elections which took place with these dispositions, brought a considerable number of patriots into the legislative body.* No attempt was made this year to exclude them from the legislative body, and their election was confirmed. General Jourdan, who was right in imputing his reverses to the numerical inferiority of his army, but showed a want of his accustomed judgment in imputing to the government a wish to ruin him, was again returned to the legislative body, with a heart big with resentment. Augereau, too, was deputed to it, with an increase of his former spleen and turbulence.

A new director was to be chosen. Chance was not favourable to the republic, for, instead of Barras, it designated Rewbel, the ablest of the five directors, as the member who was to retire. This was a subject of great satisfaction to all the enemies of that director, and a fresh occasion for slandering him more conveniently. As, however, he had been deputed to the Council of the Ancients, he took an opportunity of replying to his accusers, and he did so in the most victorious manner.

On the retirement of Rewbel, the only infraction of the strict laws of probity with which the Directory can be charged was committed. The first five directors, appointed at the time of the institution of the Directory, had made an agreement among themselves, by which each of them was to take ten thousand francs on account of their salary, and give them to the retiring member. The aim of this noble sacrifice was to make the members of the Directory, especially such of them as had no fortune, feel less the transition from supreme power to private life. There was even a reason of dignity in acting thus; for it was derogatory to the consideration of the government to find the man who had one day been invested with supreme power, in poverty the next. It was chiefly this reason that induced the directors to make a more suitable provision for their colleagues. Their salaries were already so moderate that a deduction of ten thousand francs appeared too heavy. They resolved to allow the sum of one hundred thousand francs to each director on retiring. This would be an additional expense to the state of one hundred thousand francs. Application was to be made for this sum to the minister of the finances, who might take it out of one of the thousand savings which it was so easy to make in budgets of six or eight hundred millions. It was decided, moreover, that each director should retain his carriage and horses. As the legislative body annually allowed the costs of outfit, this expense was to be avowed, and would thenceforward become legitimate. The directors, moreover, agreed that the savings made in the costs of outfit should be divided among them. This was assuredly a very slight encroachment on the public purse, if it was one at all; and while generals and companies were making such enormous profits, one hundred thousand francs per annum, devoted to the subsistence of a man who had just been at the head of the government, could not be deemed a robbery. The reasons and the form of the measure excused it in some sort. Lareveillère, to whom it was communicated.

* "The elections, like those of the preceding year, were republican. The Directory was no longer possessed of sufficient strength to contend against public misfortunes and the animosity of parties. The retirement of Rewbel, who was succeeded by Sieyes, deprived it of the only man who could make head against the storm; and introduced in his stead the most decided opponent of this obnoxious and worn-out government."
Mignet. E.

never would consent to it. He declared to his colleagues that he would never accept his share. Rewbel received his. The one hundred thousand francs given to him were taken from the two millions of secret service money, for which the Directory was not obliged to account. Such was the only fault with which the Directory collectively can be charged. One only of its members, out of the twelve who succeeded one another, was accused of having made private gains. Of what government in the world can the same thing be said ?

A successor was to be found for Rewbel. A man of high reputation, who would confer some degree of consideration on the Directory, was sought for. Sieyes, whose name was the most renowned next to that of Bonaparte, was thought of. His embassy to Prussia had added to his reputation. He was already regarded, and very justly, as a man of profound mind ; but since he had been in Berlin, the maintenance of the Prussian neutrality was attributed to him ; though it was owing, in fact, much less to him than the situation of that power. Thus he was deemed quite as capable to direct the government, as to frame a constitution. He was chosen director. Many persons fancied that in this circumstance they discovered a confirmation of a rumour generally circulated, of very speedy modifications in the constitution. They said that Sieyes was called to the Directory merely to contribute to these modifications. So little did they imagine that the existing state of things could continue, that they beheld in all these facts certain indications of changes.

During this interval, the Directory had not ceased to make the greatest efforts to repair the reverses which had marked the opening of the campaign. Jourdan had lost the command of the army of the Danube, and Massena had been invested with the chief command of all the troops cantoned between Düsseldorf and the St. Gothard. This happy selection was destined to save France. Scherer, impatient to quit an army, the confidence of which he had lost, had obtained permission to transfer the command to Moreau. Macdonald had received urgent orders to evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman states, and to effect a junction with the army of Upper Italy. All the old battalions retained in the interior had been marched off for the frontiers ; the equipment and the organization of the conscripts had been accelerated, and reinforcements began to arrive from all quarters.

No sooner was Massena appointed commander-in-chief of the armies of the Rhine and Switzerland, than he set about making a suitable disposition of the forces committed to his charge. Never did general assume the command under more critical circumstances. He had at most thirty thousand men, scattered in Switzerland, from the valley of the Inn to Basle ; he had opposed to him thirty thousand men under Bellegarde in the Tyrol, twenty-eight thousand under Hotze in the Vorarlberg, forty thousand under the archduke, between the Lake of Constance and the Danube. This mass of nearly one hundred thousand men was capable of enveloping and destroying him. If the archduke had not been thwarted by the Aulic Council and prevented by illness, and had crossed the Rhine between the Lake of Constance and the Aar, he might have intercepted Massena's retreat into France, surrounded and cut him off. Fortunately, he was not master of his movements. Fortunately, too, Bellegarde and Hotze had not been placed immediately under his command. Between these three generals there was a continual bickering, which prevented them from concerting together for any decisive operation.

These circumstances favoured Massena, and enabled him to take a solid position, and to distribute the troops placed at his disposal in a suitable manner. Everything proved that the archduke meant merely to observe the line of the Rhine towards Alsace, and that he purposed to operate in Switzerland, between Schaffhausen and the Aar. Massena moved back the greater part of the army of the Danube into Switzerland, and assigned to it positions which it ought to have taken at first, that is to say, immediately after the battle of Stockach. He had been wrong in leaving Lecourbe too long in the Valteline. That officer was obliged to retire from it, after brilliant actions in which he displayed admirable intrepidity and presence of mind. The Grisons were evacuated. Massena then distributed his army from the great chain of the Alps to the conflux of the Aar and Rhine, choosing the line which to him appeared the best.

Switzerland presents several lines of water, which, commencing at the High Alps, run through the whole of it and throw themselves into the Rhine. The largest and longest is that of the Rhine itself, which, rising not far from the St. Gothard, first runs northward, then spreads out into a spacious lake called the Lake of Constance, issues from it near Stein, proceeds westward to Basle, and then begins again to run northward to form the boundary of Alsace. This line is the most extensive, and it embraces all Switzerland. There is a second, that of Zurich, comprised within the preceding; this is that of the Linth, which, having its source in the little cantons, pauses to form the Lake of Zurich, issues from it by the name of the Limmat, and falls into the Aar, not far from the influx of the latter into the Rhine. This line, which envelops only part of Switzerland, is much less extensive than the former. There is a third, that of the Reuss, inscribed again in the second; it passes from the bed of the Reuss to the Lake of Lucerne, issues from it at Lucerne, and joins the Aar near the point where the Limmat falls into the latter. These lines, commencing on the right against prodigious mountains, terminating on the left in great rivers, consisting sometimes of rivers, at others of lakes, present numerous advantages for the defensive. Massena could not hope to retain the longest, that of the Rhine, and to extend himself from the St. Gothard to the mouth of the Aar. He was obliged to fall back on that of the Limmat, where he established himself in the most solid manner. He placed his right wing, composed of Lecourbe's, Menard's, and Lorges' three divisions, from the Alps to the Lake of Zurich. He gave the command of it to Ferino. He placed his centre on the Limmat, and composed it of four divisions, Oudinot's, Vandamme's, Thureau's, and Soult's. His left guarded the Rhine, towards Basle and Strasburg.

Before he confined himself in this position, he strove to prevent by an action the junction of the archduke with Hotze, his lieutenant. These two generals, placed on the Rhine, the one at its entrance into the Lake of Constance, the other at its exit from it, were separated by the whole length of the lake. In passing this line, to establish themselves before that of Zurich and the Limmat, on which Massena had placed himself, they would have to set out from the two extremities of the lake, in order to form their junction beyond it. Massena might have chosen the moment when Hotze had not yet advanced to fall upon the archduke, to drive him beyond the Rhine, then to turn upon Hotze and repulse him in his turn. It has been calculated that he would have had time for executing this double operation, and for beating separately both the Austrian generals. Unluckily, he did not think of attacking till the moment when they were

near joining, and when they had it in their power mutually to support each other. He fought them on several points on the 5th of Prairial (May 24), at Aldenfingen and at Frauenfeld, and though he had everywhere the advantage, owing to that vigour which he infused into all his movements, still he could not prevent the junction, and was obliged to fall back on the line of the Limmat and Zurich, where he prepared to give the archduke a warm reception, if the latter should be disposed to attack him.

In Italy, the state of affairs was far less propitious. There disasters had followed one another without ceasing.

Suwarrow had joined the Austrian army with a corps of twenty-eight or thirty thousand Russians. Melas had assumed the command of the Austrian army. Suwarrow was invested with the chief command of both armies. He was called the invincible. He was known for his campaigns against the Turks and his cruelties in Poland. He possessed great energy of character, an affected eccentricity, which was carried to madness, and no genius for combination. He was a genuine barbarian, fortunately incapable of calculating the employment of his forces, otherwise the republic might perhaps have succumbed. His army was like himself. It had a bravery that was extraordinary and bordered on fanaticism, but no instruction. The artillery, the cavalry, and the engineers belonging to it, were reduced to absolute ciphers. It was expert only at the use of the bayonet,* and employed it as the French had done during the Revolution. Suwarrow, extremely insolent to his allies, gave the Austrians Russian officers to teach them the use of the bayonet. He employed the most haughty language: he said that the *women*, the *petits-mâtres*, the *idlers*, ought to quit the army; that the babblers who presumed to find fault with the imperial service, should be treated as egotists and lose their grades; and that every one ought to sacrifice himself for the deliverance of Italy from the French and the atheists. Such was the style of his addresses. Fortunately, this brutal energy, after doing us a great deal of mischief, had to encounter the energy of skill and calculation, and was foiled by the latter.

Scherer, having entirely lost his presence of mind, had rapidly retreated to the Adda, amidst cries of indignation from his soldiers. Out of an army of forty-six thousand men, he had lost ten thousand, slain or prisoners. He was obliged to leave eight thousand more at Mantua, so that he had but twenty-eight thousand left. Nevertheless, if with this handful of men he had been capable of manœuvring with skill, he might have given Macdonald time to join him, and have avoided many disasters. But he placed himself on the Adda, in the most injudicious manner. He separated his army into three divisions. Serrurier's division was at Lecco, at the exit of the Adda from the Lake of Lecco. Grenier's division was at Cassano. Victor's division at Lodi. He had placed Montrichard, with a few light corps, towards the Modenese and the mountains of Genoa, to maintain the communications with Tuscany, by which Macdonald was to debouch. His twenty-eight thousand men, thus dispersed on a line of twenty-four leagues, could not make a solid resistance anywhere, and must be broken wherever the enemy should present himself in force.

On the evening of the 8th of Floreal (April 27), at the very moment

* "Suwarrow's favourite weapon was the bayonet. One of the Austrian generals having proposed a reconnoissance, he replied with energy, 'Reconnoissance! I will have none of it. It is never difficult to find your opponents when you really wish it. Form column; charge bayonets; plunge into the centre of the enemy—these are my reconnoissances.'"—*Jomini*. E

when the line of the Adda was forced, Scherer resigned the command of the army to Moreau. That brave general had some right to refuse it. He had been obliged to stoop to the part of a mere general of division, and now, when the campaign was lost, when nothing but disasters were to be expected, the command was given to him. However, with a patriotic devotedness which history cannot too highly commend, he accepted a defeat by accepting the command the very same evening that the Adda was forced. Here commences the least extolled but the most glorious portion of his life.

Suwarrow had approached the Adda at several points. When the first Russian regiment appeared in sight of the bridge of Lecco, the carbiniers of the brave 18th light infantry quitted the intrenchments and ran to meet those soldiers who had been described as terrible and invincible giants. They dashed upon them with their bayonets, and made a great carnage among them. The Russians were repulsed. They had kindled a flaming courage in the hearts of our brave fellows, who were determined to make these insolent barbarians, who came to interfere in a quarrel with which they had no concern, repent their journey. The appointment of Moreau served to raise their courage still more, and filled the army with confidence. Unfortunately, the position was not tenable. Suwarrow, repulsed at Lecco, had sent troops across the Adda at two points, Brivio and Trezzo, above and below Serrurier's division, which formed the left. That division was thus cut off from the rest of the army. Moreau, with Grenier's division, fought a furious battle at Trezzo, for the purpose of driving the enemy back beyond the Adda, and of again placing himself in communication with Serrurier's division. With eight or nine thousand men, he engaged a corps of above twenty thousand. His soldiers, animated by his presence, performed prodigies of valour, but could not drive back the enemy beyond the Adda. Unfortunately, Serrurier, to whom it was now impossible to send orders, did not conceive the idea of proceeding upon this same point of Trezzo, where Moreau was fighting so obstinately, in order to place himself again in communication with him. He was obliged to desist, and to leave Serrurier's division to its fate. It was surrounded by the whole hostile army, and fought with the utmost obstinacy. Enveloped at length on all sides, it was compelled to lay down its arms.* Part of this division, through the hardihood and presence of mind of an officer, escaped across the mountains to Piedmont. During this terrible action, Victor had luckily retired with his division intact. Such was the fatal battle called the battle of Cassano, on the 9th of Floreal (April 28), which reduced the army to about twenty-eight thousand men.

It was with this handful of brave fellows that Moreau undertook to retreat. That extraordinary man lost not for a moment that presence of mind with which nature had endowed him. Reduced to twenty thousand soldiers, in presence of an army which might have been increased to ninety thousand, if its commanders had possessed the skill to make it march in a mass, he was not shaken for an instant. This calmness was infinitely more meritorious than that which he had displayed when he returned from Germany with an army of sixty thousand victorious men, and yet it has been

* "Serrurier was surrounded on all sides by the imperialists, and, after an honourable resistance, finding his retreat cut off, and the assailants triple his own force, he laid down his arms, with seven thousand men."—*Alison*. E.

much less commended; so much do the accidents of the passions warp contemporary judgments.

He made it his first care to cover Milan, to afford means for sending off the artillery and the baggage, and to allow time to the members of the Cisalpine government and all the Milanese who were compromised to retire to the rear. Nothing is more dangerous for an army than these families of fugitives which it is obliged to admit into its ranks. They embarrass its march, retard its movements, and may even sometimes compromise its safety. Moreau, after passing two days in Milan, resumed his march to recross the Po. From the conduct of Suwarrow, he had reason to conclude that he should have time to take a solid position. He had two objects to attain; namely, to cover his communications with France and with Tuscany, by which the army of Naples was advancing. For this purpose, it appeared to him most judicious to occupy the slope of the mountains of Genoa. He marched in two columns; the one, escorting the parks of artillery, the baggage, the whole equipage of the army, took the high road from Milan to Turin; the other proceeded towards Alexandria, to occupy the roads to the Riviera of Genoa. He advanced towards this destination without being too closely pressed by the enemy. Suwarrow, instead of rushing with his victorious masses on our feeble army, and completely destroying it, stopped at Milan to receive the honours of triumph decreed him by the priests, the monks, the nobles, all the creatures of Austria, who had returned in a crowd in the train of the allied armies.

Moreau had time to reach Turin, and to send off all the equipage of war towards France. He armed the citadel, strove to excite the zeal of the partisans of the republic, and then went to join the column which he had directed upon Alexandria. He there chose a position which fully proved the soundness of his judgment. The Tanaro, on descending from the Apennines, throws itself into the Po below Alexandria. Moreau placed himself at the conflux of these two rivers. Covered at once by both, he was not afraid of an attack by main force; he guarded at the same time all the roads to Genoa, and could await the arrival of Macdonald. No position could be more advantageous. He occupied Casale, Valenza, and Alexandria; he had a chain of posts on the Po and the Tanaro; and his masses were disposed in such a manner that they could hasten in a few hours to any point which might be attacked. There he established himself with twenty thousand men, and awaited with imperturbable composure the movements of his formidable enemy.

Suwarrow had fortunately taken his time to advance. He had applied to the Aulic Council for authority to dispose of the Austrian corps of Bellegarde, destined for the Tyrol. This corps had just descended into Italy, and increased the combined army to considerably more than one hundred thousand men. But Suwarrow, being ordered to besiege Peschiera, Mantua, and Pizzighitone, all at once, wishing at the same time to secure himself on the side towards Switzerland, and ignorant, moreover, of the art of distributing masses, had not about him more than forty thousand, a force, however, quite adequate to overwhelm Moreau, had he known how to manage it properly.

He advanced along the Po and Tanaro, and placed himself opposite to Moreau. He established himself at Tortona, and fixed his head-quarters there. After a few days of inaction, he at length resolved to make an attempt on Moreau's left wing, that is to say, on the side next to the Po. A little above the conflux of the Po and the Tanaro, opposite to Mugarone,

are some woody islands, by favour of which the Russians resolved to attempt a passage. In the night between the 22d and the 23d of Floreal (May 11 and 12), they crossed, to the number of nearly two thousand, to one of these islands, and thus found themselves beyond the principal arm. The arm which they had yet to pass was inconsiderable, so that they might easily swim over it. They boldly crossed it, and were then on the right bank of the Po. The French, apprized of the danger, hastened to the point that was threatened. Moreau, who was informed of other demonstrations made towards the Tanaro, waited till the real point of danger should be clearly indicated, that he might bring his force to bear upon it. As soon as he was certain of it, he marched thither with his reserve, and drove into the Po the Russians who had had the temerity to cross. Two thousand five hundred of them were killed, drowned, or made prisoners.

This vigorous blow rendered Moreau's position, in the singular triangle in which he had posted himself, perfectly secure. But the inaction of the enemy gave him uneasiness. He was apprehensive that Suwarrow had left a mere detachment before Alexandria, and that he might have ascended the Po with the mass of his forces, with the intention of proceeding to Turin and taking the position of the French in the rear, or that he might perhaps have marched against Macdonald. In the uncertainty in which he was left by the inaction of Suwarrow, he resolved to act himself in order to ascertain the real state of things. He determined to debouch beyond Alexandria, and to make a strong reconnoissance. If the enemy had left only a detached corps before him, Moreau's intention was to change this reconnoissance into a serious attack, to overwhelm this detached corps, and then quietly to retire by the high-road of the Bochetta towards the mountains of Genoa, and there wait for Macdonald. If, on the contrary, he should meet with the principal mass, his plan was to fall back immediately, and to regain in all haste the Riviera of Genoa by all the accessory communications that were left him. A reason which particularly induced him to adopt this decisive course was the insurrection in Piedmont, on his rear. It was incumbent on him to draw near to his base as speedily as possible.

While Moreau was forming this extremely judicious plan, Suwarrow was forming another which was destitute of common sense. His position at Tortona was certainly the best that he could have taken, since it placed him between the two French armies, those of the Cisalpine and Naples. He ought not to have quitted it on any account. He nevertheless determined to take with him part of his force to the other side of the Po, to ascend it to Turin, to gain possession of that capital, to organize the Piedmontese royalists there, and to make himself master of Moreau's position. Nothing could be worse calculated than such a manœuvre; for, had he been desirous to take Moreau's position, he ought to have carried it by a direct and vigorous attack, but, above all things, not to have quitted the intermediate position between the two armies, which were striving to effect a junction.

While Suwarrow, dividing his forces, left part of them in the environs of Tortona, along the Tonaro, and took the other beyond the Po to march upon Turin, Moreau was executing the reconnoissance which he had planned. He had sent forward Victor's division, to attack with vigour the Russian corps that was before him. He remained himself with his reserve somewhat in rear, ready to convert this reconnoissance into a serious attack, if he should judge that the Russian corps might be crushed. After a very warm action, in which Victor's troops displayed extraordinary intre-

pidity, Moreau conceived that the whole Russian army was before him; he durst not attack in good earnest for fear of having upon his hands a too superior enemy. In consequence, between the two courses which he had purposed to adopt, he preferred the second as the safest. He resolved, therefore, to retire towards the mountains of Genoa. His position was most critical. All Piedmont was in revolt on his rear. A corps of insurgents had gained possession of Ceva, which commands the principal road, the only one accessible to artillery. He was threatened with the loss of the great convoy of the objects of art collected in Italy. These circumstances were most inauspicious. By taking the roads more to the rear, and leading to the Riviera di Ponente, Moreau feared that he should get too far from the communications with Tuscany, and that he should leave them in the hands of the enemy, whom he supposed to be collected in mass about Tortona. In this perplexity he immediately formed his resolution, and made the following dispositions. He detached Victor's division without artillery or baggage, and sent it by roads passable for infantry only towards the mountains of Genoa. It was to hasten to occupy all the passes of the Apennines, for the purpose of joining the army coming from Naples, and of reinforcing it in case that it should be attacked by Suwarrow. Moreau, keeping only eight thousand men at most, proceeded with his artillery, his cavalry, and all that could not travel by the mountain tracks, to gain one of the carriage-roads in rear of Ceva, and leading to the Riviera di Ponente. In deciding upon this eccentric retreat he made another calculation, namely, that he should draw upon himself the enemy's army, and divert it from pursuing Victor and falling upon Macdonald.

Victor retired without accident by Acqui, Spigno, and Dego, and then occupied the crests of the Apennines. Moreau retired with extraordinary celerity upon Asti. The capture of Ceva, which cut off his principal communication, threw him into extreme embarrassment. He sent off the greater part of his parks by the Col de Fenestrella, keeping only the field artillery, that was indispensable to him, and resolved to open himself a route across the Apennines, by setting his own soldiers to construct it. After four days' incredible efforts, the road was rendered passable for artillery,* and Moreau arrived in the Riviera of Genoa without retrograding to the Col de Tenda, which would have separated him too far from Victor's troops detached towards Genoa.

Suwarrow, on receiving intelligence of Moreau's retreat, had lost no time in pursuing him; but he could neither guess nor prevent his skilful combinations. Thus, owing to his coolness and his address, Moreau had brought off his twenty thousand men, without suffering them to be once attacked, and on the other hand had repressed the Russians wherever he had encountered them. He had left a garrison of three thousand men in Alexandria, and was with nearly eighteen thousand in the environs of Genoa. He took post on the crest of the Apennines, awaiting the arrival of Macdonald. He had sent Lapoype's division, Montrichard's light corps, and Victor's division, to the Upper Trebbia, to join Macdonald. He remained himself in the environs of Novi, with the remainder of his *corps d'armée*

* "The republicans were extricated from a situation almost desperate by the skilful vigour of their general, aided by the resources of Guillemot and the engineer corps under his directions. By their exertions and indefatigable efforts of one-half of the French army, a mountain-path leading across the Apennines from the valley of Garessia to the coast of Genoa, was in four days rendered practicable for artillery and wagons."

Jomisi E.

His plan of junction was profoundly meditated. He might draw the army of Naples to him by the shores of the Mediterranean, collect it at Genoa, and debouch with it from the Bochetta, or make it debouch from Tuscany into the plains of Placentia and on the banks of the Po. The first course would insure the junction, because it would take place under shelter of the Apennines; but it would be necessary to cross the Apennines again, and to make head against the enemy, in order to take the plain from him. By debouching, on the contrary, in advance of Placentia, he should be master of the plain as far as the Po. He might choose his field of battle on the very banks of that river, and in case of victory, throw the enemy into it. Moreau was desirous that Macdonald should keep his left close to the mountains, in order to connect himself with Victor, who was at Bobbio. For his own part, he watched Suwarrow, ready to throw himself upon his flanks the moment he should attempt to march to meet Macdonald. In this situation, the junction appeared as safe as behind the Apennines, and would take place on a far preferable ground.

The Directory had at this moment just collected a considerable naval force in the Mediterranean. Bruix, the minister of the marine, had assumed the command of the Brest fleet, raised the blockade of the Spanish fleet, and was cruising with fifty sail in the Mediterranean, with a view to clear it of the English, and to re-establish the communication with the army of Egypt. This junction, which was so much desired, was at length effected, and it was likely to restore our preponderance in the seas of the Levant. Bruix was at this moment off Genoa. His presence had singularly raised the spirits of the army. It was said that he was bringing provisions, ammunition, and reinforcements. Such was not the fact; but Moreau availed himself of this rumour, and took some pains to gain belief for it. He caused a report to be circulated that the fleet had just landed twenty thousand men and considerable supplies. This report singularly encouraged his army, and greatly diminished the confidence of the enemy.

It was now the middle of Prairial (the beginning of June). A new event had taken place in Switzerland. We have seen that Massena had occupied the line of the Limmat or of Zurich, and that the archduke, debouching in two masses from the two extremities of the Lake of Constance, had come and bordered this line throughout its whole extent. He resolved to attack it between Zurich and Brügg, that is, between the Lake of Zurich and the Aar, all along the Limmat. Massena had taken position not on the Limmat itself, but on a series of heights in advance of the Limmat, and covering at once the river and the lake. He had intrenched these heights in the most formidable manner, and rendered them almost inaccessible. Though this part of our line, between Zurich and the Aar, was the strongest, the archduke had resolved to attack it, because it would have been too dangerous to make a wide circuit, for the purpose of attempting an attack above the lake, along the Linth. Massena might have taken advantage of this moment to crush the corps left in front of them, and thus to gain a decisive advantage.

The projected attack was executed on the 16th of June (4th of Prairial). It took place along the whole extent of the Limmat, and was everywhere victoriously repulsed, notwithstanding the obstinate perseverance of the Austrians. Next day, the archduke, thinking that such attempts ought to be followed up, in order not to incur useless losses, renewed the attack with the same obstinacy as before. Massena, considering that he might be forced, that his retreat would then be difficult, that the line which he should

leave would be immediately followed by a stronger, the chain of the Albis, which borders the Limmat and the Lake of Zurich in rear, resolved to retire voluntarily. By this retreat he should lose nothing but the city of Zurich, which he considered as of little importance. The chain of the Albis mountains, running along the Lake of Zurich and the Limmat of the Aar, presenting, moreover, a continuous steep declivity, was almost unassailable. By occupying it he should sustain only a slight loss of ground, for he should fall back no farther than the width of the lake and of the Limmat. In consequence, he retired thither of his own accord, and established himself in such a manner as took from the archduke all inclination to attack him.

Our position was therefore still nearly the same in Switzerland. The Aar, the Limmat, the Lake of Zurich, the Linth, and the Reuss, as far as the St. Gothard, formed our defensive line against the Austrians.

In Italy, Macdonald was at length advancing towards Tuscany. According to his instructions, he had left garrisons in Fort St. Elmo, at Capua, and at Gaeta. This was endangering to no purpose troops who were not capable of upholding the republican party, and who left a chasm in the active army. The French army, on withdrawing, had left the city of Naples a prey to a royal reaction, which equalled the frightful scenes of our own Revolution. Macdonald had rallied at Rome some thousand men of Garnier's division; he had picked up Gauthier's division in Tuscany, and Montrichard's light corps in the Modenese. He had thus formed a corps of twenty-eight thousand men. He was at Florence on the 6th of Prairial (May 25). His retreat was effected with great rapidity and remarkable order. He lost, unfortunately, much time in Tuscany, and did not debouch beyond the Apennines into the plains of Placentia till towards the end of Prairial (the middle of June).

Had he arrived earlier, he would have surprised the allies in such a state of dispersion, that he might have overwhelmed them successively and driven them beyond the Po. Suwarrow was at Turin, which he had taken, and where he had found immense supplies.* Bellegarde was observing the outlets from Genoa; Kray was besieging Mantua, the citadel of Milan, and the fortresses. In no place were thirty thousand Austrians or Russians collected together. Macdonald and Moreau, debouching with a united force of fifty thousand men, might have given a turn to the campaign. But Macdonald thought it right to spend a few days in resting his army, and reorganizing the divisions which he had successively picked up. He thus lost valuable time, and afforded Suwarrow the opportunity of repairing his faults. The Russian general, being informed of the march of Macdonald, hastened to leave Turin and to proceed with a reinforcement of twenty thousand men, for the purpose of placing himself between the two French generals, and resuming the position which he ought never to have quitted. He ordered General Ott, who was in observation on the Trebbia, in the environs of Placentia, to fall back upon him, if he should be attacked; he directed Kray to send to him from Mantua all the troops that he could spare; he left Bellegarde to watch Novi, whence Moreau was to debouch; and he prepared to march himself into the plains of Placentia, to meet Macdonald.

* "The fruits of this conquest of Turin were two hundred and sixty-one pieces of cannon, eighty mortars, sixty thousand muskets, besides an enormous quantity of ammunition and military stores, which had been accumulating in that city ever since the first occupation of Italy by the arms of Napoleon. About the same time intelligence was received of the fall of the castle of Milan, after four days of open trenches."—*Alisen*. E.

These are the only arrangements made by Suwarrow during the whole campaign, that have gained the approbation of military men. The two French generals still occupied the positions that we have described. Placed both of them on the Apennines, they were to descend for the purpose of uniting in the plains of Placentia. Moreau was to debouch from Novi, Macdonald from Pontremoli. Moreau had sent Victor's division to reinforce Macdonald. He had placed General Lapoype with some battalions at Bobbio, on the slope of the mountains, in order to favour the junction; and his plan was to seize the moment when Suwarrow should march in front against Macdonald, to take him in flank. But for this purpose it was requisite that Macdonald should continue to keep himself supported upon the mountains, and not accept battle too far in the plain.

Macdonald broke up about the end of Prairial (the middle of June). Hohenzollern's corps, placed in the environs of Modena, was guarding the Lower Po. It was overwhelmed by superior forces, lost fifteen hundred men, and the whole of it narrowly escaped being taken. This first success encouraged Macdonald, and induced him to hasten his march. Victor's division, which had just joined him, and augmented his army to nearly thirty-two thousand men, formed his advanced guard. Dombrowsky's Polish division marched on the left of Victor's; Rusca's division supported them both. Though the main body of the army, composed of Mont-richard's, Olivier's, and Watrin's divisions, was still behind, Macdonald, enticed by the advantage which he gained over Hohenzollern, purposed to overwhelm Ott, who was in observation on the Tinone, and ordered Victor, Dombrowsky, and Rusca, to march against him immediately.

Three torrents, running parallel to one another from the Apennines to the Po, formed the field of battle. These were the Nura, the Trebbia, and the Tidone. The main body of the French army was still on the Nura. Victor's, Dombrowsky's, and Rusca's divisions advanced towards the Trebbia, and had orders to cross it and to proceed to the Tidone, to overwhelm Ott, whom Macdonald conceived to be unsupported. They marched on the 29th of Prairial (June 17). They first repulsed the advanced guard of General Ott from the banks of the Tidone, and obliged it to take a position farther back, near the village of Sermet. Ott was well nigh overwhelmed; but at that moment Suwarrow came up to his support with his whole force. He opposed General Bagration to Victor, who marched along the Po; he drew back Ott to the centre, against Dombrowsky; and directed Melas to the right upon Rusca's division. Bagration was not at first successful against Victor, and was forced to fall back, but at the centre, Suwarrow made the Russian infantry attack Dombrowsky's division, threw two regiments of cavalry upon its flank, and broke it. From this moment, Victor, who had advanced towards the Po, found himself exposed and in danger. Bagration, reinforced by the grenadiers, resumed the offensive. The Russian cavalry, which had broken the Poles in the centre, and which had thus come upon Victor, charged him in flank, and obliged him to retire. Rusca, on the right, was then forced to relinquish the ground to Melas. Our three divisions recrossed the Tidone, and retrograded to the Trebbia.

This first action, in which one-third of the army at most had been engaged with the whole of the enemy's army, had not proved successful.*

* "In vain the French formed squares, and received the assaults of the Cossacks with a rolling fire; they were broken, great part cut to pieces, and the remainder fled in disorder over the Trebbia. The Russians, in the heat of the pursuit, plunged, like the Carthaginians of old, into that classic stream, but they were received with so destructive

Macdonald, unaware of the arrival of Suwarrow, had been too hasty. He resolved to establish himself behind the Trebbia, to collect all his divisions there, and to revenge himself for the check which he had just sustained. Unluckily, Olivier's, Montrichard's and Watrin's divisions were still behind on the Nura, and he resolved to wait till the day after the next, that is, till the 1st of Messidor (June 19), to give battle.

But Suwarrow did not allow him time to collect his forces, and prepared to attack on the very next day, namely, the 30th of Prairial (June 18). The two armies were about to meet along the Trebbia, supporting their wings on the Po and the Apennines. Suwarrow, judging correctly that the essential point was in the mountains, by which the two French armies would be able to communicate, directed his best infantry and his best cavalry to that side. He sent Bagration's division, which was at first on his left, along the Po to his right, against the mountains. He placed it, together with Schweikofsky's division, under the command of Rosenberg, and ordered them both to cross the Trebbia, near Rivalta, in the upper part of its course, in order to draw off the French from the mountains. Dombrowsky's, Rusca's and Victor's divisions were placed towards this point, to the left of the French line. Olivier's and Montrichard's divisions were to take their place in the centre along the Trebbia. Watrin's division was to occupy the right, towards the Po and Placentia.

On the morning of the 19th of Prairial (June 18), the Russian advanced guards attacked those of the French, which were beyond the Trebbia, at Casaliggio and Grignagno, and repulsed them. Macdonald, who did not expect to be attacked, was engaged in bringing his centre divisions into line. Victor, who commanded on our left, immediately took all the French infantry beyond the Trebbia, and for a moment put Suwarrow in peril. But Rosenberg, coming up with Schweikofsky's division, regained the advantage, and, after a furious action, in which both sides sustained prodigious loss, obliged the French to return behind the Trebbia. Meanwhile, Olivier's and Montrichard's divisions arrived at the centre, and Watrin's division on the right, and a cannonade took place along the whole line. After exchanging some shot, both parties halted on the banks of the Trebbia, by which they were separated.

Such was the second action. It had consisted in a fight towards our left—a sanguinary fight—but without result. Macdonald, now having all his force at his disposal, was determined that the third conflict should be decisive. His plan was to cross the Trebbia at all points, and to fall upon both wings of the enemy. With this view, Dombrowsky's division was to ascend the river to Rivalta, and to cross it above the Russians. Watrin's division was to cross it nearly at its influx into the Po, and to gain Suwarrows's extreme left. He calculated, at the same time, that Moreau, whose co-operation he had been expecting for two days past, would come into action on that day at the latest. Such was the plan for the 1st of Messidor (June 19). But a tremendous affray occurred in the night. A French detachment having crossed the bed of the Trebbia to take position, the Russians conceived that they were attacked, and ran to arms. The French

a fire of musketry and grape-shot from the batteries of the main body of the French on the other side, that they were forced to retire with great loss; and the hostile armies bivouacked for the night on the same ground which had been occupied nineteen hundred years before by the troops of Hannibal and the Roman legions. It is remarkable that the fate of Italy has thrice been decided on the same spot: once in the battle between the Romans and Carthaginians, again in 1746 in that between the Austrians and French, and in 1799 between the French and Russians."—*Alison*. E

on their part, did the same. The two armies were intermingled, and a nocturnal conflict ensued, in which both sides were bent on slaughter, without distinguishing friend from foe. After a useless carnage, the generals at length succeeded in bringing back their men to the bivouac.* On the following day, the armies were so fatigued by three days' fighting and by the disorder of the night, that they did not get into action till about ten in the morning.

The battle commenced on our left on the Upper Trebbia. Dombrowsky there crossed the Trebbia at Rivalta, in spite of the Russians. Suwarrow detached thither Prince Bagration. This movement left Rosenberg's flanks uncovered. Victor and Rusca took advantage of this circumstance to fall upon him after crossing the Trebbia. They advanced successfully, and enveloped Schweikofsky's division, where Suwarrow was, on all sides. They placed it in the greatest peril, but it faced about every way and defended itself valiantly. Bagration, perceiving the danger, hastened to the threatened point, and obliged Victor and Rusca to desist from their attempt. Had Dombrowsky seized the moment to fall, on his part, upon Bagration, the advantage would have remained ours at this point, which was the most important, since it was contiguous to the mountains. Unluckily, he continued inactive, and Victor and Rusca were obliged to fall back to the Trebbia. At the centre, Montrichard had crossed the Trebbia near Grignagno, and Olivier towards San Nicolo. Montrichard was marching upon Forster's corps, when the Austrian reserves, for which Suwarrow had applied to Melas, and which were filing past the rear of the field of battle, fell unawares upon the flanks of his division. It was surprised, and the fifth light, which had performed prodigies in a hundred battles, fled in disorder. Montrichard was obliged to recross the Trebbia. Olivier, who had advanced with success towards San Nicolo, and vigorously repulsed Ott and Melas, found himself uncovered by the retreat of Montrichard. Melas, sending counter-orders to the Austrian reserves, whose appearance had alarmed Montrichard's division, directed them against Olivier's division, which was likewise forced to recross the Trebbia. Meanwhile, Watrin's division, moved to no purpose to the extreme right, where it had nothing to do, was advancing along the Po, without being of any service to the army. It was even obliged to recross the Trebbia, in order to follow the general retreating movement. Suwarrow, still apprehensive of seeing Moreau debouch on his rear, made great efforts during the rest of the day to pass the Trebbia, but without success. The French opposed to him an invincible firmness on the whole line, and that stream, which had witnessed so obstinate a conflict, still separated for the third time the two hostile armies.

Such was the third act of that sanguinary engagement. The two armies were disorganized. They had each lost about twelve thousand men. Most of the generals were wounded. Entire regiments were destroyed. But their situation was very different. Suwarrow was daily receiving rein-

* "Worn out with fatigue, the troops on both sides lay down round their watchfires, on the opposite shores of the Trebbia. Towards midnight, three French battalions, misled by false reports, entered in disorder into the bed of the river, and opened a fire of musketry upon the Russian videttes, upon which the two armies immediately started to their arms; the cavalry on both sides rushed into the Trebbia, the artillery played, without distinction, on friends and foes, and an extraordinary nocturnal combat took place by moonlight between hostile bodies up to the middle in water. At length the officers succeeded in putting an end to this useless butchery; and the rival armies separated only by the stream, sunk into sleep within a few yards of each other."

Jomini. F

forcements, and could not but gain by the prolongation of the struggle. Macdonald had exhausted all his resources, and might, if he persisted in fighting, be driven in disorder into Tuscany. He thought, in consequence, of retreating to the Nura, with a view to regain Genoa by the back of the Apennines. He quitted the Trebbia on the morning of the 2d of Messidor (June 20). A despatch, in which he described to Moreau his desperate situation, having fallen into the hands of Suwarrow, the latter was overjoyed, and hastened to pursue him as close as possible. The retreat, however, was effected in tolerable order to the banks of the Nura. Unfortunately, Victor's division, which had been incessantly engaged for four days, was at length broken, and lost many prisoners. Macdonald, nevertheless, had time to collect his army beyond the Apennines, after a loss of fourteen or fifteen thousand men, killed, wounded, and prisoners.

Very luckily, Suwarrow, hearing Moreau's cannon on his rear, suffered himself to be diverted from the pursuit of Macdonald. Moreau, whom insurmountable obstacles had prevented from moving before the 30th of Prairial (June 18), had at length debouched from Novi, fallen upon Bellegarde, put him to the rout, and taken from him nearly three thousand prisoners. But this too late advantage was useless, and had no other result than to call off Suwarrow, and to suspend his hot pursuit of Macdonald.

That junction, from which such important results were expected, had thus produced a bloody defeat. It gave rise also to disputes between the French generals, which have never been completely cleared up. Military men find fault with Macdonald for having tarried too long in Tuscany, for having made his divisions march at too great a distance from one another, so that Victor's, Rusca's, and Dombrowsky's divisions were beaten two days successively, before Montrichard's, Olivier's, and Watrin's were in line; with having endeavoured on the day of battle to get upon the two wings of the enemy, instead of directing his principal effort on his left towards the Upper Trebbia; with having kept at too great a distance from the mountains, so as not to permit Lapoype, who was at Bobbio, to come to his succour; lastly, with having, above all, been in too great a hurry to give battle, as if he had wished to have the honour of the victory to himself. Military men, while commending the plan skilfully combined by Moreau, have reproached him with only one thing, namely, with not having set aside all delicacy towards an old comrade, with not having assumed the direct command of the two armies, and especially with not having commanded in person at the Trebbia. Whether these reproaches be just or not, so much is certain, that Moreau's plan, executed as it had been conceived, would have saved Italy. It was entirely lost by the battle of the Trebbia. Luckily, Moreau was still there to rally the wrecks, and to prevent Suwarrow from profiting by his immense superiority. It was but three months since the campaign was opened, and, excepting in Switzerland, we had experienced nothing but reverses. The battle of Stockach had lost us Germany. The battle of Magnano and the Trebbia lost us Italy. Massena alone, firm as a rock, still occupied Switzerland, along the chain of the Albis. It must not be forgotten, however, that, amid these cruel reverses, the courage of our soldiers had been as brilliant and indomitable as in the glorious days of our victories; that Moreau had proved himself at once the great citizen and the great captain, and had prevented Suwarrow from destroying our armies in Italy by a single blow.

These last disasters furnished the enemies of the Directory with fresh

arms, and called forth redoubled invectives against it. The fear of an invasion began to seize all minds. The departments of the South and of the Alps, liable to be first overrun by the Austro-Russians, were in the utmost ferment. The cities of Chambery, Grenoble, and Orange, sent to the legislative body addresses which produced the strongest sensation. These addresses contained unjust reproaches which had been in all mouths for two months past; they referred to the pillage of the conquered countries, the dilapidations of the companies, the destitution of the armies, the ministry of Scherer, his conduct as general, the injustice done to Moreau, the arrest of Championnet, &c. "Why," said they, "have the faithful conscripts been obliged to return to their homes by the destitute state in which they were left? Why have all the peculations been left unpunished? Why was the incapable Scherer, pointed out by Hoche as a traitor, so long retained in the office of minister for war? Why was he allowed to consummate, as general, the mischief which he had prepared as minister? Why have names dear to victory been superseded by names that are unknown? Why is the conqueror of Rome and Naples under accusation?"

The reader has already been enabled to appreciate the worth of these reproaches. The addresses containing them obtained honourable mention, and were ordered to be printed and sent to the Directory. This manner of receiving them sufficiently proved the dispositions of the two Councils. They could not be worse. The constitutional opposition had joined the patriot opposition. The one, composed of ambitious men who wished for a new government, and self-conceited persons, who complained that their representatives had not been received with such favour as they deserved; the other, consisting of patriots excluded by the schisms from the legislative body, or reduced to silence by the law of the 19th of Fructidor; were alike desirous of the ruin of the existing government. They alleged that the Directory had at once mal-administered and ill-defended France; that it had violated the freedom of the elections, and crushed the liberty of the press and of the popular societies. They declared it to be at once weak and violent. They even went so far as to refer to the 18th of Fructidor, and to say that, not having respected the laws on that day, it had no right to invoke them in its favour.

The nomination of Sieyes to the Directory had been one of the first symptoms of these dispositions. To call to the directorship a man who had never ceased to regard the directorial constitution as a bad one, who had already, for that very reason, refused to be a director, was expressing, in a manner, a wish for a revolution. The acceptance of Sieyes, which was doubted, on account of his former refusal, only served to confirm these conjectures.

The discontented of all sorts, who desired a change, grouped around Sieyes. Sieyes was not a clever party-leader. He had neither the character at once supple and daring, nor even the ambition of one; but he rallied about him a great number by his reputation.* It was well known that he

* "Sieyes had acquired a high reputation, not only by the acuteness of his metaphysical talent, but by a species of mystery in which he involved himself and his opinions. He was certainly possessed of great knowledge and experience in the affairs of France, was an adept in the composition of new constitutions of all kinds; and had got a high character, as possessed of secrets peculiarly his own, for conducting the vessel of the state amidst the storms of revolution. He managed, in fact, his reputation, as a prudent trader does his stock. A temper less daring in action than bold in metaphysical speculation, and a considerable regard for his own personal safety, accorded well with his affected air of mystery and reserve."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

deemed everything faulty in the constitution and the government; and people thronged about him, as if to invite him to change everything. Barras, who had contrived to make the Directory overlook his former conduct by his connexions and his intrigues with all the parties, had courted Sieyes, and found means to attach him to himself, by basely giving up his colleagues. Around these two rallied all the enemies of the Directory. This party took care to secure the support of a young general, who possessed reputation, and was considered, like many others, as a victim of the government. The position of Joubert, in whom high hopes were centred, and who had been unemployed since his dismissal, had fixed the choice on him. By his marriage with a Mademoiselle de Montholon, he had recently allied himself with M. de Semonville. He had been introduced to Sieyes, and appointed general of the 17th military division; and efforts were not spared to make him the head of the new coalition.

There was no intention of yet making any changes. The plan was first to gain possession of the government, then to save France from invasion; and all constitutional projects were deferred till the time when these dangers should be over. The first thing to be effected was the removal of the members of the old Directory. Sieyes had been in it but a fortnight. He had entered it on the 1st of Prairial as successor to Rewbel. Barras had, as we have seen, escaped the storm. All the acrimony was discharged against Lareveillère, Merlin, and Treilhard, all three perfectly innocent of that which was laid to the charge of the government.

Being three, they had the majority, but it was determined to render the exercise of authority on their part impossible. They had resolved to show the utmost respect to Sieyes, and to forgive even his spleen, that they might not add to the difficulties of their position those which personal dissensions would be likely to produce. But Sieyes was intractable. He found fault with everything, and in this he was sincere; but he expressed himself in such a manner as to prove that he had no desire to concert with his colleagues how to apply a remedy to the evil. Somewhat infatuated with what he had seen in the country from which he had just come, he was continually saying to them, "This is not the way in which things are managed in Prussia."—"Tell us, then," replied his colleagues, "how things are managed in Prussia; enlighten us with your advice; assist us to do what is right."—"You would not understand me," replied Sieyes; "it is useless to talk to you; go on as you have been accustomed to do."

While this incompatibility was manifested in the bosom of the Directory between the minority and the majority, the most vehement attacks were incessantly made upon it from without by the Councils. An open quarrel had already taken place on the subject of the finances. The distress, as we have observed, arose from two causes—the tardiness of the receipts, and the deficit in the estimated revenue. Out of the 400 millions, for which orders had already been given on account of expenses incurred, scarcely 210 millions had been received. The deficit in the estimate of the revenue amounted, according to Ramel, to 67 or even to 75 millions. The amount of the deficit, as stated by him, was still disputed. He gave in the *Moniteur* a formal contradiction to Genissieux, the deputy, and proved what he asserted. But of what use is proving at certain moments? The minister and the government were not the less inveighed against; it was incessantly repeated that they were ruining the state, and continually demanding new funds to supply fresh peculations. The force of evidence

nevertheless, compelled the grant of a supplemental revenue. The tax on salt had been refused : to make amends for it, one decime per franc was added to all the taxes, and that on doors and windows was doubled. But it was doing little to decree taxes. It was requisite to insure the levy of them by different laws relative to their assessment and collection. These laws were not passed. The minister urgently desired that they should be brought under discussion ; but they were continually deferred, and his representations were answered by cries of treason, robbery, and similar accusations.

Another cause of quarrel had been found, besides the subject of the finances. Remonstrances had already been made against certain articles of the law of the 19th of Fructidor, which allowed the Directory to shut up clubs, and to suppress newspapers by a mere ordinance. A *projet de loi* relative to the press and the popular societies had been ordered, for the purpose of modifying the law of the 19th of Fructidor, and depriving the Directory of the arbitrary power with which it was invested. The authority which that law conferred on the Directory, to banish at pleasure suspected priests and to erase the names of emigrants from the lists, was also severely censured. The patriots themselves seemed desirous of wresting from it this dictatorship, though it was dangerous to their adversaries alone. The assembly began with the discussion relative to the press and the popular societies. The *projet* brought forward was the work of Berlier. The discussion commenced towards the end of Prairial. The partisans of the Directory, the most conspicuous of whom were Chénier, Bailleul, Breuzé-Latouche, Lecointe-Puyraveau, maintained that this dictatorship granted to the Directory by the law of the 19th of Fructidor, though formidable in ordinary times, was of the most indispensable necessity under existing circumstances. It was not, they contended, in a moment of extreme peril, that the strength of the government ought to be diminished. The dictatorship conferred on it the day after the 18th of Fructidor had become necessary to it, not indeed against the royalist faction, but against the anarchical faction, which was not less formidable than the other, and was secretly leagued with it. Babeuf's disciples, they added, were raising their heads again in all quarters, and threatening the republic with a new inundation.

The patriots, who swarmed in the Council of Five Hundred, replied with their usual vehemence to the speeches of the partisans of the Directory. It was necessary, they said, to give France a shake, and to restore to her the energy of 1793, which the Directory had wholly stifled by the weight of its oppressive yoke. All patriotism would be extinguished, unless the clubs were opened and the patriotic papers were again permitted to speak out. It is idle, they added, to accuse the patriots, and to feign apprehensions of an attack from them. What have these patriots done, who are so grievously accused? For three years past they have been slaughtered, proscribed, without country, in the republic which they willed, and of which they so powerfully contributed to lay the foundation. What crimes have you to charge them with? Have they reacted against the reactors?—No. They are hotheaded, turbulent; granted—but are these crimes? They speak, nay, they shout, if you will—they do not murder, however, but every day they are murdered. Such was the language of Briot of the Doubs, of Arena the Corsican, and of a great many others.

The members of the constitutional opposition expressed themselves in a different manner. They were naturally moderate. They assumed a measured, but bitter and dogmatic tone. It was requisite, in their opinion, to

revert to principles too much slighted, and to restore liberty to the press and to the popular societies. The dangers of Fructidor had certainly justified the grant of a temporary dictatorship to the Directory, but how had this dictatorship, which had been conferred in confidence, been employed? Only put that question to the parties, said Boulay of La Meurthe. Though they all entertained different views, yet royalists, patriots, constitutionalists, agreed in declaring that the Directory had made a bad use of its omnipotence. Such a coincidence among men of such opposite sentiments and views could not leave any doubt, and the Directory was condemned.

Thus the irritated patriots complained of oppression, and the constitutionalists, full of pretensions, complained of misgovernment. All united and effected the repeal of the articles of the 19th of Fructidor relative to the journals and the popular societies. This was an important victory, the results of which were to let loose all the periodical publications, and to rally all the Jacobins.*

The agitation kept increasing towards the end of Prairial. The most sinister rumours were circulated on all sides. The new coalition resolved to resort to the tricks which, in representative governments, the opposition usually employ to oblige an administration to resign. Embarrassing and reiterated questions, and threats of accusations, were not omitted. These means are so natural that, even when unpractised in representative government, the instinct of parties immediately discovers them.

The commissions of expenditure, of funds, and of war, in the Council of Five Hundred for investigating those different subjects, met and planned a message to the Directory. Boulay of La Meurthe was directed to draw up the report, and presented it on the 15th of Prairial. At his suggestion, the Council of Five Hundred addressed a message to the Directory, in which it desired to be informed of the causes of the internal and external dangers which threatened the republic, and of the means that existed for obviating them. Applications of this nature have scarcely any other effect than to extort confessions of distress, and to compromise still more the government from which they are wrung. A government, we repeat, must be successful. To oblige it to confess that it has failed, is to force from it the most mischievous of all admissions. To this message were annexed a great number of motions of order, all with a similar object. They were relative to the right to form popular societies, to individual liberty, to the responsibility of ministers, to the publicity of accounts, &c.

The Directory, on receiving the message in question, resolved to give a detailed answer comprehending a sketch of all the events, and an exposition of the means which it had employed and those to which it purposed to resort, to rescue France from the crisis in which she was involved. An answer of this nature required the concurrence of all the ministers, in order that each of them might furnish his report. It would take several days at least. But this was not what the leaders of the Councils wanted. They wanted no accurate and faithful picture of the state of France, but speedy and embarrassing confessions. Accordingly, after waiting some days, the three commissions which had proposed the message submitted through

* "The laws of restraint were no longer enforced against the daily journals, and the general indignation soon spread to the periodical press. In every quarter, in the newspapers, the tribune, the pamphlets, the clubs, nothing was to be heard but declamations against the government. The parties who had alternately felt the weight of their vengeance, the royalists and the Jacobins, vied with each other in inveighing against their imbecility and want of foresight."—*Lacretelle*. E.

Poulain-Grand-Pré, the deputy, a new proposition to the Council of Five Hundred. It was the 23th of Prairial. The reporter proposed to the Five Hundred to declare themselves in permanence till the Directory should have replied to the message of the 15th. The suggestion was adopted. This was raising a cry of alarm and proclaiming an approaching event. The Five Hundred communicated their determination to the Ancients, and exhorted them to follow their example. The example was followed, and the Ancients also declared their sitting permanent. The three commissions of expenditure, funds, and war, being too numerous, were changed into a single commission, composed of eleven members, and directed to submit the measures demanded by circumstances.

The Directory replied, on its part, that it meant to make its sitting permanent, in order to accelerate the report that was demanded from it. The agitation which such a resolution must have produced may easily be conceived. The most alarming reports were circulated, as usual. The adversaries of the Directory alleged that it was meditating a new stroke of policy, and that it meant to dissolve the Councils. Its partisans replied, on the contrary, that a coalition had been formed between all the parties, for the purpose of overthrowing the constitution by violence. Nothing of the sort was contemplated on either side. The coalition of the two oppositions aimed only at the removal of the three old directors. A first expedient was devised for bringing this about. The constitution required that the director entering upon office should have been a full year out of the legislature. It was discovered that Treilhard, who had sat for thirteen months in the Directory, had quitted the legislature on the 30th of Floreal, year V, and that he had been nominated to the Directory on the 26th of Floreal, year VI. There wanted, of course, four days of the required time. This was a mere quibble; for the irregularity was covered by the silence observed for two sessions; and, besides, Sieyes himself was in the same predicament. The commission of the eleven immediately proposed to annul Treilhard's nomination. This suggestion was carried into effect the very same day, the 28th, and the result was signified to the Directory.

Treilhard was blunt and coarse, but had not firmness equal to the harshness of his manners. He was disposed to give way. Lareveillère was of a totally different disposition of mind. This honest and disinterested man, whose office was an annoyance to him, who had accepted it merely from a sense of duty, and who ardently wished every year that the lot would restore him to private life, was determined not to relinquish his functions, since the coalesced factions appeared to demand his resignation. He conceived that those who wished to remove the old directors had no other object than to abolish the constitution of the year III; that Sieyes, Barras, and the Bonaparte family concurred in the same object with different views, but all equally pernicious to the republic. In this persuasion, he was anxious that the old directors should not abandon their posts. He consequently hastened to Treilhard, and exhorted him to resist. You, Merlin, and myself, said he, will form a majority, and we will oppose the execution of this determination of the legislative body, as illegal, seditious, and wrung from it by a faction. Treilhard durst not follow this advice, and immediately sent his resignation to the Council of Five Hundred.

Lareveillère, though he saw the majority lost, persisted nevertheless in his resolution not to resign, if he were required to do so. The leaders of the Five Hundred determined to nominate immediately a successor to Treilhard. Sieyes would fain have obtained the appointment of a man devoted

to himself; but his influence was null on this occasion. Gohier, president of the court of cassation, formerly an advocate at Rennes, and known to belong rather to the patriotic than to the constitutional opposition, was the person selected. He was an upright citizen and attached to the republic, but of inferior ability, and had no knowledge of men or business.* He was nominated on the 29th of Prairial, and was to be installed on the very next day.

It was not enough to have excluded Treilhard from the Directory. The instigators of that measure were determined to turn out Lareveillère and Merlin also. The patriots in particular were enraged against Lareveillère. They recollected that, though rigid, he had never been a Mountaineer, that he had frequently opposed their party since the 9th of Thermidor, and that, in the preceding year, he had encouraged the system of schisms. They consequently threatened to put him and Merlin under accusation unless they would both resign. Sieyes was commissioned to make an overture in the first instance to them, to induce them to yield voluntarily to the storm.

On the evening of the 29th, Sieyes proposed a private meeting of the four directors at Merlin's. They repaired thither. Barras, as if they had been in personal danger, went with his sword by his side, and never opened his lips. Sieyes began to speak with considerable embarrassment, made a long digression on the faults committed by the government, and talked a long time before he came to the real object of the meeting. At length, Lareveillère desired him to speak out. "Your friends," replied Sieyes, "and Merlin's, entreat you both to resign." Lareveillère asked who those friends were. Sieyes could not mention one who was entitled to any confidence. Lareveillère then assumed the tone of a man indignant at seeing the Directory betrayed by its own members, and delivered up by them to the plots of the factious. He proved that thus far his conduct and that of his colleagues had been unimpeachable, and that the faults imputed to them were only a tissue of calumnies. He then made a direct attack upon Sieyes on account of his secret projects, and threw him into the utmost embarrassment by his vehement apostrophes. During all this time, Barras maintained a sullen silence. His position was an awkward one, for he alone had deserved all the reproaches which were heaped upon his colleagues. To demand their resignation for faults in which they had not participated, and which he alone had committed, would have been too embarrassing. He, therefore, held his tongue. They separated without coming to any decision. Merlin, who durst not adopt any separate course, had declared that he would follow the example of Lareveillère.

Barras now resolved to employ an intermediate agent to obtain the resignation of his two colleagues. For this purpose he made use of Bergeon, an old Girondin, whose fondness for pleasure had drawn him into his society. He begged him to call upon Lareveillère, and to prevail upon him to resign. Bergeon accordingly went to him on the night of the

* "Gohier was an advocate of considerable reputation and exalted patriotism—an eminent lawyer, and a man of great integrity and candour."—*Gourgaud*. E.

"Gohier did not possess more talent than his colleagues, but more intelligence; he had also boundless ambition, though he declared that he had none. His talent, which might have some merit before a tribunal, was reduced to a cipher in the extraordinary situation which fortune had permitted him to attain. He would have thought it highly conducive to the welfare of France to get rid of the four puppets at the head of the government with him, and to make himself president of the French republic."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

29th, appealed to the ancient friendship that bound him to Lareveillère, and employed all possible means to shake his resolution. He assured him that Barras loved and honoured him, that he considered his removal as unjust, but he besought him to yield, that he might not expose himself to a storm. Lareveillère remained inflexible. He replied that Barras was the dupe of Sieyes, Sieyes of Barras, and that both would be duped by the Bonapartes; that the ruin of the republic was aimed at; but that he would resist to his last gasp.

On the following day, the 30th, Gohier was to be installed. The four directors had met. All the ministers were present. As soon as the installation was over, and the speeches of the president and the new director were delivered, the subject of the meeting of the preceding evening was reverted to. Barras desired to speak in private with Lareveillère. Both of them went into an adjoining room. Barras renewed the same entreaties and the same caresses as before with his colleague, and found him as firm as ever. He went back greatly embarrassed at having effected nothing, and still dreading the discussion of the acts of the old Directory, which could not turn out to his advantage. He then began to talk with violence, and, as he durst not attack Lareveillère, he launched out against Merlin, whom he detested, drew the most ridiculous and the falsest picture of him, and represented him as a desperado, meditating, with a band of cut-throats, a surprise against his colleagues and the Councils. Lareveillère, espousing Merlin's cause, immediately replied, and demonstrated the absurdity of such imputations. Nothing, in fact, in the character of Merlin the lawyer, had any likeness to this portrait. Lareveillère then recapitulated the history of the whole administration of the Directory, and did it in detail, for the purpose of enlightening the ministers and the new director. Barras was in cruel perplexity. At last he rose, saying, "Well, the die is cast; swords are drawn!"—"Wretch!" replied Lareveillère with firmness, "why talkest thou of swords? There is nothing but knives in the case, and they are turned against irreproachable men, whom you are determined to murder, since you cannot force them into a weakness."

Gohier now strove to act the part of mediator, but without success. At this moment, several members of the Five Hundred and of the Ancients, having met, came to beseech the two directors to yield, promising that no act of accusation should be preferred against them.* Lareveillère proudly replied that he wanted no favour, that they might accuse him if they pleased, and that he would defend himself. The deputies who had undertaken this commission returned to the two Councils, and produced a fresh tumult in them by reporting what had passed. Boulay of La Meurthe denounced Lareveillère, admitted his integrity, but unjustly attributed to him the scheme of a new religion, and complained bitterly of his obstinacy, which, he said, was on the point of ruining the republic. The patriots inveighed with greater vehemence than ever, and said that, as the directors were obstinate, no mercy ought to be shown them.

* "Bertrand of the Calvados addressed them in these terms: 'You have proposed a reunion, and I propose that you should consider whether you can still retain your offices. If you desire the welfare of the republic, you will not hesitate to decide. You have no power to do good; you will never have the confidence of your colleagues, nor that of the people, nor that of the representatives. You have no longer even the confidence of those vile flatterers who have dug your political grave. Terminate your career, then, by an act of devotion, which the sound hearts of republicans will alone know how to appreciate.'—*Mignet*. E.

The agitation was at its height, the conflict had begun, and it was impossible to tell how far it would be carried. A great number of the moderate members of both Councils met, and said that, to prevent calamities, they ought to go and conjure Lareveillère to yield to the storm. They accordingly went to him on the night of the 30th, and implored him, for the sake of the dangers which impended over the republic, to resign. They told him that they were all of them exposed to the greatest perils, and that, if he persisted in refusing, they knew not how far the fury of the parties might be carried. "But," replied Lareveillère, "do you not see the much greater dangers incurred by the republic? Do you not see that it is not we who are aimed at, but the constitution; that, in giving way to-day, it will be necessary to give way to-morrow, and forever; and that the republic will be undone by our weakness? My functions," he added, "are burdensome to me. If I persist at this moment in retaining them, it is because I deem it my duty to oppose an insurmountable barrier to the plots of the factions. If, however, you conceive that my resistance exposes you to dangers, I will submit; but I declare to you that the republic is undone. One man cannot save it. I yield then, because I am left alone; and I will send you my resignation."

He gave it the same night. In a simple and dignified letter he explained his motives. Merlin begged leave to copy it, and the two resignations were sent together. Thus the old Directory was dissolved.* All the factions which it had endeavoured to reduce, had united their resentments and made common cause against it. It had but one fault, that of being weaker than they; an immense fault, it is true, and which justifies the fall of a government.

Notwithstanding the general animosity, Lareveillère carried with him the esteem of all the enlightened citizens. He refused, on quitting the Directory, to accept the one hundred thousand francs which his colleagues had agreed to give to each member on going out; he would not even take the savings made upon their outfits, to which he had a right; neither would he keep the carriage which it was usual for the director leaving office to retain. He retired to a small house which he possessed at Andilly, where he was visited by all the distinguished men whom the fury of the parties did not intimidate. Talleyrand, the minister, was one of those who came to visit him in his retirement.

* "Thus the government of the Directory was overturned in less than four years after its first establishment, and in twenty months after it had, by a violent stretch of illegal force, usurped dictatorial powers. The people of Paris took no part in this subversion of their rulers, which was effected by the force of the national assemblies illegally directed. Revolutionary fervour had exhausted itself."—*Lacretelle*. E.

THE DIRECTORY.

FORMATION OF THE NEW DIRECTORY—MOULINS AND ROGER DUCOS SUCCEED LAREVEILLERE AND MERLIN—CHANGES IN THE MINISTRY—LEVY OF ALL THE CLASSES OF CONSCRIPTS; FORCED LOAN OF ONE HUNDRED MILLIONS; LAW OF THE HOSTAGES—NEW MILITARY PLANS—RESUMPTION OF OPERATIONS IN ITALY; JOUBERT COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF; BATTLE OF NOVI, AND DEATH OF JOUBERT—LANDING OF THE ANGLO-RUSSIANS IN HOLLAND—FRESH DISTURBANCES IN THE INTERIOR; ANIMOSITY OF THE PATRIOTS; DISMISSAL OF BERNADOTTE; PROPOSAL TO DECLARE THE COUNTRY IN DANGER.

YEARS exhaust parties, but it takes a great many to exhaust them. Passions die only with the hearts in which they were kindled. It is requisite that a whole generation should disappear; nothing is then left of the pretensions of parties but legitimate interests, and, in addition to these interests, time is able to bring about a natural and reasonable conciliation. But before this term, parties are indomitable by the mere power of reason. The government that is determined to talk to them the language of justice and the laws soon becomes insupportable to them, and the more moderate it is, the more they despise it as weak and impotent. If, when it finds hearts shut against its advice, it should attempt to employ force, it is declared to be tyrannical, and is accused of combining weakness with malignity. Till time produces its effect, there is but one great despotism that can tame down the irritated parties. The Directory was this legal and moderate government, that strove to subject to the yoke of the laws the parties which the Revolution had brought forth, and which twenty-five years had not yet exhausted. They all coalesced, as we have seen, on the 30th of Prairial, to effect its downfall. The common enemy being overthrown, they arrayed themselves against one another, without any hand to restrain them. We shall see how they behaved.

The constitution, though now a mere phantom, was not abolished, and, the Directory being already overthrown, it was necessary to replace it by a shadow. Gohier had succeeded Treilhard; it was requisite to find successors for Lareveillère and Merlin. Roger Ducos and Moulins* were elected. Roger Ducos was an old Girondin, an honest man, of mean capacity, and wholly devoted to Sieyes. It was through his influence in the Ancients that he had been nominated. Moulins was an obscure gene-

* "Roger Ducos was a man of narrow mind and easy disposition. Moulins, a general of division, had never served in war; he was originally in the French guards, and had been advanced in the army of the interior. He was a worthy man, and a warm and upright patriot."—*Gourgaud*. E.

ral, formerly employed in La Vendée, a warm and upright republican, nominated, like Gohier, through the influence of the patriot party. Other distinguished persons, either civil or military, had been proposed for filling up the Directory; but they had been rejected. It was evident, from such selections, that the parties had no intention to give themselves masters. They had raised to the Directory only such men of inferior talents as are usually chosen to hold office *ad interim*.

The existing Directory, composed, like the Councils, from opposite parties, was still weaker and less homogeneous than the preceding. Sieyes, the only superior man among the five directors, meditated, as we have seen, a new political organization. He was the head of the party, calling itself moderate or constitutional, all the members of which, nevertheless, wished for a new constitution. He had no devoted colleague but Roger Ducos. Moulins and Gohier, both warm patriots, incapable of conceiving anything but what existed, were well pleased with the existing constitution, but wished to execute and to interpret it in the spirit of the patriots. As for Barras, called naturally to give the casting vote between them, who could rely upon him? He was of himself the living emblem of that chaos of contrary vices, passions, interests, and ideas, exhibited by the dying republic. The majority depending on his voice would therefore be consigned to chance.

Sieyes told his new colleagues pretty plainly that they were assuming the direction of a government threatened with a speedy downfall, but that they must save the republic if they could not save the constitution. This language was highly displeasing to Gohier and Moulins, and they showed their disrelish of it. Accordingly, from the very first day, the sentiments of the directors appeared to be divided. Sieyes held the same language to Joubert, the general, whom the reorganizing party was striving to win. But Joubert, an old soldier of the army of Italy, entertained its sentiments. He was a staunch patriot, and the views of Sieyes appeared suspicious to him. He secretly acquainted Gohier and Moulins with his suspicions, and seemed to attach himself wholly to them. These were questions, however, that could only be brought into discussion in process of time. The most pressing concern was to administer and to defend the threatened republic. The tidings of the battle of the Trebbia, generally circulated, everywhere excited alarm. The crisis required extraordinary measures of public welfare.

The first error of a government is to do precisely contrary to that which preceded it, were it only to comply with the passions by which it had been enabled to triumph. Championnet, the so-much vaunted hero of Naples, Joubert, and Bernadotte, were destined to be raised from imprisonment or disgrace to occupy the highest posts. Championnet was immediately liberated, and appointed commander of a new army, which it was proposed to form along the High Alps. Bernadotte was made minister at war. Joubert was called to the command of the army of Italy. His triumphs in the Tyrol, his youth, and his heroic character, inspired the highest hopes. The reorganizers wished him so much success and glory, that he might be able to support their projects. The choice of Joubert was, to be sure, excellent in itself, but it was a new injustice to Moreau, who had so generously accepted the command of a beaten army, and saved it with such ability. But Moreau was by no means agreeable to the warm patriots, who were at that moment triumphant. The command of the army designated the army of the Rhine, which was not yet in existence, was conferred on him.

Various changes took place in the ministry also. Ramel, minister of the finances, who had rendered such important services since the installation of the Directory, and who had administered during that very difficult transaction from paper-money to specie, had shared the odium cast upon the old Directory. He was attacked with such violence that the new directors, in spite of the esteem which they entertained for him, were obliged to accept his resignation. A man dear to the patriots and respected by all the parties, was appointed his successor. This was Robert Lindet, formerly a member of the committee of public welfare, and so indecently attacked during the reaction. He declined for a long time the offer of a portfolio. His experience of the injustice of parties was not likely to induce him to accept office again. However, he at last consented, out of devotion to the republic.

The diplomacy of the Directory had been censured not less severely than its financial administration. It was accused of having again plunged the republic into war with all Europe, and most unjustly, especially if we consider who were its accusers. These accusers were, in fact, the patriots themselves, whose passions had kindled the flames of war anew. The Directory was more particularly reproached for the expedition to Egypt, at one time so highly extolled, and it was alleged that this expedition had produced the rupture with the Porte and Russia. Talleyrand, already disagreeable to the patriots as an old emigrant, had incurred all the responsibility of this diplomacy, and he was so vehemently attacked, that it was necessary to act with him as with Ramel, and to accept his resignation. The person appointed to succeed him was a native of Wirtemberg, who, under the appearance of German simplicity, disguised extraordinary shrewdness, and whom M. de Talleyrand had recommended as best qualified for the office. This was M. Reinhard. It has been asserted that this appointment was only *ad interim*, and that M. Reinhard merely accepted the post till the moment when M. de Talleyrand could be recalled. The ministry of justice was taken from Lambrechts, on account of the state of his health, and given to Cambacérès. Bourguignon, formerly a magistrate, a sincere and honest patriot, was placed at the head of the police. Fouché that supple and insinuating ex-Jacobin, to whom Barras had given an interest in the traffic of the companies, and for whom he had afterwards procured the embassy to Milan, dismissed on account of his conduct in Italy, was also considered as a victim of the old Directory. He was, therefore, destined to share the triumph decreed to all the victims, and sent to the Hague.

Such were the principal changes made in the high offices of the government and in the armies. It was not enough to change men; it was requisite to furnish them with new means of performing the task under which their predecessors had succumbed. The patriots, reverting, as usual, to revolutionary means, maintained that desperate evils required desperate remedies. They proposed the urgent measures of 1793. After refusing everything to the preceding Directory, they were now willing to grant everything to the new one. They were willing to put extraordinary means into its hands, and even to compel it to use them. The commission of eleven, formed of the three commissions of expenditure, of funds, and of war, and charged, during the crisis of Prairial, to devise means of saving the republic, conferred with the members of the Directory, and agreed with them upon different measures, which accorded with the disposition of the moment. Instead of taking two hundred thousand men from the five

classes of conscripts, the Directory was empowered to call out all the classes. Instead of the taxes proposed by the late Directory, and rejected with such obstinacy by the two oppositions, the idea of a new forced loan was adopted. Conformably with the system of the patriots, it was to be progressive, that is, instead of making each contribute according to the amount of his direct taxes, in which case the lists of the land-tax and personal-tax might have been taken as the basis of the assessment, each was required to contribute according to his fortune. Hence it became necessary to have recourse to an assessing jury, that is, to fleece the wealthy by means of a commission. The middle party opposed this plan, and said that it renewed the system of terror, and that the difficulty of the assessment would, moreover, render this measure null and inefficacious, as all the former forced loans had proved. The patriots replied that it was not right to make all the classes, but the wealthy only, bear the expenses of the war. The same passions still employed, as we see, the same reasons. The forced and progressive loan was decreed. It was fixed at one hundred millions, and declared to be repayable in national domains.

Besides these measures of recruiting and finance, there was one of police, called for on all sides against the renewal of *chouannerie* in the South and in the West, the old theatres of civil war. Fresh outrages were committed: the purchasers of the national domains, the reputed patriots, the public functionaries, were murdered; and, above all, the diligences were stopped and robbed. Among the perpetrators of these crimes were many of the former Vendéans and Chouans, many members of the notorious companies of the Sun, and also many refractory conscripts. Though the real aim of these banditti, whose presence indicated a sort of social dissolution, was plunder, it was evident, from the selection of their victims, that they had a political origin. A commission was appointed to devise a system of repression. It proposed a law which was called the law of the hostages, and has ever since been celebrated under that title. Most of these atrocities were attributed to the relatives of emigrants or to *ci-devant* nobles. It was in consequence proposed to oblige them to give hostages.* Whenever a commune was declared to be in a notorious state of disorder, the relatives of emigrants, the *ci-devant* nobles, the persons possessing influence over the individuals known to belong to these assemblages, were considered as hostages, and as being civilly and personally responsible for the outrages committed. The central administrations were to point out the persons selected for hostages, and to cause them to be confined in houses appropriated to that purpose. There they were to live as they pleased, at their own expense, and to remain shut up so long as the disturbances lasted. When the outrages proceeded so far as murder, four of them were to be banished for every murder committed. It is easy to conceive all that could be urged both for and against this law. It was the only way, so said its partisans, to reach the authors of those disturbances, and it was a mild and humane way. Its adversaries replied that it was a law of suspected persons, a revolutionary law, which, as it was impossible to get at the real culprits, punished *en masse*, and committed all the injustice incident to laws of this

* "The military success of the new coalition, the law of the forced loan, and more particularly the law of the hostages, which obliged each family of emigrants to give securities to the government, had induced the royalists of the South and West again to take arms. They reappeared in bands, which every day became more formidable, and which recommenced the petty but disastrous warfare of the Chouans. They expected the arrival of the Russians, and believed in the speedy restoration of monarchy."—*Mignet* F.

nature. In short, all that we have seen so frequently repeated in this history on the subject of the revolutionary laws was urged for and against it. But there was one objection, stronger than all the rest, to be made against this measure. As these banditti proceeded solely from an absolute social dissolution, the only remedy lay in a vigorous reorganization of the state, not in measures utterly discredited, and which were not capable of restoring any energy to the springs of the government.

The law was adopted after a very warm discussion, which produced a signal rupture between the parties that had united for a moment to overthrow the late Directory. To these important measures, designed to arm the government with revolutionary means, were added some which, in other respects, curtailed its power. These accessory measures were the consequence of the reproaches preferred against the late Directory. To prevent schisms in future, it was decided that the choice of any electoral fraction should be null; that any agent of the government attempting to influence the elections should be punished for a misdemeanor against the sovereignty of the people; that the Directory should no longer have authority to bring troops within the constitutional radius without being expressly empowered to do so; that no military officer should be liable to be deprived of his rank unless by the decision of a council of war; that the Directory should no longer have the power to delegate to agents the right granted to it of issuing warrants of arrest; that no *employé* of the government, nor any functionary whatsoever, should be permitted to be a contractor, or even to be concerned in contracts, for supplies; and that a club could not be closed without a decision of the municipal and central administrations. On the subject of a law for regulating the press, the parties could not agree; but the article of the law of the 19th of Fructidor, which gave the Directory the right of suppression in regard to the journals, continued nevertheless abolished; so that, until some new plan should be brought forward, the press remained indefinitely free.

Such were the measures adopted, in consequence of the 30th of Prairial, either for correcting alleged abuses, or to restore to the government an energy which it did not possess. Those measures which are taken in critical moments, after a change of system, are devised to save a state, and rarely come in time to save it, for all is frequently decided before they can be carried into execution. They furnish, at most, resources for the future. The loan of 100 millions and the new levies could not be executed for some months to come. Still the effect of a crisis is to give a shake to all the springs, and to restore to them a certain degree of energy. Bernadotte hastened to write pressing circulars, and in this manner contrived to accelerate the organization of the battalions of conscripts already commenced. Robert Lindet, to whom the forced loan of 100 millions afforded no present resource, called together the principal bankers and merchants of the capital, and urged them to lend their credit to the state. With this they complied, and lent their signature to the ministry of the finances. They formed a syndicate, and, till the taxes should be collected, they signed bills which were to be repaid out of the receipts as fast as they came to hand. It was a sort of temporary bank, established to supply the wants of the moment.

A resolution was also passed to prepare new plans of campaign. Application was made to Bernadotte for one, and he lost no time in presenting a truly singular project, which, fortunately, was not carried into execution. Nothing could be more subject to multiplied combinations than a field of battle so extensive as that on which we were operating. Every one who

looked at it was likely to conceive a different idea ; and if each could propose it and obtain its adoption, there was no reason for not changing the plan every moment. If a multiplicity of opinions be useful in discussion, it is deplorable in execution. At first, it was conceived that we ought to act at one and the same time on the Danube and in Switzerland. After the battle of Stockach, it was thought better to act in Switzerland only, and the army of the Danube was suppressed. Bernadotte, at the time of which we are speaking, was of a different opinion. He pretended that the cause of the success of the allies lay in the facility with which they could communicate across the Alps between Germany and Italy. To cut off these means of communication, he proposed that the St. Gothard and the Grisons, at the right wing of the army of Switzerland, should be taken from them, and that a fresh army of the Danube should be formed to carry back the war into Germany. In order to form this army of the Danube, he proposed to organize speedily the army of the Rhine, and reinforce it with twenty thousand men taken from Massena. This would be compromising the latter, who had before him the whole force of the archduke, and who was liable to be overwhelmed during this shifting about. It is true that it would have been judicious to bring back the war to the Danube, but it would have been sufficient to furnish Massena with the means of taking the offensive, to convert his army into that very army of the Danube. To this end, instead of weakening him, everything ought to have been placed at his disposal. According to Bernadotte's plan, an army was to be formed on the High Alps, to cover the frontiers against the Austro-Russians towards Piedmont. Joubert, collecting the wrecks of all the armies of Italy, and reinforced by the disposable troops in the interior, was to debouch from the Apennines, and to attack Suwarrow by main force.

This plan, warmly approved by Moulins, was sent to the generals. Massena, weary of all these extravagant projects, tendered his resignation. It was not accepted, and the plan was not carried into execution. Massena retained the command of all the troops from Basle to the St. Gothard. The intention of assembling an army on the Rhine, to cover that line, was persevered in. A nucleus for an army was formed on the Alps under the command of Championnet. This nucleus consisted of about fifteen thousand men. All the disposable reinforcements were sent to Joubert, who was to debouch from the Apennines. It was now the middle of summer, in Messidor (July). The reinforcements began to arrive. A certain number of old battalions, retained in the interior, had repaired to the frontiers. The conscripts were organized, and went to replace the veteran troops in the garrisons. Lastly, as there were not skeletons enough to receive the great quantity of conscripts, it was resolved to increase the number of the battalions in the demi-brigades or regiments, which would admit of the incorporation of the new levies into the old corps.

It was known that a reinforcement of thirty thousand Russians, under the command of General Korsakof, was entering Germany. Massena was urged to leave his positions, to attack those of the archduke, and to endeavour to beat him before his junction with the Russians. The views of the government on this point were perfectly correct ; for it was of consequence to make an attempt before the junction of so imposing a mass of forces. Massena, however, refused to take the offensive, whether because he was deficient on this occasion in his accustomed hardihood, or because he was waiting for the resumption of offensive operations in Italy. Military men have all condemned his inactivity, which, it is true, soon became a

fortunate circumstance through the faults of the enemy, and which was redeemed by glorious services. In obedience, however, to the injunctions of the government, and in execution of part of Bernadotte's plan, which consisted in preventing the Austro-Russians from communicating between Germany and Italy, Massena ordered Lecourbe to prolong his right to the St. Gothard, to possess himself of that important point, and to retake the Grisons. By this operation, the French would again become masters of the High Alps, and the enemy's armies operating in Germany would find themselves cut off from all communication with those operating in Italy. Lecourbe executed this enterprise with that boldness and intrepidity which distinguished him in mountain warfare, and was once more master of the St. Gothard.

New events were meanwhile preparing in Italy. Suwarrow, being obliged by the court of Vienna to finish the siege of all the fortresses before he pushed his advantages,* had not followed up the victory of the Trebbia. He might even, without deviating from his instructions, have reserved an adequate force for dispersing our wrecks completely; but he had not sufficient genius for military operations to adopt that course. He wasted his time, therefore, in sieges. Peschiera, Pizzighitone, and the citadel of Milan, had fallen. The citadel of Turin had likewise surrendered.† The two celebrated fortresses of Mantua and Alexandria still held out, and appeared likely to make a long resistance. Kray was besieging Mantua, and Bellegarde Alexandria. Unfortunately, all our fortresses had been consigned to commandants destitute of energy or skill. The artillery in them was ill-served, because broken corps only had been thrown into them; and the garrisons were exceedingly disheartened by the retreat of our active armies, which had fallen back to the Apennines. Mantua, the principal of these fortresses, did not deserve the reputation which had been conferred on it by Bonaparte's campaigns. It was not its strength, but the combination of events, that had prolonged its defence. In fact, Bonaparte, with about ten thousand men, had shut up fourteen thousand there to perish by fever and famine. General Latour-Foissac was now the commandant. He was a skilful officer of engineers, but had not the energy necessary for this kind of defence. Discouraged by the irregularity of the place and the wretched state of the fortifications, he had no notion that it was possible to make amends for the want of walls by daring. His garrison, moreover, was inadequate, and after the first assaults he appeared disposed to surrender. General Gardanne commanded at Alexandria. He was a resolute man, but not well informed. A first assault was vigorously repulsed by him, but

* "About this period a Russian officer of Suwarrow's staff wrote thus to Count Rostopchin, at St. Petersburg: 'Far from applauding the brilliant triumphs of our arms, the cursed court of Vienna seeks only to retard our march. It insists that our great Suwarrow should divide his army and direct it to several points at once. That court, which fears a too rapid conquest of Italy from designs which it does not avow, as it knows well those of our magnanimous emperor, has, by the Aulic Council, forced the Archduke Charles into a state of inactivity, and enjoined our incomparable chief to secure his conquests rather than extend them; thus his army is to waste its time and strength in the siege of fortresses which would fall of themselves if the French army was destroyed. Deceived by his ministers, the Emperor Francis has, with his own hand, written to our illustrious general to pause in a career of conquest, the very rapidity of which fills him with alarm.'—*Prince Hardenberg's Memoirs*. E.

† "The conquest of the citadel of Turin was of first-rate importance. Besides rendering the allies masters of one of the strongest fortresses in Piedmont, it put into their hands six hundred and eighteen pieces of cannon, forty thousand muskets, and fifty thousand quintals of powder, with the loss of only fifty men."—*St. Cyr*. E.

he had not the sagacity to discover in the place the resources that it still presented.

The month of Thermidor had now arrived (the middle of July). More than a month had elapsed between the revolution of the 30th of Prairial, and the appointment of Joubert. Moreau felt the importance of taking the offensive before the fall of the fortresses, and of debouching, with a reorganized and reinforced army, upon the dispersed Austro-Russians. Unfortunately, he was shackled by the orders of the government, which had enjoined him to wait for Joubert. Thus, in this disastrous campaign, there was a series of unseasonable orders that always led to our reverses. A change of ideas and plans, in matters of execution, and especially in war, is always mischievous. If Moreau, to whom the command ought to have been given at the outset, had at least been invested with it after the battle of Cassano, and had held it undivided, all would have been saved; but, associated first with Macdonald and afterwards with Joubert, he was prevented, for the second and third time, from repairing our misfortunes and recovering the honour of our arms.

Joubert, whom every effort had been made to attach, by a marriage and by caresses, to the party which was projecting a reorganization, lost a whole month, that of Messidor (June and July), in celebrating his wedding, and thus lost the decisive moment. These endeavours produced no real attachment in Joubert to the party whose supporter they were designed to make him, for he continued devoted to the patriots, and they caused him to waste valuable time. He set out, observing to his young wife, "You will see me again, either dead or victorious." He went, in fact, with the heroic resolution to conquer or die. This noble young general, on joining the army in the middle of Thermidor (early in August), manifested the utmost deference for the consummate master whom he was called to succeed. He requested him to stay with him, that he might benefit by his advice. Moreau, quite as generous as the young general, consented to stay till after his first battle, and to assist him with his counsels—a noble and touching instance of confraternity, which reflects honour on the virtues of our republican generals, and belongs to a time when patriotic zeal still swayed the hearts of our warriors more than ambition.

The French army, composed of the remains of the armies of Upper Italy and Naples, and of reinforcements from the interior, amounted to forty thousand men, completely organized, and impatient to measure their strength afresh with the enemy. Nothing could equal the patriotism of these soldiers, who, always beaten, were never disheartened, and always desired to turn again upon the enemy. No republican army deserved better of France, for none so thoroughly confuted the unjust reproach thrown upon the French, that they are incapable of supporting reverses. It is true, that part of its firmness was due to the brave and modest general in whom it had placed all its confidence, and who was always taken from it when he was about to lead it on again to victory.

These forty thousand men were independent of the fifteen thousand destined to form, under Championnet, the nucleus of the army of the High Alps. They had debouched by the Bormida on Acqui, and by the Bochetta on Gavi, and had again ranged themselves in advance of Novi. These forty thousand men, debouching in time, before the junction of the corps engaged in the sieges, might have obtained decisive advantages. But Alexandria had opened its gates on the 4th of Thermidor (July 22). A vague rumour was circulated that Mantua also had surrendered. This

melancholy intelligence was soon confirmed, and news arrived that the capitulation was signed on the 12th of Thermidor (July 30). Kray had rejoined Suwarrow with twenty thousand men; the acting force of the Austro-Russians amounted, at this moment, to sixty and some odd thousand. It was, therefore, no longer possible for Joubert to engage an enemy so superior, upon equal terms. He called a council of war. The general opinion was for returning to the Apennines, and confining themselves to the defensive, till further reinforcements should arrive.

Joubert was about to execute his resolution, when he was prevented by Suwarrow, and obliged to accept battle. The French army was formed in a semicircle on the slopes of the Monte Rotondo, which commands the whole plain of Novi. The left, consisting of Grouchy's and Lemoine's divisions, extended circularly in advance of Pasturana. It had at its back the ravine of the Riasco, which rendered its rear accessible to an enemy who should dare venture into that ravine. The cavalry reserve, commanded by Richepanse, was in the rear of this wing. In the centre, Laboissière's division covered the heights to the right and left of the city of Novi. Watrin's division, at the right wing, defended the approaches to the Monte Rotondo, towards the Tortona road. Dombrowsky, with one division, was blockading Seravalle. General Perignon commanded our left wing, St. Cyr our centre and our right. The position was strong, well-occupied on all points, and difficult to carry. Still, forty thousand men against more than sixty thousand, were immense odds. Suwarrow resolved to attack the position with his customary violence. He sent Kray towards our left, with Ott's and Belegarde's divisions. The Russian corps of Derfelden, headed by Bagraion's advanced guard, was to attack our centre, near Novi. *Melas, staying a little behind with the rest of the army, was to assail our right. From a singular combination, or rather from the want of combination, the attacks were to be successive, and not simultaneous.

On the 23th of Thermidor (August 15, 1799), Kray commenced the attack at five in the morning. Bellegarde attacked Grouchy's division on the extreme left, and Ott, Lemoine's division. These two divisions, being not yet formed, had well nigh been surprised and broken. The obstinate resistance of one of the demi-brigades obliged Kray to throw himself upon the 20th light, which he overwhelmed by directing his principal effort against it. His troops had already reached the plateau, when Joubert galloped up to the point of danger. It was too late to think of retreating, and it was necessary to risk everything in order to drive the enemy from the plateau. Advancing amidst the riflemen to encourage them, he received a ball, which entered near the heart, and stretched him upon the ground.*

* "A new misfortune which befell France about this period, was the death of Joubert, who was killed at the battle of Novi, at the time when, touched by the miseries of his country, he forgot her offences, and felt nothing but her danger. Joubert was the friend of Championnet. On the latter being arrested, he sent his resignation to the Directory, and it was long ere he would again enter the service. When he did, he was first appointed to the command of the 17th military division, the head-quarters of which were then in Paris, and a few weeks after, to the command of the army of Italy. The striking similarity of situation between Joubert and Bonaparte is most remarkable. Both were of equal age, and both, in their early career, suffered a sort of disgrace; they were finally appointed to command, first, the 17th military division, and afterwards the army of Italy. There is in all this a curious parity of events; but death soon ended the career of one of the young heroes. That which ought to have constituted the happiness of his life was the cause of Joubert's death—namely, his marriage. But how could he refrain from loving the woman he espoused? Who can have forgotten Zaphrine de Montholon, her enchanting grace, her playful wit, her good humour, and her beauty.—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

At the moment of expiring, the young hero cried to his soldiers, "Forward, my lads! forward!" This event might have produced disorder in the army; but, luckily, Moreau had accompanied Joubert to this point. He immediately assumed the command, which was transferred to him by the general confidence, rallied the men burning with resentment, and led them back against the Austrians. The grenadiers of the 34th drove them with the bayonet, and threw them down the hill. Unluckily, the French had not yet their artillery in battery, and the Austrians, on the contrary, were mowing down their ranks by a shower of howitzer-shot and balls. During this action, Bellegarde attempted to turn the extreme left by the ravine of the Riasco, which has already been mentioned as affording access to our rear. He had made considerable way, when Perignon, seasonably opposing to him the reserve commanded by General Clausel, stopped him in his march. Perignon succeeded in driving him back into the plain, by sending Partonneaux's grenadiers and Richepanse's cavalry to charge him. This vigorous effort relieved the left wing.

Owing to the singular combination of Suwarrow, who intended his attacks to be successive, our centre had not yet been attacked. St. Cyr had had time to make his dispositions and to draw Watrin's division, forming his extreme right, towards Novi. At the earnest desire of Kray, who begged to be supported by an attack upon the centre, Bagration had at length determined to assail it with his advanced guard. Laboissière's division, which was on the left of Novi, suffering Bagration's Russians to approach within half musket-shot, received them with a tremendous fire of musketry and grape, and covered the plain with dead. Bagration, unshaken, then directed some batteries to turn Novi by our right; but, being encountered by Watrin's division, which was approaching Novi, they were driven back into the plain.

Half the day was now spent, and our line was not yet broken. Suwarrow had just come up with the Russian corps of Derfelden. He ordered a new general attack on the whole line. Kray was to assail the left again, Derfelden and Bagration the centre. Melas was directed to accelerate his pace, in order to overwhelm our right. Having made all his dispositions, the enemy advanced upon the whole line. Kray, persisting in his efforts against our left, directed Bellegarde to turn it, while Ott was to attack it in front; but Clausel's reserve repulsed Bellegarde's troops, and Lemoine's division hurled Ott down the slopes of the hills. In the centre, Suwarrow caused a furious attack to be made to the right and left of Novi. A fresh attempt to turn the town was foiled, as in the morning, by Watrin's division. Unluckily, our soldiers, hurried away by their ardour, pursued the enemy too closely, ventured into the plain, and were driven back to their position. At one o'clock the fire slackened again, in consequence of the general fatigue; but it soon recommenced with violence, and for four hours the French, immovable as walls, resisted with admirable coolness the utmost fury of the Russians. They had sustained, thus far, but inconsiderable loss. The Austro-Russians, on the contrary, had suffered severely. The plain was strewed with their dead and wounded. Unfortunately, the rest of the Austro-Russian army, under the command of Melas, arrived from Rivalta. This fresh irruption was about to be directed against our right. St. Cyr, on perceiving this, called back Watrin's division, which had advanced too far into the plain, and directed it towards a plateau to the right of Novi. But while it was making this movement, it found itself enveloped on all sides by the numerous corps of Melas

Alarmed at this sight, it was broken, and reached the plateau in confusion. It was rallied, however, a little to the rear. Meanwhile, Suwarrow, redoubling his efforts at the centre, near Novi, at length drove the French into the town, and made himself master of the heights which commanded it on the right and left. From that moment, Moreau, deeming retreat necessary, gave orders for it before the further progress of the enemy should intercept the communication with Gavi. On the right, Watrin's division was obliged to cut its way through, in order to regain the road to Gavi, which was already closed. Laboissière's division retired from Novi; Lemoine's and Grouchy's divisions fell back on Pasturana, having to sustain furious charges by Kray. Unfortunately, a battalion penetrated into the ravine of Riasco, which runs behind Pasturana. Its fire threw our columns into disorder. Artillery and cavalry were intermingled. Lemoine's division, closely pressed by the enemy, dispersed and threw itself into the ravine. Our soldiers were driven along like dust raised by the wind. Perignon and Grouchy rallied a few brave fellows to stop the enemy and to save the artillery; but they were wounded and made prisoners. Perignon had received seven sabre wounds, and Grouchy six. The brave Colli, the Piedmontese general, who had distinguished himself in the first campaigns against us, and who had afterwards entered into our service, formed a square with some battalions, resisted till it was broken, and fell dreadfully mangled into the hands of the Russians.

After this first moment of confusion, the army rallied in advance of Gavi. The Austro-Russians were too much fatigued to pursue. It could therefore march without being molested. The loss on both sides was equal; it amounted to about ten thousand men for each army. But the killed and wounded were much more numerous on the Austro-Russian side. The French had lost a much greater number of prisoners. They had lost also their commander-in-chief, four generals of division, thirty-seven pieces of cannon, and four pair of colours. Never had they displayed cooler and more persevering courage. They were inferior to the enemy by at least one-third. The Russians had shown their fanatical bravery, but they owed the advantage to number only, and not to the combinations of the general,* who had betrayed on this occasion the grossest ignorance. He had, in fact, exposed his columns to the risk of being cut off one after another, and had not sufficiently supported himself on our right, the point which he ought to have overwhelmed. This deplorable battle shut us definitively out of Italy, and forbade us to keep the field any longer. We were obliged to confine ourselves to the Apennines, fortunate in being still able to retain them. The loss of the battle could not be imputed to Moreau, but to the unlucky circumstance of the junction of Kray with Suwarrow. Joubert's delay was the sole cause of this last disaster.

All our misfortunes were not confined to the battle of Novi. The expedition against Holland, so long announced, was at length executed con-

* "Suwarrow's order of battle at Novi was highly characteristic of that singular war rior. It was simply this: 'Kray and Bellegarde will attack the left—the Russians the centre—Melas the right.' To the soldiers he said, 'God wills, the Emperor orders, Suwarrow commands, that to-morrow the enemy be conquered.' Dressed in his usual costume, in his shirt down to the waist, he was on horseback at the advanced posts the whole preceding evening, attended by a few horsemen, minutely reconnoitring the republican position. He was recognised from the French lines by the singularity of his dress, and a skirmish of advanced posts in consequence took place."—*Prince Hardenberg's Memoirs*. E.

jointly by the English and the Russians. Paul I. had, in a treaty with Pitt, stipulated to furnish seventeen thousand Russians, who were to be in English pay and to act in Holland. After many difficulties had been surmounted, the expedition had been prepared for the commencement of Fructidor (the end of August). Thirty thousand English were to join the seventeen thousand Russians, and, if the landing were effected without obstacle, there would be a well-grounded hope of wresting Holland from the French. This was a most important point for England; and, had she only succeeded in destroying the fleets and the arsenals of Holland, she would have been amply repaid for the expenses of the expedition. A considerable squadron sailed for the Baltic to fetch the Russians. The first detachment set sail under the command of General Abercromby, to attempt a landing. All the troops of the expedition, when once assembled, were to be under the supreme command of the Duke of York.

The most advantageous point for landing in Holland was the mouth of the Meuse. The enemy would thus threaten the line of retreat of the French, and be very near the Hague, where the stadtholder had most partisans. A more convenient coast caused a preference to be given to North Holland. Abercromby proceeded to the Helder, where he arrived towards the end of August. After overcoming many obstacles, he landed near the Helder, in the environs of Groot-Keeten, on the 10th of Fructidor (August 27). The immense preparations which the expedition had required, and the presence of all the English squadrons on the coast, had sufficiently forewarned the French and put them upon their guard. Brune commanded both the Batavian and the French army. He had at hand no more than seven thousand French and ten thousand Dutch, commanded by Daendels. He had sent the Batavian division to the environs of the Helder, and disposed the French division in the environs of Harlem. Abercromby, on landing, fell in with the Dutch at Groot-Keeten, repulsed them, and thus assured the disembarkation of his troops. The Dutch showed no want of bravery on this occasion, but they were not directed with sufficient skill by General Daendels, and were obliged to fall back. Brune picked them up, and made dispositions for attacking forthwith the troops which had landed, before they had solidly established themselves, and were reinforced by the English and Russian divisions, by which they were to be joined.

The Dutch manifested the best dispositions. The national guards had offered to garrison the fortresses, and this had enabled Brune to reinforce himself with fresh troops. He had called to him Dumonceau's division, six thousand strong, and he resolved to attack, very early in September, the camp in which the English had established themselves. This camp was formidable. It was the Zyp, once a morass, drained by Dutch industry, forming an extensive area, intersected by dikes and canals, and covered with dwellings. It was occupied by seventeen thousand English, who had there made the best defensive dispositions. Brune had at most but twenty thousand men to attack it; and that number was very inadequate, on account of the nature of the ground. This camp he assailed on the 22d of Fructidor (September 8), and, after an obstinate conflict, was obliged to beat a retreat and to fall back upon Amsterdam. From that moment, he could no longer prevent the assembling of all the Anglo-Russian forces, and was obliged to wait for the formation of a French army to fight them. This establishment of the English in North Holland led to the event that was most to be apprehended, namely, the defection of the great Dutch fleet. The Texel had not been closed, and the English admiral, Mitchell

was enabled to enter it with all his ships. Emissaries of the Prince of Orange had been long labouring to excite the Dutch seamen. On the first summons of Admiral Mitchell, they rose and forced their admiral, Story, to surrender. The whole Dutch navy thus fell into the hands of the English; and this of itself was to them an inestimable advantage.

These tidings reaching Paris, one after another, produced the effect which might naturally be expected from them. They increased the fermentation of the parties, and particularly the animosity of the patriots, who demanded, with greater warmth than ever, the employment of the great revolutionary means. The liberty restored to the journals and the clubs had caused a great number to spring up again. The remnant of the Jacobin party had met in the old Riding-House, where our first assemblies held their sittings. Though the law forbade the popular societies to assume the form of deliberative assemblies, the society of the Riding-House had nevertheless given to itself a president, secretaries, &c., under different titles. Here figured Bouchotte, the ex-minister, Drouet, Felix Lepelletier, and Arena, all of them disciples or accomplices of Babœuf. Here were invoked the manes of Goujon, Soubrany, and the victims of Grenelle. Here were demanded, in the style of 1793, the punishment of all the leeches that sucked the blood of the people, the disarming of the royalists, the levy *en masse*, the establishment of manufactories of arms in the public places, the restitution of their cannon and pikes to the national guards, &c. Here, too, it was more especially insisted on that the late directors, to whom were attributed the recent disasters as consequences of their administration, should be placed under accusation. When the results of the battle of Novi and the events in Holland became known, the violence of these men was unbounded. The generals were loaded with abuse. Moreau was termed a fumbler, Joubert himself, notwithstanding his heroic death, was accused of having ruined the army by his tardiness in joining it. His young wife, and Messrs. de Semonville, Sainte-Foy, and Talleyrand, to whom his marriage was attributed, were objects of especial vituperation. The Dutch government was charged with treason; it was said to be composed of aristocrats, creatures of the stadtholder, enemies to France and liberty. The *Journal des Hommes libres*, the organ of the party that met at the Riding-House, repeated all these declamations, and added to the scandal of the expressions that of printing them.

This animosity struck a kind of terror into many people. They were apprehensive of a return to the scenes of 1793.* Those who styled themselves the *moderates*, the *politicians*, and who, like Sieyes, entertained the laudable design and the somewhat bold pretension of saving France from the fury of the parties and of constituting it a second time, were indignant at the acrimony of these new Jacobins. Sieyes in particular was in the habit of expressing his dread of them, and he declared against them with all the vivacity of his temper. They might, it is true, be deemed formidable, for, besides the spouters and firebrands who exerted their energy in the clubs or in the newspapers, they numbered partisans more weighty, more powerful, and consequently more dangerous, in the government itself. In the first place, there were in the Councils all the patriots excluded last

* "The multitude, to whom it is only necessary to present the phantom of the past in order to inspire it with dread, ranged themselves, in their apprehension of the return of the system of Terror, on the side of the moderate party; and the ultra-republicans failed in an attempt to obtain a declaration that the country was in danger, as at the end of the Legislative Assembly."—*Mignet*. E.

year by the schisms, who had entered by force by means of the elections of this year, and who repeated, in more moderate language, nearly the same things that were said in the society at the Riding-House. These were men who were unwilling to run the risk of a new constitution, who, moreover, distrusted those who proposed to frame one, and who feared lest in the generals the government was seeking a dangerous support. They desired, besides, in order to extricate France from her perils, measures similar to those employed by the committee of public safety. The Council of Ancients, more moderate and more prudent, were not much tainted by these sentiments; but more than two hundred members warmly supported them in the Five Hundred. In this number there were not only hotheaded men, like Augereau, but wise and enlightened men, like Jourdan. These two generals gave the patriotic party a great ascendancy in the Five Hundred. In the Directory, this party had two voices—Gohier and Moulins. Barras continued undecided. On the one hand, he distrusted Sieyes, who testified but little esteem for him, and considered him as thoroughly corrupt: on the other, he dreaded the patriots and their extravagances. He hesitated, therefore, to declare for either. In the ministry, the patriots had just gained a new supporter in Bernadotte. This general was much less vehement than most of the generals of the army of Italy; and the reader will recollect that his division, on arriving at the Tagliamento, quarrelled with that of Augereau about the use of the word *Monsieur*, which it had already substituted for that of *Citizen*. But Bernadotte cherished a restless ambition. He had observed with vexation the confidence granted to Joubert by the reorganizing party; he conceived that Moreau was thought of since the death of Joubert, and this circumstance indisposing him against the plans of reorganization, attached him entirely to the patriots. General Marbot, commandant of Paris, a violent republican, held the same sentiments as Bernadotte.

Thus two hundred stanch deputies in the Five Hundred, at the head of whom were two celebrated generals, the minister at war, the military commandant of Paris, two directors, a great number of journals and clubs, and a considerable remnant of men who had compromised themselves, fit for a *coup de main*, might well occasion some alarm; and though the Mountaineer party could not spring up again, it is easy to conceive what fears it still excited in persons still full of the recollections of 1793.

Bourguignon had not given satisfaction in the exercise of the functions of the police. He was an honest citizen, but rather indiscreet. Barras proposed to Sieyes a creature of his own, whom he had recently sent as ambassador to Holland, the supple and crafty Fouché. Formerly a member of the Jacobins, thoroughly acquainted with their spirit and their secrets, not at all attached to their cause, seeking amidst the wreck of parties to save only his own fortune, Fouché was eminently qualified to be a spy upon his old friends, and to secure the Directory from their projects. He was accepted by Sieyes and Roger Ducos, and was invested with the ministry of police. This was, under the circumstances, a valuable acquisition. He confirmed Barras in the idea of attaching himself rather to the reorganizing party than to the patriot party, because the latter had no prospects, and was liable, moreover, to carry him too far.

This measure being taken, war against the patriots commenced. Sieyes, who had considerable influence over the Ancients, because that council was wholly composed of *moderates* and *politicians*, exerted that influence to obtain authority to shut up the new society of the Jacobins. As the Riding

House appertained to the Tuileries, it was comprised in the precincts of the palace of the Ancients. Each council having the police of its own precincts, the Ancients had power to shut up the Riding-House. Accordingly, the commission of the inspectors issued an ordinance forbidding all meetings in that place. A single sentinel placed at the door was sufficient to prevent the meeting of the new Jacobins. This was a proof that, if the declamations were the same, the strength was not so. The motive assigned by the Council of the Ancients for this ordinance was a report of the deputy Cornet. Courtois, the same who drew up the report on the 9th of Thermidor, took occasion from it to make a new denunciation against the plots of the Jacobins. His denunciation was followed by a discussion tending to order a report on this subject.

The patriots, driven from the Riding-House, retired to a spacious building in the Rue du Bac, and there recommenced their habitual declamations.* As their organization into a deliberative assembly remained the same, the constitution gave the executive power a right to prohibit the meetings of their society. Sieyes, Roger Ducos, and Barras, decided, at the instigation of Fouché, to prohibit them. Gohier and Moulins were of a different opinion, remarking that, in the present danger, it was necessary to revive the public spirit by means of clubs; that the society of the new Jacobins comprised some wrong heads, but no formidable demagogues, since they had given way to a single sentinel when the Riding-House was closed against them. Their opinion was not heeded, and the decision was taken. The execution of it was deferred till after the celebration of the anniversary of the 10th of August, which was to be held on the 23d of Thermidor. Sieyes was president of the Directory; in that quality he was to speak at the solemnity. The speech which he delivered was a remarkable one. He sought, in the course of it, to point out the danger in which the new anarchists involved the republic, and denounced them as dangerous conspirators, dreaming of a new revolutionary dictatorship. The patriots who attended the ceremony gave an unfavourable reception to this speech, and uttered some vociferations. Amidst discharges of artillery, Sieyes and Barras conceived that they heard balls whizzing past their ears. They returned to the Directory highly incensed. Distrusting the authorities of Paris, they resolved to take the military command from Marbot, who was accused of being a warm patriot and of participating in the pretended plots of the Jacobins. Fouché proposed Lefebvre, a brave general, who concerned himself about nothing but the military watchword, and was an utter stranger to the intrigues of the parties, as his successor. Marbot was therefore dismissed; and, on the day after the next, the ordinance prohibiting the meeting of the society in the Rue du Bac was issued.

The patriots made no more resistance at the Rue du Bac than at the Riding-House. They retired and remained definitively dispersed. But

* "Under Fouché's auspices, the power of the Jacobins was speedily put to the test. He at once closed the Riding-School hall where their meetings were held, and, supported by the Council of Ancients, within whose precincts it was placed, prohibited any further assemblies in that situation. The democrats, expelled from their old den, reassembled in a new place of meeting in the Rue du Bac, where their declamations were renewed with as much vehemence as ever. But public opinion had changed; the people were no longer disposed to rise in insurrection to support their ambitious projects. Fouché, taking advantage of this inaction, resolved to follow up his blow, and the Jacobin club, which had spread such havoc through the world, was at last and for ever closed."—*Alison*. E

they had still the journals left them, and of these they made a formidable use. That which styled itself *Journal des Hommes libres* declaimed with extreme violence against all the members of the Directory, who were known to have approved of the prohibition. Sieyes was severely handled. That perfidious priest, said the patriotic journals, has sold the republic to Prussia. He agreed with that power to re-establish monarchy in France, and to give the crown to Brunswick. These charges had no other foundation than the well-known opinion of Sieyes upon the constitution and his residence in Prussia. He was daily repeating, in fact, that the firebrands and the spouters rendered all government impossible; that it was necessary to concentrate the authority; that liberty might be compatible with monarchy, witness England; but that it was incompatible with the successive domination of every party. He was even reported to have made use of this expression—that the north of Europe was full of wise and moderate princes, who would be capable, with a strong constitution, of making France happy. Such language, whether truly or falsely attributed to Sieyes, might have been used by him, and was sufficient to cause plots to be imputed to him, which had no existence but in the imagination of his enemies. Barras experienced no better usage than Sieyes. The delicacy with which the patriots had, long treated him, because he had always flattered them with the prospect of his support, was thrown aside. They declared him a traitor, a corrupt man, who was of no service to any party. Fouché, his adviser, an apostate like himself, was loaded with similar reproaches. Roger Ducos, was in their opinion, only an idiot, blindly adopting the opinion of two traitors.

The liberty of the press was unlimited. The law proposed by Berlier having been rejected, there was but one way left for attacking writers; that was, to procure the revival of a law of the Convention against those who, either by acts or writings, tended to the overthrow of the republic. It was requisite that this intention should be demonstrated before the law became applicable, and then the law decreed the punishment of death. It was impossible to resort to this. A new law had been demanded from the legislative body, and it had been decided that the subject should be immediately taken into consideration. But, in the meantime, the attacks were kept up with the same violence; and the three directors composing the majority declared that it was impossible to govern. They resolved to apply to this case Article 144 of the constitution, which gave the Directory a right to issue warrants for the apprehension of the authors of, or accomplices in, plots formed against the republic. They were obliged to wrest this article exceedingly, in order to apply it to the journalists. As, however, it afforded the means of stopping the violence of their publications, by seizing their presses and apprehending the writers, the directorial majority, by the advice of Fouché, issued warrants against the authors of eleven journals, and ordered seas to be put upon their presses. The ordinance was communicated, on the 17th of Fructidor (September 3), to the legislative body, and produced strong excitement in the patriots. They raised an outcry against a stretch of authority, a dictatorship, &c.

Such was the state of affairs. In the Directory, in the Councils, everywhere, in short, the *moderates*, the *politicians*, were arrayed against the patriots. The former had the majority in the Directory as in the Councils. The patriots were in a minority, but they were ardent, and made noise enough to frighten their adversaries. Fortunately, the means were worn

out, like the parties, and on either side they were much more likely to frighten than hurt. The Directory had twice prohibited the meetings of the new society of the Jacobins, and suppressed their journals. The patriots cried out, blustered, but had neither hardihood nor partisans enough to attack the government.* In this situation, which had lasted ever since the 30th of Prairial, that is, for nearly three months, the idea, so common on the eve of decisive events—that of a reconciliation—was broached. Many deputies of all parties proposed an interview with the members of the Directory, to explain and to adjust their reciprocal grievances. We are all lovers of liberty, said they; we are desirous of saving it from the perils to which it is exposed by the defeats of our armies; let us endeavour, then, to agree together upon the choice of the means, since that choice is our only cause of discord. The interview took place at the residence of Barras. There is not, and there cannot be, any reconciliation between parties, for it would be necessary that they should renounce their object, and this can never be brought about by a conversation. The patriot deputies complained that plots were daily talked of, that the president of the Directory himself had pointed to a class of dangerous men who were meditating the ruin of the republic. They begged to be told who those men were, in order that they might not be confounded with the patriots. Sieyes, to whom this inquiry was addressed, replied, by adverting to the conduct of the popular societies and of the journals, and by expatiating on the dangers of a fresh anarchy. He was then asked to point out the real anarchists, that they might unite against and attack them. “But how is it possible for us to unite against them,” said Sieyes, “when not a day passes but members of the legislative body ascend the tribune to support them!”—“It is we, then, whom you attack,” rejoined the deputies, to whom Sieyes had given this answer. “When we wish to come to an explanation with you, you abuse and repulse us.” A fit of ill-humour succeeding, the parties immediately separated, addressing language to each other much more threatening than conciliatory.

Immediately after this interview, Jourdan conceived the idea of an important proposition, that of declaring the country in danger. This declaration would lead of course to the levy *en masse*, and to several other great revolutionary measures. It was submitted to the Five Hundred on the 17th of Fructidor (September 13). The moderate party strongly opposed it, alleging that this measure, instead of strengthening, would only weaken, the government by exciting exaggerated fears and dangerous agitations. The patriots insisted that some great commotion was required to rouse the public spirit, and to save the Revolution. This expedient, which was excellent in 1793, could not possibly succeed at the present moment, and would have been but an erroneous application of the past. Lucien Bonaparte, Boulay of La Meurthe, and Chenier, warmly opposed it, and obtained the adjournment of the question till the following day. The patriots of the clubs had tumultuously surrounded the palace of the Five Hundred, and insulted several of the deputies. It was reported that Ber-

* “France was on the eve of being delivered over to anarchy, when the Directory thought of the expedient of applying to the press the article of the constitution which gave the executive power the right to arrest all persons suspected of carrying on plots against the republic. This bold step produced an immediate ebullition among the democrats, but it was confined to declamations and threats. The tribune resounded with indignant harangues, but not a sword was drawn.”—*Lacretelle*. E

bernadotte, at their urgent desire, was about to mount his horse, and to put himself at their head, for the purpose of exciting an insurrection. It is certain that several of the firebrands of the party had strongly pressed him to do so. There was reason to fear that he would suffer himself to be prevailed upon. Barras and Fouché called upon him, and endeavoured to come to an explanation with him. They found him full of resentment against the plans which had been formed, he said, with Joubert. Barras and Fouché assured him that nothing of the kind had taken place, and entreated him to keep quiet.

They returned to Sieyes, and agreed to force Bernadotte to resign without dismissing him. Sieyes, conversing on the same day with Bernadotte, led him to say that he wished soon to return to active service, and that he should consider the command of an army as the most grateful reward for his ministry. Interpreting this reply as an application for his removal, Sieyes, Barras, and Roger Ducos immediately resolved to write to Bernadotte that his resignation was accepted. They seized the opportunity, while Gohier and Moulins were absent, to adopt this determination. On the very next day the letter to Bernadotte was written. The latter was astounded. He replied to the Directory in a very bitter letter, in which he said that they accepted a resignation which had never been offered, and demanded his half-pay. Tidings of this disguised dismissal reached the Five Hundred, at the moment when that assembly was about to vote on the question of the country in danger. A strong sensation was excited by it. "Some extraordinary measures are preparing," exclaimed the patriots. "Let us swear," said Jourdan, "to die in our curule chairs!"—"My head shall fall," cried Augereau, "before any outrage shall be committed upon the national representation." At length, after great tumult, the question was put to the vote. Jourdan's motion was negatived by a majority of 245 votes against 177, and the country was not declared in danger.

When Gohier and Moulins were apprized of Bernadotte's dismissal, which had been decided upon without their participation, they complained to their colleagues, saying that such a measure ought not to have been adopted without the concurrence of the five directors. "We formed the majority," replied Sieyes, "and we had a right to do what we have done." Gohier and Moulins immediately paid an official visit to Bernadotte, and they took care to make as much parade as possible on the occasion.

The administration of the department of the Seine also excited some distrust in the directorial majority; it was changed. Dubois de Crancé succeeded Bernadotte as minister at war.

The disorganization was, therefore, complete in all respects. Beaten abroad by the coalition, nearly overturned at home by the parties, the republic appeared to be threatened with speedy ruin.* It was requisite that

* "Merit was generally persecuted; all men of honour chased from public situations robbers everywhere assembled in their infernal caverns; the wicked were in power; the apologists of the system of Terror were thundering in the tribune; spoliation was re-established under the name of false loans; thousands of victims were already designed under the name of hostages; the signal for pillage, murder, and conflagration, anxiously looked for, couched in the words, 'the country is in danger!' the citizens had no security for their lives; the state for its finances. All Europe was in arms against us. Our armies were routed; our conquests were lost; the territory of the republic menaced with invasion. Such was the situation of France previous to the revo-

a force should spring up somewhere, either to quell the factions or to withstand the foreign powers. It was impossible to hope for this force in a victorious party, for they were all alike worn out and discredited. It could only issue from the bosom of the armies, in which a power, a silent, regular, glorious power resides, such as is wanted by a nation weary of the agitation of dissensions and the confusion of opinions. Amidst this great dissolution, all eyes turned to the men who had distinguished themselves during the Revolution, and seemed to seek a chief. "We want no more babblers," Sieyes had once observed; "we want a head and a sword." The head was found, for it was in the Directory. A sword was sought for. Hoche was dead. Joubert, whose youth, excellent disposition, and heroism, recommended him to all the friends of the republic, had just expired at Novi. Moreau, who was deemed the greatest captain among the generals left in Europe, had produced on public opinion the impression of a cold, indecisive, unenterprising character, and indisposed to undertake great responsibility. Massena, one of our greatest generals, had not yet earned the glory of the saviour of the country. Besides, he was regarded as merely a soldier. Jourdan had just been vanquished. Augereau was a turbulent spirit, Bernadotte a restless one, and neither of these had acquired sufficient renown. There was one resplendent personage, who concentrated in himself every species of glory, who had followed up a hundred victories by a desirable peace, who had raised France to the pinnacle of greatness at Campo Formio, and who at his departure seemed to have carried his good fortune away with him—that was BONAPARTE. But he was in a distant land. He was compelling the echoes of the East to repeat his name. He alone had continued to be victorious, and he was hurling, on the banks of the Nile and the Jordan, those thunderbolts with which he had formerly affrighted Europe on the Adige. It was not enough to deem him glorious, men were determined to think him interesting. They insisted that he was exiled by a distrustful and jealous authority. While, like an adventurer, he was seeking a career vast as his imagination, he was considered as the submissive citizen, repaying by victories the exile to which he was condemned. "Where is Bonaparte?" said one to another. "With a constitution already impaired, his life is wasting away under a burning sky. Ah! if he were among us, the republic would not be threatened with speedy ruin. Europe and the factions would alike respect it!" Confused rumours were circulated respecting him. Sometimes it was said that Victory, unfaithful to all the French generals, had, in his turn, forsaken him, in his distant expedition. But such rumours were discredited. "He is invincible," was the reply; "instead of having experienced reverses, he is marching to the conquest of all the East." Gigantic projects were attributed to him. Some went so far as to assert that he had traversed Syria, and crossed the Euphrates and the Indus; others that he had marched to Constantinople, and that, after overthrowing the Ottoman empire, he would fall upon Europe in rear. The newspapers were full of these conjectures, which prove what imagination expected of this young man.

The Directory had sent him orders to return, and had collected in the Mediterranean an immense fleet, composed of French and Spanish ships, to bring the army back.* The general's brothers, who had remained in

tion of the 18th Brumaire and the establishment of the Consulate. —*First Year of the Consulate.* E.

* It should be observed that the existence of such an order is disputed. We know of no ordinance of the Directory, signed Treilhard, Barras, and Lareveillère, and dated the

Paris, and were commissioned to inform him of the state of affairs, had sent him despatch after despatch, to apprise him of the confusion into which the republic had fallen, and to urge him to return. But these letters had to cross the seas and to pass through the English squadrons, and it was not known whether the hero would receive them, and come back before the dissolution of the republic.

7th of Prairial, recalling Bonaparte to Europe. Lareveillère, in his *Memoirs*, declares that he has no recollection of having given this signature, and considers the ordinance as fabricated. In this case, however, the naval expedition under Bruix, would remain unaccounted for. At any rate, it is certain that the Directory at this period wished for Bonaparte, and that it dreaded his ambition much less than the ferocity of Suwarrow. If the order is not authentic, it is probable; and, besides, it is of little consequence, for Bonaparte was authorized to return whenever he should think fit.

THE DIRECTORY.

CONTINUATION OF THE OPERATIONS OF BONAPARTE IN EGYPT—CONQUEST OF UPPER EGYPT BY DESAIX; EXPEDITION TO SYRIA; CAPTURE OF THE FORT OF EL ARISCH AND JAFFA; BATTLE OF MOUNT TABOR; SIEGE OF ST. JEAN D'ACRE—RETURN TO EGYPT; BATTLE OF ABOUKIR; DEPARTURE FOR FRANCE—OPERATIONS IN EUROPE—MARCH OF THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES TO THE RHINE, AND OF SUWARROW INTO SWITZERLAND; MOVEMENT OF MASSÉNA; MEMORABLE VICTORY OF ZURICH; PERILOUS SITUATION OF SUWARROW; HIS DISASTROUS RETREAT; SALVATION OF FRANCE—EVENTS IN HOLLAND; DEFEAT AND CAPITULATION OF THE ANGLO-RUSSIANS; EVACUATION OF HOLLAND.

BONAPARTE, after the battle of the Pyramids, had found himself master of Egypt. He had begun to establish himself there, and sent his generals, into the provinces to complete the conquest of them. Desaix, placed at the entrance of Upper Egypt, with a division of about three thousand men, was directed to reduce the remnants of Mourad Bey's force in that province. It was in Vendémiaire and Brumaire in the preceding year (October, 1798), at the moment when the inundation was over, that Desaix had commenced his expedition. The enemy had retired before him, and did not wait for him till he reached Sediman; there, on the 16th of Vendémiaire (October 7, 1798), Desaix had fought a sanguinary battle with the desperate relics of Mourad Bey. None of the engagements of the French in Egypt was so bloody. Two thousand French had to combat with four thousand Mamelukes and eight thousand Fellahs, intrenched in the village of Sediman. The battle was conducted in the same manner as that of the Pyramids, and like all those fought in Egypt. The Fellahs were behind the walls of the village, and the horse in the plain. Desaix had formed in two squares, and had placed on his wings two other small squares, in order to break the shock of the enemy's cavalry. For the first time, our infantry was broken, and one of the small squares was penetrated. But, by a sudden and admirable instinct, our brave soldiers immediately threw themselves on the ground, that the great squares might be able to fire without hitting them. The Mamelukes, passing over them, charged the great squares with fury for several successive hours, and rushed in desperation on the points of the bayonets till they expired. As usual, the squares then moved off to attack the intrenchments, and carried them. During this movement, the Mamelukes, describing an arc of a circle, came to slaughter the wounded on the rear, but they were soon driven from this field of carnage, and the enraged soldiers put to death a considerable number of them. Never was field of battle so thickly strewn with slain. The French had lost three hundred men. Desaix continued his march during

the whole winter, and after a series of actions, having reduced Upper Egypt as far as the cataracts, he made himself equally feared for his bravery and beloved for his clemency. In Cairo, Bonaparte had been named Sultan Kebir, the Fire Sultan. In Upper Egypt, Desaix was called the Just Sultan.

Bonaparte had, meanwhile, marched to Belbeys, to drive Ibrahim Bey into Syria, and he had collected by the way the wrecks of the caravan of Mecca, plundered by the Arabs. Returning to Cairo, he continued to establish there an entirely French administration. An insurrection, excited in Cairo by the secret agents of Mourad Bey, was most severely quelled, and completely disheartened the enemies of the French.* Thus passed the winter between 1798 and 1799 in the expectation of events. During this interval, Bonaparte received intelligence of the declaration of war by the Porte, and of the preparations which it was making against him with the aid of the English. Two armies were being formed, one at Rhodes, the other in Syria. These two armies were to act simultaneously in the spring of 1799, the one by landing at Aboukir, near Alexandria, the other by crossing the desert which separates Syria from Egypt. Bonaparte was instantly aware of his position, and determined, according to his custom, to disconcert the enemy and to forestall him by a sudden attack. He could not cross the desert which parts Egypt from Syria in summer, and he resolved to avail himself of the winter for destroying the assemblages of troops forming at Acre, at Damascus, and in the principal towns. Djezzar, the celebrated Pacha of Acre, was appointed seraskier of the army collected in Syria. Abdallah, Pacha of Damascus, commanded its advanced guard, and had proceeded as far as the fort of El Arisch, which is the key to Egypt on the side next to Syria. Bonaparte resolved to act immediately. He was in communication with the tribes of the Lebanon. The Druses, Christian tribes, the Mutualis, schismatic Mahometans, offered him assistance, and ardently wished for his coming. By a sudden assault on Jaffa, Acre, and some other badly-fortified places, he might in a short time gain possession of Syria, add this fine conquest to that of Egypt, make himself master of the Euphrates, as he was of the Nile, and thus command all the communications with India. His ardent imagination went still farther, and formed some of those projects which his admirers of Europe attributed to him. It was not impossible that, by raising the population of the Lebanon, he might obtain sixty or eighty thousand auxiliaries, and that, with these auxiliaries, supported by twenty-five thousand soldiers, the bravest in the world, he should be able to march to Constantinople and take that capital. Whether this gigantic project were practicable or not,

* "Shortly after the revolt of Cairo, the necessity of insuring our own safety urged the commission of a horrible act of cruelty. A tribe of Arabs in the neighbourhood of Cairo had massacred a party of French. Bonaparte ordered his aide-de-camp Croisier to proceed to the spot, surround the tribe, destroy the huts, kill all the men, and conduct the rest of the population to Cairo. The order was to decapitate the victims, and bring their heads in sacks, to be exhibited to the people. The party set out, and returned the next day. Many of the poor Arab women had been delivered on the road, and the children had perished of hunger and fatigue. About four o'clock, a troop of asses arrived in Ezbekyeh Place, laden with sacks. The sacks were opened, and the heads rolled out before the assembled populace! I cannot describe the horror I experienced at the sight."—*Bourrienne*. E.

"Every night," said Napoleon, in a letter to Regnier, "we cut off thirty heads and those of several chiefs. That will teach them, I think, a good lesson." The victims were put to death in prison, thrust into sacks, and thrown into the Nile. This continued for six days after tranquillity was restored at Cairo. E.

so much is certain, that it occupied his imagination, and when we have seen what, aided by Fortune, he afterwards accomplished, we dare not pronounce any of his plans insane.*

Bonaparte commenced his march in Pluviose (very early in February), at the head of Kleber's, Regnier's, Lannes's, Bon's, and Murat's divisions, about thirteen thousand strong. Murat's division was composed of cavalry. Bonaparte had raised a regiment of an entirely new kind—the dromedary regiment. Two men, seated back to back, were mounted on each dromedary, and such are the strength and swiftness of those animals, that they can travel twenty-five or thirty leagues without stopping. Bonaparte had formed this regiment to give chase to the Arabs, who infested the borders of Egypt. This regiment accompanied the army on this expedition. Bonaparte had, moreover, directed Rear-admiral Perrée to sail from Alexandria with three frigates, and to proceed to the coast of Syria, to convey thither the siege artillery and ammunition. He arrived before the fort of El Arisch on the 29th of Pluviose (February 15). After a slight resistance, the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners, to the number of thirteen hundred men. Considerable magazines were found in the fort. Ibrahim Bey, having attempted to relieve it, was put to flight. His camp fell into the hands of the French, who found in it an immense booty. The soldiers had to endure severe hardships while crossing the desert; but when they saw their general marching by their side, suffering, in impaired health, the same privations and the same fatigues, they dared not complain.† They soon reached Gaza. They took that place in the sight of Djezzar Pacha, and found there, as in the fort of El Arisch, a great quan-

* “The mistake of the captain of a frigate,” said the Emperor, “who bore away, instead of forcing his passage to the place of his destination, prevented the face of the world from being totally changed. Acre would otherwise have been taken—the French army would have flown to Damascus and Aleppo—in the twinkling of an eye they would have been on the Euphrates—the Syrian Christians would have joined us—the Druses, the Armenians would have united with us—I should have reached Constantinople and the Indies—I should have changed the face of the world.”—*Las Cases*. E.

† “We arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon at Messoodiah. Here we witnessed a kind of phenomenon which was not a little agreeable to us. Messoodiah is situated on the coast of the Mediterranean, surrounded with little downs of very fine sand which the copious rains of winter readily penetrate. The rain remains in the sand, so that on making, with the finger, holes of four or five inches in depth, at the bottom of these little hills, the water immediately flows out. This water was indeed rather thick, but its flavour was agreeable; and it would have become clear if we could have spared time to allow it to rest. It was a curious spectacle to behold us all lying on the sand, digging wells in miniature, and displaying a laughable selfishness in our endeavours to obtain the most abundant source. We found these sand wells at the extremity of the desert, and they contributed in no small degree to revive the courage of our soldiers. The fatigues subsequently experienced in the desert, excited violent murmurs among the soldiers during their passage across the isthmus. When any one passed them on horseback, they studiously expressed their discontent. The advantage possessed by the horseman provoked their sarcasms.”—*Bourrienne*. E.

Just previous to his crossing the desert, Napoleon paid a visit to the Red Sea, when the following adventure occurred, as related by one of his generals:—“The night overtook us, the waters of the Red Sea began to rise around us, when the horsemen ahead cried out that their horses were swimming. Bonaparte rescued the whole party by one of those simple expedients which occur to an imperturbable mind. Placing himself in the centre, he bade all the rest to form a circle round him, and then ride out each man in a separate direction, and each to halt as soon as he found his horse was swimming. The man whose horse continued to march the last, was sure, he said, to be in the right direction; him accordingly we all followed, and reached Suez at midnight in safety, though so rapidly had the tide advanced, that the horses were more than breast-high in the water.”—*Savary*. E.

tity of ammunition and provisions. From Gaza, the army proceeded to Jaffa, the ancient Joppa, where it arrived on the 13th of Ventose (March 3). This place was surrounded by a massive wall flanked by towers. It contained a garrison of four thousand men. Bonaparte caused it to be battered in breach, and then summoned the commandant, who only answered by cutting off the head of the messenger. The assault was made, and the place stormed with extraordinary intrepidity, and given up for thirty hours to pillage and massacre. Here, too, were found a considerable quantity of artillery and supplies of all kinds. There were some thousands of prisoners, whom the general could not despatch to Egypt, because he had not the ordinary means for escorting them, and he would not send them back to the enemy to swell his ranks. Bonaparte decided on a terrible measure, the only cruel act of his life. Transported into a barbarous country, he had involuntarily adopted its manners. He ordered all the prisoners to be put to death. The army consummated with obedience, but with a sort of horror, the execution that was commanded.* It was during their stay at Jaffa that our soldiers caught the infection of the plague.

Bonaparte then advanced upon St. Jean d'Acre, the ancient Ptolemais, situated at the foot of Mount Carmel. It was the only place that could now stop him. If he could make himself master of it, Syria would be his. But the ferocious Djezzar† had shut himself up there, with all his wealth and a strong garrison. He reckoned upon support from Sir Sidney Smith,‡ then cruising off that coast, and who supplied him with engineers, artillerymen, and ammunition. It was probable, moreover, that he would be soon relieved by the Turkish army collected in Syria, which was advancing from Damascus to cross the Jordan. Bonaparte hastened to attack the place, in hopes of taking it, as he had done Jaffa, before it was reinforced with fresh troops, and before the English had time to improve its

* "The body of prisoners were marched out of Jaffa, in the centre of a large square battalion. The Turks foresaw their fate, but used neither entreaties nor complaints to avert it. They marched on, silent and composed. They were escorted to the sand-hills to the south-east of Jaffa, divided there into small bodies, and put to death by musketry. The execution lasted a considerable time, and the wounded were despatched by the bayonet. Their bodies were heaped together, and formed a pyramid which is still visible, consisting now of human bones, as originally of bloody corpses."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E

"I asked Napoleon about the massacre of the Turks at Jaffa. He answered, It is perfectly true. I ordered nearly two thousand of them to be shot."—*Lord Ebrington's Conversations at Elba*. E.

"Speaking of the massacre of the Turks at Jaffa, Bonaparte said, 'I would do the same thing again to-morrow, and so would Wellington, or any general commanding an army under similar circumstances.'"—*Voice from St. Helena*. E.

† "Djezzar, Pacha of Acre, was a monster of cruelty; the waves frequently drove the dead bodies of his murdered subjects towards the coast, and we came upon them while bathing."—*Bourrienne*. E.

‡ "Sidney Smith," said Napoleon, "is a brave officer. He displayed considerable ability in the treaty for the evacuation of Egypt by the French. He also showed great honour and humanity towards the French who fell into his hands. He was at one time arrested and confined in the Temple as a spy. He displayed great talent and bravery at Acre. The chief cause of my failure there was, that he took all my battering train which was on board some small vessels. He dispersed proclamations among my troops, which certainly shook some of them, and I, in consequence, published an order stating that he was mad. Some days afterwards he sent me a challenge. I laughed, and sent him back word that when he brought Marlborough to fight me, I would meet him. Notwithstanding this, I like the character of the man."—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

Sir Sidney Smith is still living, at an advanced age, in Paris. E.

defences. The trenches were immediately opened. Unfortunately, the siege-artillery, sent by sea from Alexandria, had been intercepted by Sir Sidney Smith. The whole of the siege and field artillery consisted of a thirty-two pound carronade, four twelve-pounders, eight howitzers, and about thirty four-pounders. The French had no balls, but they devised a method of procuring them. They sent out a few horse upon the beach. At sight of them, Sir Sidney Smith kept up a rolling fire from all the batteries, and the soldiers, to whom five sous were given for each ball, went and picked them up amidst the cannonade and amidst universal laughter.

The trenches had been opened on the 30th of Ventose (March 20). Sanson, general of engineers, conceiving that, in a night reconnaissance, he had reached the foot of the rampart, declared that it had neither counterscarp nor ditch. It was concluded that nothing more was needed than to make a mere breach, and then proceed to the assault. On the 5th of Germinal (March 25), a breach was effected; dispositions were made for the assault, but the men were stopped by a counterscarp and a ditch. They immediately set about mining. The operation was carried on under the fire of all the ramparts, and of the fine artillery which Sir Sidney Smith had taken from us. He had given Djezzar some excellent English gunners, and Philippeaux,* an emigrant engineer-officer of distinguished merit. The mine was exploded on the 28th of Germinal (April 17), and blew up only a portion of the counterscarp. Twenty-five grenadiers, headed by the young Maily, proceeded to the assault. The Turks, seeing that brave officer placing a ladder, were frightened; but Maily fell down dead. The grenadiers were then disheartened; the Turks returned; two battalions which followed were received with a tremendous fire; Laugier, their commandant, was killed, and again the assault miscarried.

Unfortunately, the place had received a reinforcement of several thousand men, a great number of gunners trained after the European fashion, and immense supplies. It was a siege on a large scale, to be carried on with thirteen thousand men, almost entirely destitute of artillery. It was necessary to open a new mine to blow up the entire counterscarp, and to commence another covered way. It was now the 12th of Germinal (April 1). Ten days had been already spent before the place. The approach of the great Turkish army was announced. It would be necessary to carry on the works and to cover the siege, and all with the single army of thirteen thousand men. The commander-in-chief ordered a fresh mine to be formed with the utmost expedition, and detached Kleber's division towards the Jordan, to oppose the passage of it by the army coming from Damascus.

That army, composed of the tribes of the mountains of Naplouse, amounted to about twenty-five thousand men. Upwards of twelve thousand horse constituted its principal strength. It carried along with it an immense quantity of baggage. Abdallah, Pacha of Damascus, had the command of it. On the 15th of Germinal (April 4), it crossed the Jordan at Yacoub's bridge. Junot, with Kleber's advanced guard, five hundred strong at most, fell in with the Turkish advanced guards on the Nazareth road on the 19th (April 8). Instead of retreating, he boldly faced the enemy, and formed into a square, covered the field of battle with slain, and

* "Sir Sidney Smith was well seconded at Acre by Philippeaux, a Frenchman of talent, who had studied with me as engineer."—*Voice from St Helena*. E.

took five pair of colours.* But, being obliged to give way to numbers, he fell back upon Kleber's division. The latter was advancing, and hastening its march to rejoin Junot. Bonaparte, apprized of the enemy's force, proceeded with Bon's division to support Kleber, and to fight a decisive battle. Djeddar, acting in concert with the army that was coming to raise the siege, attempted to make a sortie, but was received with such a tremendous fire, that he left our works covered with his slain. Bonaparte immediately commenced his march.

Kleber had debouched with his division in the plains that extend at the foot of Mount Tabor, not far from the village of Fouli. He had conceived the idea of surprising the Turkish camp in the night, but had arrived too late to carry it into execution. In the morning of the 27th of Germinal (April 16), he found the whole Turkish army in order of battle. Fifteen thousand foot occupied the village of Fouli; and more than twelve thousand horse were drawn up in the plain. Kleber had scarcely three thousand infantry in square. The whole of the enemy's cavalry set itself in motion, and rushed upon our squares. Never had the French yet seen so many horse, curvetting, charging, and prancing about in all directions. They preserved their accustomed coolness, and, receiving them at the muzzle of their pieces with a tremendous fire, prostrated a considerable number of them at every charge. They had soon formed around themselves a rampart of men and horses, and screened by this horrible abattis, they were enabled to resist for six successive hours the utmost fury of their adversaries. At this moment Bonaparte debouched from Mount Tabor with Bon's division. He saw the plain covered with fire and smoke, and Kleber's brave division defending itself under the shelter of a line of carcasses. He immediately formed the division which he had brought with him into two squares. These two squares advanced in such a manner as to form an equilateral triangle with Kleber's division, and thus to enclose the enemy between them. They marched on in silence, and without giving any sign of their approach till within a certain distance. Bonaparte then ordered a cannon to be suddenly fired, and immediately made his appearance on the field of battle. A tremendous fire, discharged instantaneously from the three points of this triangle, assailed the Mamelukes who were in the midst, drove them in confusion upon one another, and made them flee in disorder in all directions. Kleber's division, fired with fresh ardour at this sight, rushed upon the village of Fouli, stormed it at the point of the bayonet, and made a great carnage among the enemy. In a moment the whole multitude was gone, and the plain was left covered with dead. The Turkish camp, the pacha's three tails, four hundred camels, and an immense booty, fell into the hands of the French. Murat, posted on the banks of the Jordan, slew a great number of the fugitives. Bonaparte ordered all the villages of the Naplousians to be burned. Six thousand French had destroyed that army which the inhabitants had said to be innumerable as the stars of heaven and the sands of the sea.

During this interval, the besiegers had never ceased mining and countermining about the walls of St. Jean d'Acre. The combatants disputed with one another a ground turned upside down by the art of sieges. The French had been six weeks before the place. They had made many assaults,

* "Junot's valour and steadiness in this action attracted the especial notice of Napoleon, who presented to him a splendid shield to be preserved among the archives of his family."—*Ouchess d'Abbrantes*. E.

repulsed many sorties, killed a great number of the enemy ; but, though they had constantly the advantage, they sustained losses of time and men which were irreparable. On the 18th of Floreal (May 7), a reinforcement of twelve thousand men arrived in the port of Acre. Bonaparte, calculating that they could not have landed in less than six hours, immediately ordered a twenty-four pounder to play against a piece of wall, to the right of the point against which such efforts had for some time been made. When night came on, the assailants mounted to the breach ; they stormed the enemy's works, filled them up, spiked the guns, and slaughtered all they met with. They were at length masters of the place, when the troops which had just landed advanced in order of battle, presenting an alarming force. Rambaut, commanding the first grenadiers who mounted to the assault, was killed. Lannes was wounded. At the same moment, the enemy made a sortie, took the breach in rear, and cut off the retreat of the brave men who had entered. Some succeeded in getting out again ; others, taking a desperate resolution, fled to a mosque, intrenched themselves there, expended their last cartridges, and were prepared to sell their lives dearly, when Sir Sidney Smith, touched by such bravery, caused a capitulation to be granted them. Meanwhile, the besieging troops, marching upon the enemy, drove him back into the place, after making a prodigious slaughter, and taking from him eight hundred prisoners. Bonaparte, obstinate to very madness, gave two days' rest to his troops, and on the 21st (May 10) ordered another assault. The men mounted with the same bravery as ever, scaled the breach, but could not pass it. There was a whole army guarding the place and defending all the streets. It was absolutely necessary to relinquish the enterprise.*

For two months the army had been before Acre ; it had sustained considerable losses, and it would have been imprudent to expose it to more. The plague was in Acre, and the army had caught the contagion at Jaffa. The season for landing troops approached, and the arrival of a Turkish army near the mouths of the Nile was expected. By persisting longer, Bonaparte was liable to weaken himself to such a degree as not to be able to repulse new enemies. The main point of his plan was effected, since he had destroyed the assemblages formed in Syria, and had rendered the enemy in that quarter incapable of acting. As for the brilliant part of those same plans, as for those vague and wild hopes of conquests in the East, these it was necessary to renounce. He decided at last to raise the siege. Such, however, was his regret, that, notwithstanding his unparalleled destiny, he was frequently known, when speaking of Sir Sidney Smith, to make use of this expression : " That man disappointed me of my fortune." The Druses, who, during the siege, had supplied the army with provisions, and all the tribes hostile to the Porte, were thrown into despair by the news of his retreat.

He had commenced the siege on the 1st of Ventose (March 20), and raised it on the 1st of Prairial (May 20) : he had consequently spent two months upon it. Before he quitted St. Jean d'Acre, he determined to leave a terrible token of his presence—he overwhelmed the town with his

* " A striking instance of the attachment of the soldiers to Napoleon appeared during this siege. In the trenches a bomb, with the fusee burning, fell at his feet ; two grenadiers instantly seized him in their arms, and covering him with their bodies, carried him out of danger. They got him out of the reach of the explosion before it took place, and no one was injured."—*Las Cases*. E.

fire, and left it almost reduced to ashes. He bent his course back to the desert. Through the fire, hardship, and disease, he had nearly lost one-third of his force, that is, about four thousand men. He carried away twelve hundred wounded. Now commenced his march to recross the desert. He ravaged the whole country by the way, and struck profound terror into it. On his arrival at Jaffa, he ordered the fortifications to be blown up. There was an hospital in that town for the soldiers infected with the plague. To carry them with him was impossible; if they were left behind, they would be exposed to inevitable death, either by the disease, or by famine, or by the cruelty of the enemy. Accordingly, Bonaparte told Desgenettes, the physician, that it would be much more humane to give them opium than to leave them alone; upon which that physician made this highly admired reply, "My profession is to cure, not to kill." No opium was administered, and this circumstance served to give rise to an unworthy but now exploded calumny.*

Bonaparte at length reached Egypt, after an expedition of nearly three months. It was high time for him to return. The spirit of insurrection had spread throughout the whole Delta. An impostor, calling himself the angel El Mohdhy, who gave out that he was invulnerable, and that he would drive out the French by merely raising a dust, had collected some thousand insurgents. The agents of the Mamelukes gave him their assistance; and he had taken Damanhour and slaughtered the garrison. Bonaparte sent a detachment, which dispersed the insurgents, and killed the invulnerable angel. The insurrection had spread to the different provinces of the Delta. His presence produced everywhere submission and tranquillity. He gave orders for magnificent festivities at Cairo to celebrate his triumphs in Syria. He did not avow that part of his plans which had been foiled, but he boasted, and justly, of the numerous actions fought in Syria, of the glorious battle of Mount Tabor, and of the terrible vengeance which he had wreaked on Djezzar. He issued fresh proclamations to the inhabitants, in which he assured them that he was acquainted with their most secret thoughts, and knew their plans the moment they were formed. They believed these strange assertions of Sultan Kebir, and fancied that he was aware of all their thoughts. Bonaparte had to curb not only the inhabitants, but his own generals and the army itself. A deep discontent pervaded it. This discontent proceeded neither from fatigue nor from danger, still less from privations, for the army was not in want of anything, but from that fondness for his own country which accompanies the Frenchman whithersoever he goes. They had been for a whole year in Egypt; and, for nearly six months, they had received no news whatever from France. Not a vessel had been able to pass. A sombre melancholy preyed upon every heart. Officers and generals were daily applying for leave of absence, that they might return to Europe. Bonaparte granted it to very few, or accompanied it with expressions that were as much dreaded as dishonour. Berthier himself, his faithful Berthier, consumed by an old

* "I feel ashamed to advert to this atrocious calumny. Supposing, however, that Bonaparte could have contemplated the expedient attributed to him, where could there have been found a man sufficiently determined in mind, or so lost to the feelings of human nature, as to force open the jaws of fifty wretched men on the point of death, and thrust a deadly preparation down their throats? The most intrepid soldier turned pale at the sight of an infected person; the warmest heart dared not relieve a friend afflicted with the plague; and it is not to be credited that brutal ferocity could execute what the noblest feelings recoiled at."—*Savary*. E.

passion, solicited permission to revisit Italy. For a second time he was ashamed of his weakness, and would not go.* One day, the army had formed the plan of carrying off its colours from Cairo and marching to Alexandria, for the purpose of embarking. But it went no further than the intention, and durst not defy its general. Bonaparte's lieutenants, who all set the example of murmuring, were silent in his presence, and bowed to his ascendancy. He had had more than one quarrel with Kleber. The ill-temper of the latter proceeded not from discouragement, but from his customary indocility. Matters were always made up between them, for Bonaparte admired the great soul of Kleber, and Kleber was seduced by the genius of Bonaparte.

It was now the month of Prairial (June). They were still ignorant of what was passing in Europe, and of the disasters of France. They merely knew that the continent was in real confusion, and that a new war was inevitable. Bonaparte impatiently waited for further particulars, that he might decide what course to pursue, and return, in case of need, to the first theatre of his exploits. But he hoped first to destroy the second Turkish army assembled at Rhodes, the very speedy landing of which was announced.

This army, put on board numerous transports and escorted by Sir Sidney Smith's squadron, appeared on the 23d of Messidor (July 11) in sight of Alexandria, and came to an anchor in the road of Aboukir, where our squadron had been destroyed. The point chosen by the English for landing was the peninsula which commands the entrance to the road, and bears the same name. This narrow peninsula runs out between the sea and Lake Madieh, and has a fort at its extremity. Bonaparte had ordered Marmont,† who commanded at Alexandria, to improve the defence of the

* "Berthier, after repeated entreaties, had obtained permission to return to France. Bonaparte was sorry to part with him, but he could not see an old friend dying before his eyes, the victim of nostalgia and romantic love. Berthier's passion, which amounted almost to madness, impaired the feeble faculties with which nature had endowed him. One day I went to him with an order from Napoleon. I found him on his knees before the portrait of Madame Visconti which was hanging opposite the door. Ultimately Berthier was prevailed upon to remain with the general-in-chief in Egypt."—*Bourrienne*. E.

† "Auguste Frédérique Louis Viesse de Marmont is one of the most respectable by birth of Napoleon's marshals. His family is noble, and he himself was born in 1774. From his earliest infancy he was designed for the army, and at Toulon attracted the notice of Bonaparte, who, when appointed general of the army of the interior, appointed him his aide-de-camp. Throughout the campaigns of Italy, Egypt, and Syria, Marmont was at the side of Napoleon, and was one of the few selected to return with him to France. In the passage of Mont St. Bernard he greatly distinguished himself, and commanded the artillery at Marengo. In the wars of 1805-1807, he served with equal honour, and in the course of the German campaign of 1809 obtained the marshal's truncheon and the title of Duke of Ragusa. He was afterwards ordered to replace Massena in the command of the army of Portugal, but this was a situation above his abilities. Soon after his arrival in Spain, Marmont effected a junction with the army of Suñer, and pursued Wellington towards Salamanca. For a time they watched each other, but a blunder of Marmont threw the initiative into the hands of Wellington; he was at dinner in his tent when information was brought him that the French were extending their wing probably to outflank him. 'Marmont's good genius has forsaken him,' said Wellington, and, mounting his horse, attacked and defeated the French at the great battle of Salamanca, where Marmont lost his arm. He afterwards fought at Lutzen, Bautzen, and Leipzig, and on the entrance of the allies into France was intrusted with the defence of Paris, which, however, he was compelled to surrender to the enemy. He afterwards entered into a treaty with the allies, and marched his troops within their cantonments, stipulating, however, for the freedom of Napoleon's person. Louis made Marmont a peer, and when Napoleon returned from Elba he denounced him as a traitor, for

fort, and to destroy the village of Aboukir, situated around it. But, instead of destroying the village, it had been deemed right to preserve it, in order to lodge the soldiers there; and it had merely been encompassed by a redoubt to protect it on the land side. But as the redoubt was not carried to the two shores, it was not a close work, and subjected the fort to the same fate as a mere field-work. The Turks, in fact, landed with great boldness, attacked the intrenchments sword in hand, carried them, and made themselves masters of the village of Aboukir, putting to death the garrison. The village being taken, it was impossible for the fort to hold out, and it was obliged to surrender. Marmont, who commanded at Alexandria, left the city at the head of twelve hundred men to hasten to the assistance of the troops at Aboukir. But, learning that the Turks had landed in considerable numbers, he durst not attempt to throw them into the sea by a bold attack. He returned to Alexandria, and left them to establish themselves quietly in the peninsula of Aboukir.

The Turks amounted to nearly eighteen thousand infantry. It was only wretched Fellahs who had composed the infantry of the Mamelukes; these were brave janizaries, carrying a musket without bayonet, slinging it at their back when they had fired, and rushing, pistol and sword in hand, upon the enemy. They had a numerous and well-served artillery, and were directed by English officers. They had no cavalry, for they had not brought more than three hundred horses, but they expected the arrival of Mourad Bey, who was to leave Upper Egypt, skirt the desert, cross the oases, and throw himself into Aboukir with two or three thousand Mamelukes.

When Bonaparte was informed of the particulars of the landing, he immediately left Cairo, and made from that city to Alexandria one of those extraordinary marches of which he had given so many examples in Italy. He took with him the divisions of Lannes, Bon, and Murat. He had ordered Desaix* to evacuate Upper Egypt, and Kleber and Regnier, who were in the Delta, to approach Aboukir. He had chosen the point of Birket, midway between Alexandria and Aboukir, at which to concentrate his forces, and to manœuvre according to circumstances. He was afraid that an English army had landed with the Turks.

Mourad Bey, according to the plan concerted with Mustapha Pacha, had attempted to descend into Lower Egypt; but met and beaten by Murat, he had been obliged to regain the desert. There was now nothing left to fight but the Turkish army, destitute indeed of cavalry, yet encamped behind intrenchments, and disposed to resist with its customary obstinacy. Bonaparte, after inspecting Alexandria and the capital works executed by Colonel Cretin, and after reprimanding Marmont, his lieutenant, who had not dared to attack the Turks at the moment of landing, left Alexandria, on the 6th of Thermidor (July 24). Next day, the 7th, he was at the entrance of the peninsula. His plan was to shut up the Turkish army by intrenchments, and to await the arrival of all his divisions, for he had with

ne part he had played in the abdication. In 1817 he quelled an insurrection at Lyons. Marmont's military talents are not of a high order, but his character is unstained either with rapine or cruelty."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

In 1830 Marmont took part with Charles X. against the people, and has ever since been an exile from France. E.

* "Brave Desaix!" said Napoleon. "That general would have conquered anywhere. He was skilful—vigilant—daring—little regarding fatigue, and death still less. He would have gone to the end of the world in quest of victory."—*Antommarchi*. E.

him only the divisions of Lannes, Bon, and Murat, amounting to about six thousand men. But, on observing the dispositions made by the Turks, he changed his mind, and resolved to attack them immediately, hoping to enclose them in the village of Aboukir, and to crush them with bombs and howitzers. The Turks had placed themselves in the following manner: They occupied the extremity of the peninsula, which is very narrow. They were covered by two lines of intrenchments. Half a league in advance of the village of Aboukir, where their camp was, they had occupied two sand-hills, supporting the one on the sea, the other on Lake Madieh, and thus forming their right and left. Midway between these two hills was a village, which they had likewise occupied. They had one thousand men on the hill to the right, two thousand on the other, and three or four thousand in the village. Such was their first line. The second was at the village of Aboukir itself. It consisted of the redoubt constructed by the French, and was connected with the sea by two trenches. There they had placed their principal camp and the bulk of their forces.

Bonaparte made his dispositions with his usual promptitude and decision. He ordered General Destaing, with some battalions, to march to the hill on the left, where the one thousand Turks were posted; Lannes to march to that on the right, where the two thousand others were; and Murat, who was at the centre, to make the cavalry file on the rear of the two hills. These dispositions were executed with great precision. Destaing marched to the hill on the left and boldly ascended it; Murat caused it to be turned by a squadron. The Turks, at sight of this, quitted their post, and fell in with the cavalry, which cut them in pieces, and drove them into the sea, into which they chose rather to throw themselves than to surrender. Precisely the same thing was done on the right. Lannes attacked the two thousand janizaries; Murat turned them, cut them in pieces, and drove them into the sea. Destaing and Lannes then moved towards the centre, formed by a village, and attacked it in front. The Turks then defended themselves bravely, reckoning upon assistance from the second line. A column did in fact advance from the camp of Aboukir; but Murat, who had already filed upon the rear of the village, fell, sword in hand, upon this column, and drove it back into Aboukir. Destaing's infantry and that of Lannes entered the village at the charge step, driving the Turks out of it, who were pushed in all directions, and who, obstinately refusing to surrender, had no retreat but the sea in which they were drowned.

From four to five thousand had already perished in this manner. The first line was carried; Bonaparte's object was accomplished, and now, enclosing the Turks in Aboukir, he could bombard them till Kleber and Regnier should arrive. But he determined to follow up his success and to complete his victory that very moment. After allowing his troops to take breath, he marched upon the second line. Lanusse's division, which had been left as a reserve, supported Lannes and Destaing. The redoubt which covered Aboukir was difficult to carry; it encompassed nine or ten thousand Turks. On the right, a trench joined it to the sea; on the left, another trench prolonged it, but was not continued quite to Lake Madieh. The open space was occupied by the enemy, and raked by the fire of numerous gunboats. Bonaparte having accustomed his soldiers to defy the most formidable obstacles directed them upon the enemy's position. His divisions of infantry marched upon the front and the right of the redoubt.

The cavalry, concealed in a wood of palm-trees, was to attack on the left, and then to traverse, under the fire of the gunboats, the space left open between the redoubt and Lake Madiéh. The charge was executed. Lannes and Destaing urged forward their brave infantry. The 32d marched with their pieces on their arms towards the intrenchments; the 18th turned them on the extreme right. The enemy, without waiting for them, advanced to meet them. They fought hand to hand. The Turkish soldiers, having fired their pieces and their brace of pistols, drew their flashing sabres. They endeavoured to grasp the bayonets, but received them in their flanks before they could lay hold of them. In this manner the combatants slaughtered one another at the intrenchments. The 18th was on the point of getting into the redoubt, when a tremendous fire of artillery repulsed it and drove it back to the foot of the works. The gallant Leturcq fell gloriously, while persisting in being the last to retire. Fugieres lost an arm. Murat, on his part, had advanced with his cavalry with a view to clear the space between the redoubt and Lake Madiéh. Several times he had dashed forward and driven in the enemy, but, being taken between the fire of the redoubt and that of the gunboats, he had been obliged to fall back. Some of his men had advanced to the very ditches of the redoubt. The efforts of so many brave fellows appeared likely to be of no avail. Bonaparte surveyed this carnage, waiting for a favourable moment to return to the charge. Fortunately the Turks, according to their custom, quitted the intrenchments for the purpose of cutting off the heads of the slain. Bonaparte seized this moment, despatched two battalions, one of the 22d, the other of the 69th, which marched upon the intrenchments and carried them. On the right, the 18th also took advantage of this opportunity, and entered the redoubt. Murat, on his side, ordered a fresh charge. One of his squadrons traversed that most formidable space between the intrenchments and the lake, and penetrated into the village of Aboukir. The Turks, affrighted, fled on all sides, and a horrible carnage was made among them. They were pursued at the point of the bayonet, and thrust into the sea.* Murat, at the head of his horse, penetrated into the camp of Mustapha Pacha. The latter, in a fit of despair, snatched up a pistol, and fired it at Murat, whom he wounded slightly. Murat, with a stroke of his sabre, cut off two of his fingers, and sent him

* "Bonaparte no sooner heard of the appearance of the Turkish fleet before Alexandria, than he left Cairo in the utmost haste to place himself at the head of the troops which he had ordered to quit their cantonments and march down to the coast. While he was making these arrangements and coming in person from Cairo, the troops on board the Turkish fleet had effected a landing and taken possession of the fort of Aboukir, and of a redoubt placed behind a village of that name, which ought to have been put into a state of defence six months before, but had been so completely neglected that nothing was easier than to ride through the breaches, and through the spaces left by the falling in of the earth, in every direction. The Turks had nearly destroyed the weak garrisons that occupied those two military points, when General Marmont, who commanded at Alexandria, came to their relief. This general, seeing the two posts in the power of the Turks, returned to shut himself up in Alexandria, where he would probably have been blockaded by the Turkish army, had it not been for the arrival of Bonaparte with his forces, who was very angry when he saw that the fort and redoubt had been taken. Bonaparte arrived at midnight with his guides and the remaining part of his army, and ordered the Turks to be attacked next morning. In this battle, as in those which preceded it, the attack, the encounter, and the rout, were occurrences of a moment, and the result of a single movement on the part of our troops. The whole Turkish army plunged into the sea to regain its ships, leaving behind them everything they had brought on shore."—*Duke of Rovigo's Memoirs*. E.

prisoner to Bonaparte.* Such of the Turks as were not killed or drowned retired into the fort of Aboukir.

More than twelve thousand corpses were floating in the bay of Aboukir, which had once before been covered by the bodies of our seamen. Two or three thousand had perished by the fire or by the sword. The rest, shut up in the fort, had no resource but the clemency of the conqueror. Such was that extraordinary battle, in which, for the first time perhaps in the annals of war, a hostile army was entirely destroyed. It was on this occasion that Kleber, arriving towards the close of the day, clasped Bonaparte round the waist, and exclaimed, "General, you are as great as the world!"

Thus, either by the expedition to Syria, or by the battle of Aboukir, Egypt was delivered, at least for the time, from the forces of the Porte. The state of the French army might be considered as very satisfactory. After all the losses which it had sustained, it still numbered about twenty-five thousand men, the bravest and the best officered in the world. Every day was likely to produce greater sympathy between it and the inhabitants, and to consolidate its establishment. Bonaparte had been there a whole year. Having arrived in summer before the inundation, he had employed the first moments in gaining possession of Alexandria and the capital, which he had secured by the battle of the Pyramids. After the inundation and in autumn, he had completed the conquest of the Delta, and consigned that of Upper Egypt to Desaix. In winter he had undertaken the expedition to Syria, and destroyed Djezzar's Turkish army at Mount Tabor. He had now, in summer, just destroyed the second army of the Porte at Aboukir. The time had thus been spent as well as possible; and while Victory was forsaking in Europe the banners of France, she adhered to them in Africa and in Asia. The three colours waved triumphant over the Nile and the Jordan, over the places which were the cradle of the Christian religion.

Bonaparte was yet ignorant of what was passing in France. None of the despatches from the Directory or from his brothers had reached him. He was a prey to anxiety. With a view to obtain some intelligence, he ordered brigs to cruise about, to stop all merchantmen, and to gain from them information of the occurrences in Europe. He sent to the Turkish fleet a flag of truce, which, under the pretext of negotiating an exchange of prisoners, was to endeavour to obtain some news. Sir Sidney Smith stopped this messenger, treated him exceedingly well, and perceiving that Bonaparte was ignorant of the disasters of France, took a spiteful pleasure in sending him a packet of newspapers. The messenger returned and delivered the packet to Bonaparte. The latter spent the whole night in devouring the contents of those papers, and informing himself of what was passing in his own country. His determination was immediately taken.† He resolved

* "Mustapha Pacha was taken and carried in triumph before Bonaparte. The haughty Turk had not lost his pride with his fortunes. 'I will take care to inform the sultan,' said the victor, meaning to be courteous, 'of the courage you displayed in this battle, though it has been your mishap to lose it.'—'Thou mayst save thyself the trouble,' answered the prisoner haughtily, 'my master knows me better than thou canst.'"—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*.

† "Heavens!" said Napoleon to me one day, after perusing the accounts from France, 'my presentiment is verified; the fools have lost Italy. All the fruits of our victories are gone! I must leave Egypt.' There is no truth whatever in the assertion of his having planned his departure before the battle of Aboukir. Such an idea never crossed his mind."—*Bourrienne*. E.

to embark secretly for Europe, and to attempt the passage at the risk of being taken on the way by the English cruisers. He sent Rear-admiral Gantheaume directions to get *La Muiron* and *La Carrère* frigates in readiness for sailing. Without communicating his intentions to any one, he hastened to Cairo to make all his arrangements, prepared long instructions for Kleber, to whom he purposed to leave the command of the army, and returned forthwith to Alexandria.

On the 3d of Fructidor (August 22), taking with him Berthier, Launes, Murat, Andreossy, Marmont, Berthollet, and Monge, and escorted by some of his guides, he proceeded to a retired spot on the beach. Some boats were waiting there. They got into them and went on board *La Muiron* and *La Carrère* frigates. These were accompanied by *La Revanche* and *La Fortune*, xebecs. They set sail immediately, that by daylight they might be out of sight of the English cruisers. Unfortunately it fell calm; fearful of being surprised, some were for returning to Alexandria. Bonaparte resolved to proceed. "Be quiet," said he; "we shall pass in safety." Like Cæsar, he reckoned upon his fortune.

This was not, as it has been called, a cowardly desertion; for he left a victorious army to defy dangers of all kinds, and the most horrible of all, confinement in London. It was one of those rash acts by which the great ambitious tempt Heaven, and to which they afterwards owe that unbounded confidence which by turns exalts and casts them down.

While this great destiny was thus consigned to the chances of the winds or of a meeting with the enemy, Victory returned to our banners in Europe, and the republic extricated itself by a sublime effort from the perils to which we have seen it exposed. Massena was still on the line of the Limmat, deferring the moment of resuming the offensive. The army of Italy, after losing the battle of Novi, had dispersed itself in the Apennines. Fortunately, Suwarrow followed up the victory of Novi no better than he had done that of the Trebbia, and wasted in Piedmont that time which France employed in preparations. At this moment, the Aulic Council, as fickle in its plans as the Directory had been, conceived one which could not fail to change the aspect of events. It was jealous of the authority which Suwarrow had insisted on exercising in Italy, and was vexed to see that this general had written to the King of Sardinia, to recall him to his dominions. The Aulic Council had views upon Piedmont, and was anxious to remove the old marshal from that country. Little harmony prevailed, moreover, between the Russians and the Austrians, and all these reasons together induced the Aulic Council entirely to change the distribution of the troops upon the line of operation. The Russians were intermixed with the Austrians on the two theatres of the war. Korsakof was operating in Switzerland with the Archduke Charles, and Suwarrow with Melas in Italy. The Aulic Council resolved to remove the archduke to the Rhine, and Suwarrow into Switzerland. In this manner the two Russian armies would both have to act in Switzerland. The Austrians would have to act by themselves on the Rhine; and they would have to act alone in Italy also. They were to be soon reinforced by a new army destined to fill the chasm left by Suwarrow. The Aulic Council assigned as reasons for this change, that it was better to let the troops of each nation fight separately; that the Russians would find in Switzerland a temperature more analogous to their own climate; and that the movement of the Archduke Charles to the Rhine would second the expedition to Holland. England could not fail to approve of this plan, for she hoped much for the expedition to Holland from the

presence of the archduke on the Rhine, and she was not sorry to see the Russians, who had already occupied Corfu, and entertained the design to possess themselves of Malta, removed to a distance from Genoa.

This dislocation, executed in presence of Massena, was extremely dangerous, and, besides, it transferred the Russians to a theatre of war not at all suited to them. These soldiers, accustomed to charge in the plain and with the bayonet, knew nothing of firing; and in the mountains it is expert riflemen that are more particularly needed. The Aulic Council, which, in accordance with the spirit of cabinets, made military reasons subordinate to political considerations, forbade its generals to urge a single objection, and issued orders for the strict execution of this plan in the middle of Fructidor (the last days of August).

We have already described the configuration of the theatre of war, and the distribution of the armies on that theatre.* The waters issuing from the High Alps, and sometimes running in the form of rivers, at others forming lakes, presented different lines, one within another, commencing on the right, against a great chain of mountains, and ending on the left in that great river which separates Germany and France. The two principal were those of the Rhine and the Limmat. Massena, when obliged to abandon that of the Rhine, had fallen back upon that of the Limmat. He had even been compelled to retire a little behind the latter, and to support himself upon the Albis. The line of the Limmat, nevertheless, separated the two armies. This line was composed of the Linth, which rises among the High Alps in the canton of Glarus, and then falls into the Lake of Zurich; of the Lake of Zurich; of the Limmat, which issues from that lake, and falls into the Aar near Brüg. The Archduke Charles was behind the Limmat, from Brüg to Zurich. Korsakof was behind the Lake of Zurich, waiting for a position to be assigned to him. Hotze was guarding the Linth.

According to the plan adopted, the archduke, destined for the Rhine, was to be replaced by Korsakof behind the Limmat. Hotze was to remain upon the Linth, with the Austrian corps of Vorarlberg, in order to extend a hand to Suwarrow, on his march from Italy. It became a question what route Suwarrow should be ordered to take. He had to cross the mountains, and might follow one or the other of the lines which intersect Switzerland. If he preferred penetrating by the valley of the Rhine, he might, by crossing the Splügen, proceed by Coire to the Upper Rhine, and there form his junction with Hotze. It was calculated that he might arrive about the 25th of September (Vendémiaire 3, year VIII). This movement would be attended with the advantage of being effected at a distance from, and out of reach of, the French, and consequently of not depending upon any accident. Suwarrow might take another route, and, instead of following the line of the Rhine, enter the valley of the Reuss by the St. Gothard, and debouch by Schwytz behind the line of the Linth, occupied by the French. This march had the advantage of bringing him upon the back of the enemy's line; but it would be necessary to prepare a movement of Hotze beyond the Linth, that he might be able to extend a hand to the army coming from the St. Gothard; in order to second this movement, an attack

* Whatever pains I may take to be perspicuous, I cannot hope to render the narrative of the succeeding events thoroughly intelligible, unless the reader will place before him a map, be it ever so incomplete. Still these events are so extraordinary, and decided in so positive a manner the salvation of France, that I think them worthy of being clearly understood; and therefore beg the reader to refer to a map. The worst map of Switzerland will suffice to enable him to comprehend the general plan of the operations.

upon the Limmat would be required ; in short, a general operation on the whole line would be necessary ; and a harmony, a precision difficult of attainment, when acting at such great distances and in such numerous detachments. This plan, which the Russians impute to the Austrians, and the Austrians to the Russians, was nevertheless preferred. A general attack on the whole line was consequently ordered to be made at the latter end of September. At the moment when Suwarrow should debouch from the St. Gothard into the valley of the Reuss, Korsakof was to attack below the Lake of Zurich, that is along the Limmat, and Hotze above the Lake, along the Linth. Two of Hotze's lieutenants, Linken and Jellachich, were to penetrate into the canton of Glarus, and as far as Schwytz, and to give the hand to Suwarrow. The general junction once effected, the troops assembled in Switzerland would amount to eighty thousand men. Suwarrow was coming with eighteen thousand ; Hotze had twenty-five, Korsakof thirty. The latter had in reserve the corps of Condé, and some thousand Bavarians. But, before the junction, thirty thousand under Korsakof, and twenty-five thousand under Hotze, that is, fifty-five thousand, would be exposed to the attack of Massena's whole army.

The moment, in fact, when the Archduke Charles quitted the Limmat, and before Suwarrow had yet crossed the Alps, was too favourable for Massena not to seize it, and not to rouse himself at last from the inaction for which he had been so severely censured. His army had been increased by the reinforcements, which it had received, to about seventy-five thousand men ; but it had to extend itself from the St. Gothard to Basle—an immense line to cover. Lecourbe, forming its right, and having Gudin and Molitor under his command, guarded the St. Gothard, the valley of the Reuss, and the Upper Linth, with twelve or thirteen thousand men. Soult, with ten thousand, guarded the Linth to its influx into the Lake of Zurich. Massena, with Mortier's, Klein's, Lorges' and Mesnard's divisions, forming a total of thirty-seven thousand men, was before the Limmat, from Zurich to Brüg. Thureau's division, consisting of nine thousand men, and Chabran's division, of eight thousand, guarded, one the Valais and the other the environs of Basle.

Massena, though inferior in force, had the advantage of being able to concentrate his principal mass on the essential point. Thus he had before the Limmat thirty-seven thousand men, whom he could direct upon Korsakof. The latter had weakened himself by sending a reinforcement of four thousand men to Hotze, by the back of the Lake of Zurich, which reduced him to twenty-six thousand. Condé's corps and the Bavarians, who were to form a reserve for him, were still far behind Schaffhausen. Massena had, therefore, an opportunity of falling with thirty-seven thousand men upon twenty-six thousand. When he had beaten Korsakof, he could direct his force against Hotze, and, after putting both to the rout, perhaps destroying them, he could overwhelm Suwarrow, coming into Switzerland with the hope of finding there an enemy vanquished, or at least confined within his line.

Massena, apprized of the enemy's plans, forestalled his general attack by a day, and fixed it for the 3d of Vendémiaire (September 25, 1799). Ever since he had retired to the Albis, a few paces beyond the Limmat, the course of that river belonged to the enemy. It would be requisite to take it from him by crossing. This he proposed doing with his thirty-seven thousand men. While he proceeded to operate below the Lake of Zurich, he directed Soult to operate above it, and to cross the Linth the same day. Military men have imputed one fault to Massena. He ought, they say, to

nave rather enticed Suwarrow into Switzerland, than to have kept him out of it. If, therefore, instead of leaving Lecourbe to fight uselessly at the St. Gothard against Suwarrow, Massena had directed him to join Soult, he would have made more sure of overwhelming Hotze and of crossing the Linth. As, however, the result obtained was as great as could be wished, this reproach has been preferred against Massena with a strict reference to principles alone.

The Limmat issues from the Lake of Zurich at Zurich itself, and divides the town into two parts. Agreeably to the plan concerted with Hotze and Suwarrow, Korsakof prepared to attack Massena, and for this purpose he had moved the mass of his forces into that part of Zurich which is in advance of the Limmat. He had left but three battalions at Kloster Fahr, to guard a point where the Limmat is more accessible. He had despatched Durasof with a division towards the influx of the Limmat into the Aar, to watch that quarter; but his main body, at least eighteen thousand strong, was in advance of the river, in an offensive situation.

Upon this state of things Massena founded his plan. He resolved to mask rather than to attack the point of Zurich, where Korsakof had concentrated his forces; then, with a considerable portion of his troops, to attempt the passage of the Limmat at Kloster Fahr, a point but weakly defended. The passage effected, he purposed that this division should ascend the Limmat on the opposite bank, and place itself on the rear of Zurich. He then intended to attack Korsakof on both banks, and to keep him shut up in Zurich itself. The most important consequences might result from this disposition.

Mortier,* with his division, which was eight thousand strong, and occupied the right of this field of battle, was directed upon Zurich. It was first to awe, then to attack, the Russian mass. Klein, with his division, consisting of ten thousand men, was to be placed at Altstetten, between the point of Zurich and that of Kloster Fahr, where the passage was to be attempted. It would thus be able either to proceed before Zurich, and assist Mortier against the Russian mass, or hasten to the point of crossing, if necessary, to second the passage. This division comprised four thousand grenadiers and a reserve of superb cavalry. Lorges' division and part of Mesnard's were to effect the passage at Kloster Fahr. This mass comprehended nearly fifteen thousand men. The remainder of Mesnard's division was to make demonstrations on the Lower Limmat, to deceive and to detain Durasof.

These dispositions, which have earned the admiration of all critics, were carried into execution at five in the morning of the 3d of Vendémiaire (September 25). Preparations for the passage had been made near the village of Dietikon, with extraordinary assiduity and secrecy. Boats had been dragged to the spot by hand, and concealed in the woods. Very

* " Marshal Mortier was born in 1768. In 1791 he obtained the rank of captain in a volunteer regiment; and under Pichegru, Moreau, and Massena, fought his way to the command of a division. He was a favourite with Napoleon, who created him a marshal for the zeal with which he seized Hanover at the rupture of the peace of Amiens. Being afterwards created Duke of Treviso, Mortier went to Spain, but met with no success. He took part in the Russian expedition, but distinguished himself only by blowing up the Kremlin. In 1814, he submitted to Louis, and was confirmed in his honours and posts; but he turned traitor on the return of Bonaparte, and was, therefore, on the second restoration, shut out from the chamber of peers. In 1819, however, he was restored to his peerage."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. Mortier was the most distinguished of the victims of Fieschi's atrocious attempt to assassinate the reigning King of France. E.

early in the morning they were afloat, and the troops drawn up in silence on the bank. General Foy, since distinguished as a public speaker, commanded the artillery in this ever memorable battle. He placed several batteries in such a manner as to protect the passage. Six hundred men boldly embarked, and reached the opposite bank. They rushed immediately upon the enemy's riflemen and dispersed them. Korsakof had posted three battalions, with cannon, on the plateau of Kloster Fahr. Our artillery, more skilfully directed, soon silenced the fire of the Russian artillery, and protected the successive passage of our advanced guard. When General Gazan had united a sufficient reinforcement with the six hundred men who had first crossed, he marched upon the three Russian battalions guarding Kloster Fahr. These had posted themselves in a wood, and made a most gallant defence. Gazan surrounded them, and was obliged to kill almost the very last man before he could dislodge them. These three battalions being destroyed, a bridge was thrown across. The remainder of Lorges' division and part of Mesnard's passed the Limmat. Fifteen thousand men were now beyond the river. Bontemps' brigade was placed at Regensdorf, to make head against Durasof, if he should attempt to ascend the Lower Limmat. The bulk of the troops, directed by Oudinot,* chief of the staff, marched up the Limmat, for the purpose of proceeding to the rear of Zurich.

This part of the operation being accomplished, Massena returned to the other side of the Limmat, to superintend the movement of his wings. Towards the Lower Limmat, Mesnard had so completely deceived Durasof by his demonstrations, that the latter had posted himself upon the bank and opened all his fire. On the right, Mortier had advanced upon Zurich by Wallishofen, but he had fallen in with Korsakof's main body, posted, as we have said, in advance of the Limmat, and had been obliged to fall back. Massena, coming up at that moment, despatched Klein's division, which was at Altstetten. Humbert, at the head of his four thousand grenadiers, marched upon Zurich and restored the fight. Mortier renewed his attacks; and thus the French succeeded in shutting up the Russians in Zurich.

Meanwhile Korsakof, mortified at hearing cannon on his rear, had sent several battalions to the other side of the Limmat; but these weak succours had proved useless. Oudinot, with his fifteen thousand men, continued to ascend the Limmat. He had taken the little camp placed at Hong; he had also taken the heights which are in the rear of Zurich, and possessed himself of the high-road to Winterthur, which affords an outlet into Germany, and was the only one by which the Russians could retreat.

The battle was almost over, and immense results were prepared for the

* "Charles Nicholas Oudinot was born in 1767. From early youth he expressed a wish to become a soldier, obtained a commission, and rose rapidly through the subordinate ranks, to be general of division. Oudinot distinguished himself under Hoche, Pichegru, Moreau, Massena, and Bonaparte, on the Rhine, in Switzerland, and in Italy, and in 1804, was made count of the empire. His valor at Wagram procured him the higher title of Duke of Reggio, and in 1809 he at length obtained the baton. In the Russian expedition he received many severe wounds, and greatly distinguished himself at Bautzen. On the Emperor's abdication he offered his services to Louis, who made him colonel-general of the grenadiers, and military governor of Metz. During the Hundred Days he resisted all Bonaparte's overtures, and on the second restoration of the Bourbons was rewarded by the chief command of the Parisian national guard, a peerage, and a seat in the cabinet. Oudinot's last military service was in the invasion of Spain in 1823, where he exerted himself to arrest the fanatic course of the advocates of despotism."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

following day. The Russians were shut up in Zurich: Massena had moved fifteen thousand men upon their rear by means of the passage of Kloster Fahr, and placed eighteen thousand in front of them. He could scarcely fail to inflict on them a severe disaster. It has been conceived that, instead of leaving Klein's division before Zurich, he should have sent it by Kloster Fahr, to the rear of that town, to intercept completely the road to Winterthur. But he was apprehensive lest, if Mortier were left with eight thousand men only, Korsakof might overwhelm him and throw him into the Linth. Korsakof, it is true, would have fallen in with Soult and Lecourbe; but he might also have met with Suwarrow coming from Italy, and we know not what might have resulted from this singular combination.

Korsakof had at length become aware of his position, and had moved his troops into the other part of Zurich, behind the Limmat. Durasof, on the Lower Limmat, on hearing at last of the passage, had stolen away; and avoiding Bontemps' brigade by a circuit, had regained the road to Winterthur. Next day, the 4th of Vendémiaire (September 26), the battle could not fail to be obstinate, since the Russians were determined to fight their way through, and the French to win immense trophies. The engagement began early. The unfortunate town of Zurich, crowded with artillery, carriages, and wounded, attacked on all sides, was enveloped, as it were, in fire. On this side of the Limmat, it was attacked and ready to be stormed by Mortier and Klein. On the other, Oudinot pressed it in the rear, and purposed to cut off Korsakof's retreat. The road to Winterthur, the theatre of a sanguinary conflict, had been several times taken and retaken. Korsakof, preparing at length to retreat, had placed his infantry in the van, his cavalry in the centre, his artillery and his carriages in the rear. In this manner he advanced, forming a long column. His brave infantry, charging with fury, overthrew all before it, and opened a way for itself; but when it had passed, with part of the cavalry, the French returned to the charge, attacked the rest of the cavalry and the baggage, and drove them back to the gates of Zurich. At the same moment, Klein and Mortier entered the town on their side. The celebrated and unfortunate Lavater, attempting to disarm the furious soldiers, was struck by a ball and mortally wounded. All the troops left in Zurich were finally obliged to lay down their arms. One hundred pieces of cannon, all the baggage, the administrations, the chest of the army, and five thousand prisoners, fell into the hands of the French. Korsakof had, moreover, eight thousand men put *hors de combat* in this obstinate engagement. Eight and five made a loss of thirteen thousand men, that is, of half his army. The great battles in Italy had not presented more extraordinary results. The consequences for the rest of the campaign were not likely to be less important than the material results. Korsakof, with thirteen thousand men at most, hastened to regain the Rhine.

Meanwhile Soult, who was directed to cross the Linth above the Lake of Zurich, executed his commission with no less success than the commander-in-chief. He had effected the passage between Bilten and Reichenburg. One hundred and fifty brave fellows, holding their muskets over their heads, had swam across the river, reached the opposite bank, cleared it of the riflemen, and protected the landing of the advanced guard. Hotze, who had hastened immediately to the point of danger, was killed on the spot by a ball, and his death had thrown the Austrian ranks into confusion. Petrasch, who succeeded Hotze, endeavoured, but in vain, to throw the

corps that had passed into the Linth; he was obliged to fall back, and retired with precipitation upon St. Gall and the Rhine, leaving three thousand prisoners and some cannon. Generals Jellachich and Linken, despatched by the Upper Linth to the canton of Glarus to meet Suwarrow at the *debouché* of the St. Gothard, had on their part retired, when they received intelligence of all these disasters. Thus nearly sixty thousand men were already driven from the line of the Limmat beyond that of the Rhine, after suffering immense losses. Suwarrow, who expected to debouch in Switzerland on the flank of an enemy attacked on all sides, and to decide the defeat of that enemy by his arrival, was destined to find, on the contrary, all his lieutenants dispersed, and himself amidst an army victorious in all quarters.

Leaving Italy with eighteen thousand men, he had reached the foot of the St. Gothard on the fifth complementary day of the year VII (September 21). He had been obliged to dismount his Cossacks, and to load their horses with his artillery. He sent Rosenberg with six thousand men to turn the St. Gothard by Disentis and the Crispalt. Arriving on the 1st of Vendémiaire (September 23) at Airolo, at the entrance of the gorge of the St. Gothard, he there found Gudin with one of the brigades of Lecourbe's division. A most obstinate battle ensued; but his soldiers, bad marksmen, having no notion of anything but advancing and fighting till they were killed, fell in whole platoons under the fire and stones. He determined at length to alarm Gudin on his flanks, and thus obliged him to yield the gorge as far as the Hospital. Gudin had, by his resistance, given Lecourbe time to collect his troops. The latter, having only six thousand men at hand, was unable to resist Suwarrow, who was on the point of arriving with twelve thousand, and Rosenberg, who, having already reached Urseren, had six thousand on his rear. He threw his artillery into the Reuss, then gained the opposite shore by climbing almost inaccessible rocks, and penetrated into the valley. Having got beyond Urseren, and having Rosenberg no longer on his rear, he broke down the Devil's Bridge, and killed a great number of the Russians before they had cleared the precipice by descending into the bed of the Reuss and ascending the opposite bank. Lecourbe had thus retreated foot by foot, availing himself of all obstacles to harass Suwarrow's soldiers, and to cut them off one by one.

The Russian army arrived in this manner at Altorf, at the extremity of the valley of the Reuss, exhausted with fatigue, in want of provisions, and extremely weakened by the losses which it had sustained. At Altorf the Reuss falls into the Lake of Lucerne. If Hotze, according to the plan agreed upon, had been able to push forward Jellachich and Linken beyond the Linth as far as Schwytz, he would have sent boats to the mouth of the Reuss to receive Suwarrow. But, after the events which had just occurred, Suwarrow found himself without a single boat, and pent up in a frightful valley. It was the 4th of Vendémiaire (September 26), a day of general disaster along the whole line. He had, therefore, no other resource than to throw himself into the Schachenthal, and to cross tremendous mountains, where there was no beaten track, for the purpose of penetrating into the Muthenthal. He set out on the following day. Only one man could pass at once along the path that he had to pursue. The army took two days to travel the distance of a few leagues. The first man had reached Mutten before the last had yet quitted Altorf. The precipices were covered with carriages, horses, soldiers, dying of famine and fatigue. On reaching the Muthenthal, Suwarrow might debouch by Schwytz, not far from the Lake of Zurich, or ascend the valley, and throw himself by the Brägel upon the

Linth. But, on the side next to Schwytz, Massena was about to arrive with Mortier's division, and on the other side of the Bragel was Molitor, who occupied the defile of the Kloenthal, towards the banks of the Linth. After allowing his troops two days' rest, Suwarrow resolved to fall back by the Bragel. On the 8th of Vendémiaire (September 30) he commenced his march. Massena attacked him in rear, and Molitor met him from the other side of the Bragel, at the defile of Kloenthal. Rosenberg bravely withstood all Massena's attacks; but Bagration, in the van, made vain efforts to force his way through Molitor. He opened the Glarus road for himself, but could not clear that of Wesen. Suwarrow, after sanguinary and destructive conflicts, cut off from all the roads, and driven back upon Glarus, had no resource but to ascend the valley of Engi, and to throw himself into that of the Rhine. But this route was still more frightful than that which he had already traversed. He nevertheless decided to take it, and, after four days of unparalleled efforts and hardships, reached Coire and the Rhine. Out of his eighteen thousand men he had saved scarcely ten thousand. The Alps were strewn with the bodies of his soldiers. This barbarian, styled invincible, retired overwhelmed with confusion and filled with rage.* In a fortnight, more than twenty thousand Russians and five or six thousand Austrians had fallen. The armies ready to invade us were expelled from Switzerland, and driven into Germany. The coalition was dissolved; for Suwarrow, exasperated against the Austrians, would not serve with them any longer. We may add—France was saved.

Everlasting glory to Massena, who thus executed one of the most admirable operations recorded in the history of the war, and who had saved us at a more perilous moment than that of Valmi and Fleurus! We ought to admire battles great for the conception or the political result; but we ought to celebrate more particularly those that save. We owe admiration to the one, gratitude to the others. Zurich is the brightest jewel in Massena's coronet, and there is not a military coronet that bears one more brilliant.

While these auspicious events were occurring in Switzerland, Victory returned to our banners in Holland. Brune, faintly pressed by the enemy, had found time to concentrate his forces, and after beating the Anglo-Russians at Kastrikum, had enclosed them at the Zyp and obliged them to capitulate. The conditions were the evacuation of Holland, the restitution of all that they had taken at the Helder, and the liberation without exchange of eight thousand prisoners. The French would fain have insisted on the restitution of the Dutch fleet, but this was refused by the English, and fears were entertained of the mischief which they might do to the country if the capitulation were rejected.

Thus terminated this memorable campaign of 1799. The republic, having entered too soon into action, and committed the blunder of taking the offensive before it had concentrated its forces, had been beaten at Stockach and at Magnano, and lost by these two defeats Germany and Italy. Massena, left alone in Switzerland, formed a dangerous salient point between two victorious masses. He had fallen back upon the Rhine then upon the Limmat, and lastly, upon the Albis. There he had rendered himself unassailable for four months. During this time, the army of Naples,

* "Irritated at such severe obstacles, the old marshal, Suwarrow, advanced to the front of his troops, lay down in a ditch, and declared his resolution to be buried there, where his children—as he called his soldiers—had retreated for the first time."—*Journal*. E

endeavouring to form a junction with the army of Upper Italy, had been beaten at the Trebbia. Subsequently joining that army behind the Apennines, rallied and reinforced, it had lost its general at Novi, been again beaten, and definitively lost Italy. The Apennines were even overrun and the Var threatened. But there terminated our disasters. The coalition, dislocating its forces, had sent the Archduke Charles to the Rhine, and Suwarrow into Switzerland. Massena, seizing this moment, had destroyed Korsakof, deprived of the archduke, and put to flight Suwarrow, deprived of Korsakof. He had thus repaired our misfortunes in a splendid victory. In the East, the campaign had ended with brilliant triumphs. But it must be confessed that, if these great exploits had upheld the republic when ready to fall, if they had shed over it some fresh glory, they had not restored to it either its greatness or its power. France was saved, but only saved; she had not yet recovered her rank, and she was even still exposed to dangers on the Var.

THE DIRECTORY.

RETURN OF BONAPARTE; HIS LANDING AT FREJUS; ENTHUSIASM EXCITED BY HIM—AGITATION OF ALL THE PARTIES ON HIS ARRIVAL—HE JOINS SIEYES FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE DIRECTORIAL CONSTITUTION—PREPARATIONS FOR, AND OCCURRENCES OF, THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE—OVERTHROW OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE YEAR III; INSTITUTION OF THE PROVISIONAL CONSULATE—CONCLUSION.

THE tidings of the battle of Zurich and of the capitulation of the Anglo-Russians followed almost immediately on the heels of each other, and soothed those who had been alarmed. It was the first time that those hated Russians were beaten, and they were beaten so completely that the satisfaction could not fail to be profound. But still Italy was lost, the Var threatened, the southern frontier was in danger. The greatness of Campo Formio had not been recovered by us. At the same time, the greatest perils were not without, but within. A disorganized government, unruly parties, which would not submit to authority, and which, nevertheless, were not strong enough to possess themselves of it; a kind of social dissolution everywhere, and robbery, a sign of that dissolution, infesting the high-roads, especially in provinces formerly torn by civil war—such was the state of the republic. A respite of a few months was insured by the victory of Zurich. It was not so much a defender that was needed at this moment as a chief, to seize the reins of government. The entire mass of the population desired, at any rate, quiet, order, the termination of dissensions, and a unity of purpose. It was afraid of the Jacobins, of the emigrants, of the Chouans, of all the parties. It was the moment of a marvellous fortune for him who should allay all these fears.

The despatches containing the particulars of the expedition to Syria, and of the battles of Mount Tabor and Aboukir, produced an extraordinary effect, and confirmed the notion that the hero of Castiglione and Rivoli would continue to conquer wherever he should appear. His name was again in the mouths of all, and the questions, "What is he doing? when will he come?" were everywhere repeated. Was he not coming back? it was asked. Nay, by a singular instinct, a rumour that he had actually arrived was twice or thrice circulated. His brothers had written to him; so had his wife; but it was not known whether their letters had ever reached him. We have seen that they were in fact intercepted by the English cruisers.

Meanwhile, the man who was the object of such extraordinary anxiety, was quietly crossing the sea amidst the English squadrons. The passage was not prosperous, and was prolonged by contrary winds. The English had been seen several times, and apprehensions were entertained of falling

into their hands. Bonaparte alone, pacing the deck of his ship with calm and serene look, confided in his star, learned to believe in it, and not to be agitated on account of inevitable dangers. He read the Bible and the Koran, works of the nations which he had just quitted. Fearing lest, after the recent events, the south of France should be invaded, he had steered not for the coast of Provence, but for that of Languedoc. He intended to land at Collioure or Port Vendre. A gale had carried him to Corsica. The whole island had hastened to greet their renowned fellow countryman.* He had then sailed for Toulon. He was on the point of reaching that port, when, all at once, about sunset, thirty sail of English ships were discovered to larboard: they were seen amidst the rays of the setting sun. It was proposed to hoist out a boat, and to steal away to land. Still, confiding in his destiny, Bonaparte resolved not to leave the ship. The enemy actually disappeared, and on the 15th of Vendémiaire, year VIII (October 9, 1799,) at daybreak, La Muiron and La Carrère frigates, and La Revanche and La Fortune xebecs, came to anchor in the Gulf of Frejus.

The inhabitants of Provence had, for three successive years, been apprehensive of an invasion by the enemy. Bonaparte had delivered them from this fear in 1796; but it had recurred with more force than ever since the battle of Novi. On learning that Bonaparte had anchored off the coast, they fancied that their saviour had arrived. All the inhabitants of Frejus thronged to the beach, and in a moment the sea was covered with boats. A multitude, intoxicated with enthusiasm and curiosity, stormed the vessels, and, breaking through all the sanitary laws, communicated with the newcomers.† All inquired for Bonaparte—all were anxious to see him. It was now too late to enforce sanitary measures. The administration of health was obliged to dispense the general from quarantine, otherwise it must have condemned the whole population, which had already communicated with the crews, to the same precaution. Bonaparte immediately landed, and resolved to set out the same day for Paris.

The telegraph, speedy as the winds, had already spread along the road from Frejus to Paris the extraordinary tidings of the landing of Bonaparte. The most confused joy immediately burst forth. The news, proclaimed in all the theatres, had produced an extraordinary excitement there. Patriotic songs everywhere superseded the theatrical representations. Baudin, deputy of the Ardennes, one of the framers of the constitution of the year III, a wise and a sincere republican, passionately attached to the republic, and deeming it undone unless a powerful arm should come to uphold it, died of joy on hearing of this event.‡

* "The arrival of their celebrated countryman immediately set all the inhabitants of the island in motion. A crowd of cousins came to welcome him, and the streets were thronged with people."—*Las Cases*. E.

† "We were in the port and approaching the landing-place when the rumour spread that Bonaparte was on board one of the frigates. In an instant the sea was covered with boats. In vain we begged them to keep at a distance; we were carried ashore; and when we told the crowd both of men and women who were pressing about us the risk they ran, they all exclaimed, 'We prefer the plague to the Austrians!'"—*Bourrienne*. E.

‡ "Bonaparte was received like a victorious monarch re-entering his dominions at his own time and pleasure. Bells were everywhere rung, illuminations made, a delirium of joy agitated the public mind; and the messenger who carried the news of his disembarkation to Paris was received as if he had brought news of a battle gained."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

"The news of Napoleon's return caused a general delirium. Baudin, the deputy of the Ardennes, who was really a worthy man, struck with the idea that Providence had

Bonaparte set out the same day, the 17th of Vendémiaire (October 9), for Paris. He passed through Aix, Avignon, Valence and Lyons. In all these cities the enthusiasm was unbounded. The bells rang in the villages, and at night bonfires were kindled on the roads. At Lyons, in particular, the sensation was stronger than anywhere else. On leaving the latter city, Bonaparte, who wished to arrive incognito, took a different route from that which he had mentioned to his couriers. His brothers and his wife, deceived by his directions, were hastening to meet him while he was entering Paris. On the 24th of Vendémiaire (October 18th), he was already in his own house, in the Rue Chantierine, before any one had the least suspicion of his arrival. Two hours afterwards he went to the Directory. The guard recognised him, and shouted, on seeing him, "Bonaparte for ever!" He hastened to the president of the Directory. This was Gohier. It was agreed that he should be presented to the Directory on the following day. Accordingly, on the 25th, he was introduced into the presence of the supreme magistrates. He said that, after consolidating the establishment of his armies in Egypt by the victories of Mount Tabor and Aboukir, and committing the charge of it to a general qualified to insure its prosperity, he had left it to fly to the succour of the republic, which he believed to be undone. He had found it saved by the exploits of his brethren in arms, and at this he rejoiced. Never, he added, clapping his hand to his sword, never would he draw it but in defence of that republic. The president congratulated him on his triumphs and on his return, and gave him the fraternal embrace. The reception was apparently most cordial, but at bottom there were felt fears too real and too strongly justified by circumstances, for his return to afford pleasure to the five republican magistrates.

When men awake from a long apathy and attach themselves to something, it is with enthusiasm. In that nullity into which opinions, parties, and all the authorities had fallen, people had remained some time without attaching themselves to anything. The disgust felt for men and things was universal. But, on the appearance of that extraordinary individual whom the East had given back to Europe, in so unexpected a manner, all disgust, all uncertainty ceased. Upon him all eyes, all wishes, and all hopes were immediately fixed.

All the generals, employed or not employed, patriots or moderates, hastened to Bonaparte. This was but natural, since he was the first member of that most ambitious and most discontented class. In him it seemed to have found an avenger against the government. All the ministers, all the functionaries successively dismissed during the fluctuations of the Directory, thronged also round the new-comer. They went apparently to visit the illustrious warrior; but in reality to observe and to flatter the man to whom the future seemed to belong.

Bonaparte had brought with him Lannes, Murat, and Berthier, who never quitted him. Very soon Jourdan, Augereau, Macdonald, Beurnonville, Leclerc, Lefebvre, and Marbot, notwithstanding differences of opinion, appeared around him. Moreau himself soon formed part of this retinue. Bonaparte had met him at Gohier's. Sensible that his superiority permitted him to make the first advances, he went up to Moreau, declared his impatience to make his acquaintance, and expressed an esteem for him which deeply affected him. He afterwards made him a present of a sabre

at length sent the man for whom he and his party had so long searched in vain, died the very same night from excess of joy."—*Gourgaud*. E.

enriched with precious stones, and contrived to gain him completely. In a few days, Moreau belonged to his court. He too was discontented, and went with all his comrades to visit the presumed avenger. To these illustrious warriors were added men of all professions. Among them were seen Bruix, ex-minister of the marine, who had just been traversing the Mediterranean at the head of the French and Spanish fleets, a man of acute and subtle mind, as capable of conducting a negotiation as of commanding a squadron; and M. de Talleyrand, who had reason to fear the displeasure of Bonaparte because he had not accompanied him to Egypt. But M. de Talleyrand relied for a favourable reception upon his talents, his reputation, and his importance; and he was favourably received. These two men liked one another too well, and felt too much need of each other's friendship, to pout with one another.* There were also seen in the Rue Chantierine, Rœderer, formerly *procureur* of the commune, a man full of frankness and intelligence, and Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, an old constituent, to whom Bonaparte had attached himself in Italy, and whom he had employed in Malta, a brilliant and a fertile orator.

But it was not merely the disgraced and the discontented who paid their court to Bonaparte. The heads of the existing government showed the same eagerness to visit him. All the directors and all the ministers gave him entertainments, as on his return from Italy. A great number of the members of the two Councils obtained introductions to him. The ministers and the directors paid him a much more flattering homage. They came every moment to consult him as to how they should act. Dubois-Crancé, the minister at war, had, as it were, transferred his portfolio to Bonaparte. Moulins, the director, who specially attended to the department of war, passed part of his mornings with him. Gobier and Roger Ducos also called upon him. Cambacérés, minister of justice, an able lawyer, who had that liking for Bonaparte which weak minds have for their opposite, and whom Bonaparte affected to caress, to prove himself capable of appreciating civil merit; Fouché, minister of the police, who was desirous of changing his worn-out patron Barras for a new and powerful protector; † Réal, commissioner to the department of the Seine, a warm and generous patriot, and one of the cleverest men of his time, were equally assiduous in their attentions to Bonaparte, and conversed with him on affairs of state. The general had not been above a week in Paris, when the management of affairs came almost involuntarily into his hands. In default of his will, which as yet was nothing, he was asked for his opinion. On his part, he affected, with his usual reserve, to withdraw himself from the assiduities of which he was the object. There were many whom he refused to see; he showed himself but little, and went abroad, only, as it were, by stealth. ‡

* "Talleyrand availed himself of all the resources of a supple and insinuating address, in order to conciliate a person whose suffrage it was important for him to secure."—*Gourgaud*. E.

† "It was Talleyrand who disclosed to Bonaparte's view all the weak points of the government, and made him acquainted with the state of parties and the bearings of each character."—*Fouché's Memoirs*. E.

‡ "Bonaparte was too cunning to let me into all the secrets of his plans and the means of their execution, and thus to place himself at the mercy of a single man; but he said enough to me to win my confidence, and to persuade me that the destinies of France were in his hands."—*Fouché's Memoirs*. E.

§ "Napoleon seemed to give his exclusive attention to literature, and was more frequently to be found at the Institute, or discussing with Volney and other men of letters the information which he had acquired in Egypt on science and antiquities, than in the

His face had become thinner, and his complexion darker. He wore since his return a gray frock-coat, and a Turkish sabre, fastened to a silken cord. To those who had been fortunate enough to obtain a sight of it, this was an emblem that reminded them of the East, the Pyramids, Mount Tabor, and Aboukir. The officers of the garrison, the forty adjutants of the national guard, and the staff of the place, desired to be presented to him. He delayed from day to day, and seemed to lend himself with regret to all this homage. He listened, he observed everything, but as yet he opened his mind to none. This was deep policy. When a man is necessary, he need not be afraid to wait. He irritates the impatience of people; they hasten to him; and he has nothing to do but to choose.

What is Bonaparte going to do? was the question which each asked the other. It proved that there was something inevitable to be done. Two principal parties, and a third, a subdivision of the two others, offered themselves to him, and were disposed to serve him if he adopted their views: these were the patriots, the moderates or politicians, and lastly, the *pourris*, as they were called—the corrupt of all times and of all the factions.

The patriots, it is true, distrusted Bonaparte and his ambition; but, with their fondness for destroying, and their improvidence for the morrow, they would fain have employed his arm to overturn everything, when it would be time enough to think of the future. But, such were the sentiments of those firebrands only, who, always dissatisfied with existing institutions, considered the business of destroying as the most urgent of all. The rest of the patriots, those who might be called the republicans, distrusted the renown of the general, wished at most that a place should be given to him in the Directory, perceived even with pain that for this purpose it would be necessary to grant him a dispensation on account of age, and were, above all, desirous that he should go to the frontiers, to raise the fallen glory of our arms and to restore the republic to its former splendour.

The moderates or politicians, men fearing the fury of the parties and especially of the Jacobins, having no longer any hopes of a violated and worn-out constitution, were anxious for a change, and wished that it might be effected under the auspices of a powerful man. "Take the supreme power, frame for us a wise and moderate constitution, and give us security"—such was the secret language which they addressed to Bonaparte. They composed the most numerous party in France. It comprehended even many compromised patriots, who, having fears for the Revolution, were desirous of committing the public welfare to a strong hand. They had a majority in the Council of Ancients, but were considerably in the minority in that of the Five Hundred. They had hitherto followed the highest civil renown, that of Sieyes, and the worse Sieyes had been used at the Riding-House the more they had attached themselves to him. It was but natural that they should now run with much greater alacrity to meet Bonaparte, for it was strength that they sought, and there was much more of that in a victorious general than in a political writer, how illustrious soever he might be.

Lastly, the *pourris*, the corrupt, were all the rogues, all the intriguers, who were striving to make their fortune, who had dishonoured themselves

haunts of politicians, or the society of leaders of either party in the state. Neither was he to be seen at the places of popular resort: he went into no general company, seldom attended the theatres, and when he did, took his seat in a private box."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

in making it, and who were still bent on making it at the same price. These followed Barras and Fouché, the minister of police. Among them were men of all sorts—Jacobins, moderates, and even royalists. They formed not a party but a numerous *coterie*.

We must beware of subjoining to this enumeration the partisans of royalty. They were too insignificant since the 18th of Fructidor, and besides, Bonaparte inspired them with no sentiment whatever. Such a man could think of none but himself, and could not take the supreme power in order to transfer it to others. They went no farther, therefore, than to side with the enemies of the Directory, and to accuse it in the language of all the parties.

Among these different parties Bonaparte could make but one choice. The patriots were not at all to his liking. Some of them, attached to what existed, distrusted his ambition; others were desirous of a *coup de main*; then what but interminable agitations! and it was not possible to lay the foundation of anything with them. Besides, their spirit was directly contrary to the march of the times, and they were emitting their last flames. The corrupt were nothing, except in the government, into which they had naturally introduced themselves, for to that point their wishes invariably tend. For the rest, there was no occasion whatever to take any notice of them; they would be sure to come to him who should get most chances in his favour, because they were anxious to keep possession of places and of money. The only party on which Bonaparte could support himself was that which, participating in the wishes of the whole population, was desirous of screening the republic from the factions by constituting it in a solid manner. Herein all future prospects were involved, and to this side he could not fail to incline.

His choice could not be doubtful. From instinct alone it was decided beforehand. Bonaparte felt a horror of the turbulent, and a disgust of the corrupt. He could not like any but those moderate men, who wished some one to govern for them. Besides, these formed the nation itself. But it was requisite to wait, to allow the parties to make their overtures, and to watch their chiefs, in order to discover with which of them an alliance might be formed.

The parties had all of them representatives in the Directory. The patriots had, as we have seen, Moulins and Gohier. The corrupt men had Barras. The politicians or moderates had Sieyes and Roger Ducos.

Gohier and Moulins, sincere and honest patriots, more moderate than their party because they were in power, admired Bonaparte; but, desirous of employing his sword solely for the glory of the constitution of the year III, they wished to send him to the armies. Bonaparte treated them with great respect; he esteemed their honesty, for he was always fond of that quality in men—and this is a natural and interested fondness in a man born to govern. Besides, the attentions which he paid them were the means of proving that he honoured genuine republicans. His wife was intimate with the wife of Gohier. She calculated also, and she had observed to Madame Gohier, “My intimacy with you will be a reply to all calumnies.”

Barras, who felt his political end approaching, and who beheld in Bonaparte an inevitable successor, thoroughly detested him. He would have submitted to flatter him as formerly, but he felt that he was more despised by him than ever, and he kept aloof from him. Bonaparte entertained for this ignorant, inflated, corrupt epicurean, an aversion that daily became more insurmountable. The name of *pourris* (rotten), which he had given

to him as his, sufficiently proved his disgust and his contempt. He could scarcely have consented to ally himself with him.

There was yet left the truly important man, namely Sieyes, drawing Roger Ducos along in his train. In calling Sieyes to the Directory at the moment of the 30th of Prairial, it would seem as if people had intended to throw themselves into his arms. Bonaparte was almost angry with him for having taken the first place in his absence, for having fixed men's minds for a moment, and for having excited hopes. He manifested a spleen against him for which he never accounted. Though very opposite in genius, and in habits, they had nevertheless superiority enough to agree together and to forgive one another their differences, but too much pride to make mutual concessions. Unfortunately, they had not yet spoken to each other: and two great minds which have not yet flattered one another are naturally enemies. They watched one another, and each waited for the other to take the first steps. They met at dinner at the house of Gohier. Bonaparte had felt himself sufficiently above Moreau, to take the first steps; he thought that he could not act in the same manner towards Sieyes, and did not speak to him. The director maintained the same silence. They retired in a rage. "Did you notice that little insolent fellow?" said Sieyes; "he never so much as saluted the member of a government which ought to have had him shot."—"What could people be thinking of," said Bonaparte, "to put that priest into the Directory? He is sold to Prussia, and, unless you take good care, he will deliver you up to her." Thus, in men of the highest superiority, pride gets the better even of policy. It is true that, if it were otherwise, they would no longer have that loftiness which qualifies them to govern men.

Thus the personage whom Bonaparte had the most interest to gain was the very one for whom he felt the greatest aversion. But their interests were so identical that they were soon destined, in spite of themselves, to be propelled towards one another by their own partisans.*

While they were watching each other, and the throng of visitors to Bonaparte kept continually increasing, the latter, still uncertain what course to pursue, had sounded Gohier and Ducos, to ascertain whether they would consent to his being director, though he had not attained the requisite age. It was in the place of Sieyes that he was desirous of entering into the government. By excluding Sieyes, he should become master of his colleagues, and be certain to govern in their name. This, to be sure, would be but an incomplete success; but it was a medium of attaining power without absolutely effecting a revolution; and, having once attained it, he should have time to look about him. Whether he was sincere, or whether he meant to deceive them, which is very possible, and to persuade them that he carried his ambition no farther than a place in the Directory, he sounded them, and found them inflexible in regard to age. A dispensation, though given by the Councils, appeared to them an infraction of the constitution. He was, therefore, obliged to renounce this idea.

The two directors, Gohier and Moulins, beginning to feel uneasy on account of the ardour which Bonaparte manifested for political functions, proposed to get rid of him by giving him the command of an army. Sieyes did not coincide in this plan, observing, with his usual spleen, that, instead

* "Sieyes entertained a strong apprehension that Bonaparte would be too ambitious to enter into his constitutional views; and this apprehension was not without foundation. But, through the importunity of common friends, an interview at length took place, which terminated in an alliance."—*Mignet*. E.

of furnishing him with occasion to acquire fresh glory, they ought, on the contrary, to forget him and to cause him to be forgotten. There was some talk of sending him to Italy, when Barras said that he had done his business so cleverly there that he had no wish to return to that country. At length, it was decided that he should be sent for and invited to take a command, leaving the choice of the army to himself.

Bonaparte, being summoned, repaired to the Directory. He was acquainted with the observation of Barras. Before the purpose for which he was summoned had been notified to him, he began to speak in a high and threatening tone, mentioned the remark of which he had to complain, and eyeing Barras, said that, if he had made his fortune in Italy, at any rate it was not at the expense of the republic. Barras was silent. Gohier, the president, replied to Bonaparte that the government was persuaded that his laurels were the only fortune that he had brought back from Italy. He then told him that the Directory invited him to take a command, leaving the choice of the army to himself. Bonaparte answered coldly that he had not yet rested sufficiently from his fatigues; that the transition from a dry to a damp climate had tried him severely, and that he needed a little more time to recruit himself. This circumstance could not fail to apprise the directors of his views, and him of their distrust.

This was a motive for making haste. His brothers, his habitual advisers, Rœderer, Réal, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, Bruix, and Talleyrand, brought to him every day members of the moderate and political party in the Councils. These were, in the Five Hundred, Boulay of La Meuthe, Gaudin, Chasal, Cabanis, Chenier; in the Ancients, Cornudet, Lemercier, Fargue, Daunou. All were of opinion that he ought to ally himself with the true party, the reforming party, and to unite with Sieyes, who had a constitution ready made, and the majority in the Council of the Ancients. Bonaparte was of precisely the same opinion, and aware that he had no option; but it was requisite that he should be reconciled with Sieyes, and this was a difficult matter. So important, however, were the interests at stake, and so delicate and dexterous were the mediators between his pride and that of Sieyes, that the alliance could not fail to be effected. M. de Talleyrand would have conciliated a still more unruly pride than that of these two men. The negotiation was soon opened and concluded. It was agreed that a stronger constitution should be given to France under the auspices of Sieyes and Bonaparte. Without coming to any explanation respecting the form and nature of that constitution, it was tacitly understood that it should be republican, but that it should deliver France from what both called the babblers, and give the greatest share of influence to the two master minds which were entering into this alliance.

A system-maker, dreaming of the too long delayed accomplishment of his conceptions, an ambitious man, aspiring to rule the world, were, amidst that nullity of all system and of all power, eminently adapted to coalesce. The incompatibility of their temper was of no consequence. The address of the mediators, and the importance of the interests, sufficed to palliate that inconvenience, at least for the moment; and a moment was enough for effecting a revolution.

Bonaparte was, therefore, determined to act with Sieyes and Roger Ducos. He still manifested the same aversion for Barras, the same respect for Gohier and Moulins, and maintained a like reserve with all three. But Fouché, with a sagacious foresight of rising fortune, perceived with the utmost regret the dislike of Bonaparte for his patron Barras, and was morti-

fied to observe that Barras took no pains to overcome that dislike. He had fully determined to pass over to the camp of the new Cæsar; but hesitating, from a relic of shame, to desert his protector, he would fain have taken him along with him. Assiduously attentive to Bonaparte, and tolerably well received, because he held the portfolio of the police, he strove to conquer his repugnance for Barras. He was seconded by Réal, Bruix, and the other advisers of the general. Conceiving that he had succeeded, he prevailed upon Barras to invite Bonaparte to dinner. Barras sent him an invitation for the 8th of Brumaire (October 30th). Bonaparte accepted it. After dinner they began to talk of public affairs. Bonaparte and Barras waited for one another. Barras first adverted to the object of their meeting. He commenced with some general remarks relative to his personal situation. Hoping, no doubt, that Bonaparte would contradict him, he declared that he was ill, worn out, and that it was high time for him to retire from public business. As Bonaparte still kept silence, Barras added that the republic was disorganized, that it was requisite, in order to save it, to concentrate the supreme power, and to appoint a president; he then named General Hedouville* as worthy of being elected to that office. Hedouville was as unknown as he was incapable. Barras disguised his thoughts, and named Hedouville, that he might avoid mentioning himself. "As for you, general," added he, "it is your intention to proceed to the army; go, gain fresh glory, and replace France in her proper rank. For my part, I shall withdraw into that retirement which I need." Bonaparte looked steadfastly at Barras, made no reply, and there the conversation dropped. Barras, confounded, added not another word. Bonaparte immediately retired, and, before he left the Luxembourg, went to the apartments of Sieyès. He declared to him emphatically, that he was resolved to act with him alone, and that they had only to decide upon the means of execution. The alliance was sealed at that interview, and they agreed to prepare everything for the 18th or the 20th of Brumaire.

On his return home, Bonaparte found there Fouché, Réal, and the friends of Barras. "Well," said he to them, "what do you think your Barras has proposed to me? To appoint a president, naming Hedouville and meaning himself, and to send me to the army. There is nothing to be done with such a man." The friends of Barras were anxious to repair this awkwardness, and strove to excuse him. Bonaparte, without arguing the point, changed the conversation, for his resolution was taken. Fouché immediately called on Barras to reproach him, and to prevail upon him to go and counteract the effect of his absurd conduct. The very next morning, Barras posted away to Bonaparte to make excuses for the language which he had used the preceding day, and to offer his devotedness and his coöperation in anything that the general might think fit to attempt. Bonaparte paid little attention to him, replied by generalities, and talked, in his turn, of fatigue, of his shattered health, and of his dislike to men and public business.

Barras saw that he was undone, and was sensible that his game was up. It was high time for him to reap the reward of his double intrigues and his cowardly defections. The ardent patriots would have nothing to do with him since his conduct towards the society at the Riding-House; the repub-

* Hedouville was born in 1755. In 1801 Bonaparte appointed him ambassador to St. Petersburg. On the restoration of the Bourbons, he was made a peer of France, and died in the year 1825. E.

licans, attached to the constitution of the year III, felt no other sentiment for him than contempt and distrust. The reformers, the politicians, saw in him only a man stripped of all consideration, and applied to him the term *rotten* (*pourri*) invented by Bonaparte. He had nothing left him but some intrigues with the royalists by means of certain emigrants concealed in his court. These intrigues were of very old date. They had commenced so far back as the 18th of Fructidor. He had communicated them to the Directory, and obtained their authority to prosecute them, that he might have in his hands the threads of counter-revolution. He had thus secured the means of betraying at will either the republic or the pretender. A negotiation was on foot at this moment with the latter, about a sum of several millions to second his return. It is possible, however, that Barras was not sincere with the pretender, for all his partialities must have been in favour of the republic. But it would be a difficult task to ascertain precisely the preferences of this old debauchee. He was perhaps not acquainted with them himself. Besides, at such a point of corruption, a little money will unfortunately prevail over all the preferences of taste or of opinion.

Fouché, distressed to see his patron undone, distressed above all to find himself compromised in his disgrace, redoubled his assiduity to Bonaparte. The latter, distrustful of such a man, concealed from him all his secrets; but Fouché, nothing daunted, because he perceived that Bonaparte's victory was insured, resolved to conquer his sternness by dint of services. He had the police; he conducted it skilfully; and he knew that people were conspiring everywhere. He took good care not to communicate this to the Directory, the majority of which, composed of Moulins, Gohier, and Barras, might, in consequence of his revelations, have adopted measures fatal to the conspirators.

Bonaparte had been about a fortnight in Paris, and almost everything was already prepared. Berthier, Lannes, and Murat, were daily gaining the officers and the generals. Among these Bernadotte out of jealousy, Jourdan from attachment to the republic, and Augereau from Jacobinism, had kept aloof, and communicated their fears to all the patriots of the Five Hundred; but the mass of the military men was won. Moreau, a sincere republican, but suspected by the patriots who ruled, dissatisfied with the Directory, which had so ill rewarded his talents, had no resource but in Bonaparte. Caressed and won by him, and willingly enduring a superior, he declared that he would second all his projects. He had no wish to be let into the secret, for he had a horror of political intrigues, but he desired to be summoned at the moment of execution. There were in Paris the 8th and 9th dragoons, which had formerly served under Bonaparte in Italy, and were devoted to him. The 21st chasseurs, organized by him, when he commanded the army of the interior, and which had once had Murat in its ranks, was not less attached to him. These regiments were still soliciting permission to file off before him. The officers of the garrison and the adjutants of the national guard also begged the honour of being presented to him, and had not yet obtained it. He deferred this reception, purposing to make it concur with his plans. His two brothers, Lucien and Joseph, and the deputies of his party, were daily making fresh conquests in the Councils.

An interview with Sieyes was fixed for the 15th of Brumaire, in order to decide upon the plan and the means of execution. On that very day the Councils were to give an entertainment to Bonaparte, as had been done on

his return from Italy. It was not, as on that occasion, the Councils which gave it officially. The thing had been proposed in secret committee; but the Five Hundred, who, on the first moment of his landing, had chosen Lucien president, with a view to do honour to the general in the person of his brother, were now distrustful, and refused to give an entertainment. It was then decided that it should be given by subscription. The number of the subscribers was from six to seven hundred. The dinner took place in the church of St. Sulpice; it was cold and silent: every one watched his neighbour, and maintained the utmost reserve. It was evident that some great event was expected, and that it would be the work of part of those who attended the banquet. Bonaparte was silent and thoughtful. This was but natural; for, on retiring, he was to go and determine the place and hour of a conspiracy. No sooner was dinner over than he rose, walked with Berthier round the tables, addressed a few words to the deputies, and then precipitately withdrew.*

He proceeded to Sieyes to make his final arrangements with him. Then it was that they first agreed upon the government to be substituted for that which existed. It was resolved that the Councils should be suspended for three months, that the five directors should be superseded by three provisional consuls, who, during these three months, should exercise a sort of dictatorship, and be commissioned to frame a constitution. Bonaparte, Sieyes, and Roger Ducos, were to be the three consuls. The next point was to settle the means of execution. Sieyes was sure of a majority in the Ancients. As there was talk every day of incendiary projects formed by the Jacobins, it was proposed to impute to them a plan for attacking the national representation. The commission of the inspectors of the Ancients, wholly at the disposal of Sieyes, was to propose to transfer the legislative body to St. Cloud. The constitution actually conferred this right on the Council of the Ancients. To this measure that Council was to add another, which was not authorized by the constitution, namely, to commit the duty of protecting the translation to a general of its selection, that is to say, to Bonaparte. The Ancients were to invest him at the same time with the command of the 17th military division, and of all the troops cantoned in Paris. With these forces, Bonaparte was to escort the legislative body to St. Cloud. There the confederates hoped to make themselves masters of the Five Hundred, and to extort from them the decree of a provisional consulate. Sieyes and Roger Ducos were, on that same day, to resign their office of directors. It was proposed to compel Barras, Gohier, and Moulins, to resign. The Directory would thus be disorganized by the dissolution of the majority: they would then go to the Five Hundred and tell them that there no longer existed a government, and oblige them to

* "It was not without hesitation that Napoleon yielded to a project started by Lucien, who by all sorts of manœuvring had succeeded in prevailing on a great number of his colleagues to be present at a grand subscription dinner to be given to Bonaparte by the Council of Five Hundred. The disorder which unavoidably prevailed in a party amounting to upwards of two hundred and fifty persons animated by a diversity of opinions, and the anxiety and distrust arising in the minds of those who were not in the grand plot, rendered this meeting one of the most disagreeable I ever witnessed. It was all restraint and dulness. Bonaparte's countenance sufficiently betrayed his dissatisfaction. Besides, the success of his schemes demanded his presence elsewhere. Almost as soon as he had finished his dinner, he rose, saying to Berthier and me, 'I am tired, let us be gone.' He went round to the different tables, addressing to the company compliments and trifling remarks, and departed, leaving at table the persons by whom he had been invited."—*Bourrienne*. E.

appoint the three consuls. This plan was most judiciously conceived; for when a revolution is to be effected, it is always expedient to disguise whatever is illegal as much as possible, to make use of the terms of a constitution for destroying it, and of the members of a government for its overthrow.

The 18th of Brumaire was fixed for obtaining the decree of translation, and the 19th for the decisive sitting at St. Cloud. The task was divided. The decree of translation and the efforts for obtaining it were left to Sieyes and his friends. Bonaparte undertook to have the armed force in readiness and to lead the troops to the Tuileries.

Having made all the arrangements, they parted. Nothing was heard on all sides but rumours of some great event that was ready to break out. On like occasions, similar rumours had always been in circulation. There are no revolutions that succeed, but such as can be known beforehand. Fouché, moreover, took good care not to forewarn the three directors, who had no hand in the conspiracy. Dubois-Crancé, notwithstanding his deference to the superior talents of Bonaparte in military matters, was a stanch patriot. He received intelligence of the plan, and hastened to denounce it to Gohier and Moulins, but they gave no credit to the story. They knew full well that he had great ambition, but they would not yet believe that there existed a conspiracy on the point of exploding. Barras certainly perceived a great bustle, but he was aware that he was ruined whatever might happen, and he resigned himself, like a coward, to the influence of events.

The commission of the Ancients, of which Cornet,* the deputy, was president, was directed to prepare everything in the night between the 17th and 18th for obtaining the passing of the decree of translation. The window-shutters were closed and the curtains drawn, that the public might not be apprized by the lights of the night-work that was going forward in the bureaux of the commission. Care was taken to convoke the Council of the Ancients for seven o'clock, and that of the Five Hundred for eleven. In this manner, the decree of translation would be passed before the Five Hundred had met; and, as all discussion was forbidden by the constitution at the moment when the decree of translation was promulgated, the tribune of the Five Hundred would be closed by this promulgation. Another precaution was taken; that was to delay the delivery of the letters of convocation for particular deputies. Thus it was certain that those of whom any distrust was felt would not arrive till after the question was decided.

Bonaparte, on his side, had taken all the necessary precautions. He had sent for Colonel Sebastiani, who commanded the 9th dragoons, to ascertain the feeling of the regiment. That regiment was composed of four hundred foot and six hundred horse. It contained many young soldiers; but the veterans of Arcóle and Rivoli gave the tone to it. The colonel answered to Bonaparte for the regiment. It was agreed that Sebastiani, upon pretext of reviewing it, should leave his barracks at five o'clock, distribute his men partly in the Place de la Révolution, partly in the garden of the Tuileries, and that he himself, with two hundred horse, should occupy the Rue du Mont Blanc and Rue Chantierine. Bonaparte then sent word to the colonels of the other regiments of cavalry that he would review them on

* "Bonaparte afterwards made Cornet a member of the Conservative senate, and grand officer of the Legion of Honour. On the restoration of the Bourbons, he became a peer of France"—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. F

the 18th. He also desired it to be intimated to all the officers who wished to be presented to him that he would receive them on the morning of the same day. As an excuse for the choice of the hour, he alleged that he was obliged to leave town. He sent to beg Moreau and all the generals to be in the Rue Chantereine at the same hour. At midnight, he despatched an aide-de-camp to Lefebvre, requesting him to call upon him at six in the morning. Lefebvre was wholly devoted to the Directory; but Bonaparte reckoned upon his not opposing his ascendancy. No intimation had been sent either to Bernadotte or to Augereau. He had taken care to deceive Gohier by inviting himself, together with all his family, to dine with him on the 18th; and, at the same time, in order to prevail upon him to resign, he had sent his wife to beg him to come the next morning, at eight o'clock, to breakfast with him in the Rue Chantereine.*

On the morning of the 18th, a bustle, unexpected even by those who concurred in producing it, manifested itself in all quarters. A numerous cavalry passed along the Boulevards; all the generals and officers in Paris proceeded in full uniform to the Rue Chantereine, little suspecting what a concourse they should find there. The members of the Ancients hastened to their post, astonished at this sudden convocation. The Five Hundred were most of them ignorant of what was in preparation. Gohier, Moulins, and Barras, were in complete ignorance. But Sieyes, who had for some time been taking lessons in riding, and Roger Ducos, were already on horseback and proceeding to the Tuileries.

As soon as the Ancients had assembled, the president of the commission of the inspectors addressed them. The commission appointed to watch over the safety of the legislative body had learned, he said, that dangerous plots were hatching, that conspirators were thronging to Paris, holding secret meetings there, and preparing to attack the freedom of the national representation. Cornet added that the Council of the Ancients had in its hands the means of saving the republic, and that it ought to employ them. These means consisted in transferring the legislative body to St. Cloud, in order to withdraw it from the attempts of the conspirators, in meanwhile placing the public tranquillity under the safeguard of a general capable of insuring it, and in choosing Bonaparte for that general. Scarcely was the reading of this proposition and of the decree which comprehended it finished, when a certain agitation took place in the Council. Some members opposed it; Cornudet, Lebrun, Fargues, and Regnier, supported it. The name of Bonaparte, on which great stress had been laid, and of whose support they were certain, decided the majority. At eight o'clock the decree was passed. It transferred the councils to St. Cloud, and convoked them for the following day at twelve o'clock. Bonaparte was appointed commander-in-chief of all the troops in the 17th military division, of the guard of the legislative body, of the guard of the Directory, of the national guards of Paris and the environs. Lefebvre, commandant of the 17th division, was placed under his orders. Bonaparte was summoned to the bar to receive the decree, and to take the oath to the president. A mes-

* "What low intrigues marked the 17th of Brumaire! On that day I dined with Bonaparte, and he said after dinner, 'I have promised to dine to-morrow with Gohier, but, as you may readily suppose, I do not intend to go. However, I am very sorry for his obstinacy. By way of restoring his confidence, Josephine is going to invite him to breakfast with us to-morrow. It will be impossible for him to suspect anything.'"—*Fourrienne*. E.

senger of state was directed to carry the decree immediately to the general.

This messenger, who was Cornet, the deputy himself, found the Boulevards choked by a numerous cavalry, and the Rue du Mont Blanc and the Rue Chantierine crowded with officers and generals in full uniform. All were hastening to comply with General Bonaparte's invitation. The saloons of the latter were too small to receive such a numerous company; he ordered the doors to be thrown open, stepped out on the balcony, and addressed the officers. He told them that France was in danger, and that he relied upon them to assist him in saving it. Cornet handed to him the decree. He seized it, read it to them, and asked if he could reckon upon their support. All replied, clapping their hands to their swords, that they were ready to second him. He then turned to Lefebvre. The latter, seeing the troops in motion without his orders, had questioned Colonel Sebastiani, who, without replying, had desired him to go to General Bonaparte. Lefebvre entered in an ill-humour. "Well, Lefebvre," said Bonaparte to him, "you, one of the pillars of the republic, will you suffer it to perish in the hands of these *lawyers*? Join me, and assist me to save it. Stay," added Bonaparte, handing him a sabre; "there is the sabre which I wore at the Pyramids; I give it to you as a token of my esteem and my confidence."—"Yes," replied Lefebvre, with deep emotion, "let us throw the *lawyers* into the river." He declared that he would stay with Bonaparte. Joseph had brought Bernadotte; but the latter, perceiving the drift of these movements, withdrew to give intimation of them to the patriots. Fouché was not in the secret; but, apprized by the event, he had ordered the barriers to be closed, and the departure of the couriers and of the public vehicles to be suspended. He then came in all haste to inform Bonaparte of what he had done, and to make protestations of his attachment to him. Bonaparte, who had thus far left him on one side, did not repel him, but told him that his precautions were useless, that neither ought the barriers to be closed nor the ordinary course of things suspended; that he was marching with the nation and relied upon it.* Bonaparte was informed at this moment that Gohier would not come on his invitation. He showed some ill-humour at this, and sent him word that he would ruin himself to no purpose if he was determined to resist. He immediately mounted his horse to proceed to the Tuileries, and to take the oath before the Council of the Ancients. Almost all the generals of the republic were on horseback by his side. Moreau, Macdonald, Berthier, Lannes, Murat, Leclerc, were behind him as his lieutenants. He found at the Tuileries the detachments of the 9th, harangued them, and, having filled them with enthusiasm, entered the palace.

He appeared before the Ancients, accompanied by this magnificent staff. His presence produced a strong sensation, and proved to the Ancients that they had associated themselves with a powerful man, who possessed all the means requisite for giving success to a stroke of policy. He presented himself at the bar. "Citizens representatives," said he, "the republic was

* "Fouché made great professions of attachment and devotion. He had given directions for closing the barriers, and preventing the departure of couriers and coaches. 'Why, good God!' said the general to him, 'wherefore all these precautions? We go with the nation, and by its strength alone. Let no citizen be disturbed, and let the triumph of opinion have nothing in common with the transactions of days in which a 'actious minority prevailed.' — *Gourgaud*. E

on the point of perishing. Your decree has saved it. Wo to those who shall attempt to oppose its execution! Aided by all my companions in arms, here assembled around me, I shall find means to prevent their efforts. In vain examples are sought in the past to disturb your minds. Nothing in history resembles the eighteenth century, and nothing in this century resembles its close. We will have the republic. We will have it founded on genuine liberty, on the representative system. We will have it, I swear, in my own name and in the name of my companions in arms."—"We all swear it," repeated the generals and the officers who were at the bar. The manner in which Bonaparte took the oath was adroit, inasmuch as he had avoided taking an oath to the constitution. A deputy would have spoken for the purpose of remarking this; but the president refused to hear him, on the ground that the decree of translation interdicted all discussion. The assembly broke up immediately. Bonaparte then went into the garden, mounted his horse, accompanied by all the generals, and reviewed the regiments of the garrison which successively arrived. He addressed the soldiers in a short and energetic speech, telling them that he was going to effect a revolution which would restore to them abundance and glory. Shouts of *Bonaparte for ever!* rent the air. The weather was superb, the concourse extraordinary. Everything seemed to second the inevitable attempt that was about to terminate the confusion by absolute power.

At this moment the Five Hundred, apprized of the revolution that was preparing, had proceeded tumultuously to the hall in which they met. No sooner were they assembled, than they received a message from the Ancients, containing the decree of translation. On the reading of it, a multitude of voices were raised at once; but the president, Lucien Bonaparte, enjoined silence by virtue of the constitution, which forbade further deliberation. The Five Hundred broke up immediately; the most ardent of them ran to each other's houses, and held secret conventicles, to express their indignation, and to devise means of resistance. The patriots of the faubourgs were in vehement agitation, and thronged tumultuously around Santerre.

Meanwhile Bonaparte, having finished the review of the troops, had returned to the Tuileries, and gone to the commission of the inspectors of the Ancients. That of the Five Hundred had entirely adhered to the new revolution, and lent itself to all that was going on. It was there that everything was to be done upon pretext of carrying the translation into execution. Bonaparte sat there permanently. Cambacérès, the minister of justice, had already repaired thither. Fouché came also. Sieyès and Roger Ducos arrived to give their resignations. It was of consequence to obtain another from the Directory, because then the majority would be dissolved; there would exist no executive power, and there would be no need to apprehend a last act of energy on its part. There was no hope that either Gohier or Moulins would give theirs: M. de Talleyrand and Admiral Bruix were, therefore, despatched to Barras to extort his.

Bonaparte then distributed the command of the troops. He directed Murat, with a numerous cavalry and a corps of grenadiers, to occupy St. Cloud. Serrurier was posted at the Point-du-Jour with a reserve. Lannes was intrusted with the command of the troops which guarded the Tuileries. Bonaparte then gave Moreau a singular commission, and certainly the least honourable of all, in this great event. He directed him to go with five

hundred men and guard the Luxembourg.* Moreau had instructions to blockade the directors upon pretext of providing for their safety, and to prevent any communication whatever between them and persons without the palace. At the same time Bonaparte sent to the commandant of the directorial guard to notify that he was to obey him, ordering him to quit the Luxembourg with his troops and to come to him at the Tuileries. With the assistance of Fouché, a last and an important precaution was taken. The Directory was empowered to suspend the municipalities. Fouché, acting in his capacity of minister of the police, as if he had been authorized by the Directory, suspended the twelve municipalities of Paris, and deprived them of all power. In consequence of this measure, no rallying-point was left for the patriots, either in the Directory or in the twelve communes which had succeeded the great commune of former days. Fouché then caused bills to be posted, exhorting the citizens to order and quiet, and assuring them that powerful efforts were making at that moment to save the republic from its dangers.

These measures were completely successful. The authority of General Bonaparte was everywhere acknowledged, though the Council of the Ancients had not acted constitutionally in conferring it on him. This council, in fact, had a right to order the translation, but not to appoint a supreme chief of the armed force. Moreau proceeded to the Luxembourg, and blockaded it with five hundred men. Jubé, commandant of the directorial guard, immediately obeying the instructions which he had received, ordered his men to mount their horses, quitted the Luxembourg, and proceeded to the Tuileries. Meanwhile the three directors, Moulins, Gohier, and Barras, were in the most painful perplexity. Moulins and Gohier, their eyes being at length opened to the conspiracy which had before escaped them, went to the apartments of Barras, to ask him if he would stand firm with them and form the majority. The voluptuous director was in the bath, and had scarcely heard of what Bonaparte was doing in Paris. "That fellow," he exclaimed, with a gross expression, "has deceived us." He promised to unite with his colleagues, for he promised everybody, and sent Bottot, his secretary, to the Tuileries, to pick up intelligence. But no sooner had Gohier and Moulins left him, than he fell into the hands of Bruix and M. de Talleyrand. It was not difficult to convince him of the impotence to which he was reduced, and there was no reason to fear that he would fall gloriously in defence of the directorial constitution. He was promised quiet and fortune, and he consented to give in his resignation. A letter had been drawn up for him, which he signed, and which Messrs. de Talleyrand and Bruix lost no time in conveying to Bonaparte. From that moment Gohier and Moulins made useless attempts to get to him, and they at length learned that he had resigned. Left alone by themselves, having no longer the right to deliberate, they knew not what course to pursue, and yet they were determined faithfully to perform their duty to the constitution of the year III. They resolved, therefore, to repair to the

* "This was one of Bonaparte's happy strokes. Moreau, who was a slave to military discipline, regarded his successful rival only as a chief-nominated by the Council of Ancients. He received his orders, and obeyed them. Bonaparte appointed him commander of the guard of the Luxembourg, where the directors were under confinement. He accepted the command, and no circumstance could have contributed more effectually to the accomplishment of Napoleon's views, and to the triumph of his ambition."

— *Bourrienne*. E.

commission of the inspectors, and to ask their two colleagues, Sieyes and Ducos, if they would unite with them to reconstitute the majority, and to promulgate at least the decree of translation. This was a sorry resource. It was not possible to collect an armed force and to raise a standard hostile to that of Bonaparte; it was therefore useless to go to the Tuileries to beard Bonaparte in the midst of his camp and of all his forces.

They nevertheless went thither, and were allowed to go. They found Bonaparte surrounded by Sieyes, Ducos, a multitude of deputies, and a numerous staff. Bottot, secretary to Barras, had just been very roughly received. "What," said he to him, raising his voice, "what have they done with that France which I left so brilliant? I left her peace, I have found war; I left victories, I have found defeats; I left the millions of Italy, and I have found despoiling laws and wretchedness! What is become of the hundred thousand French whom I knew, all my companions in glory?—they are dead!" * Bottot retired aghast; but at this moment the resignation of Barras arrived and had pacified the general. He told Gohier and Moulins that he was glad to see them; that he reckoned upon their resignation, because he believed them to be too good citizens to oppose an inevitable and salutary revolution. Gohier replied with emphasis that he had come with his colleague, Moulins, with the sole intention of labouring to save the republic. "Yes," replied Bonaparte; "save it? and with what?—with the means of the constitution, which is crumbling to pieces on all sides?"—"Who told you so?" replied Gohier. "Perfidious wretches, who have neither the courage nor the will to march along with it." A very warm altercation ensued between Gohier and Bonaparte. At this moment a note was brought to the general. It informed him that there was a great commotion in the fauxbourg St. Antoine. "General Moulins," said Bonaparte, "you are a kinsman of Santerre?"—"No," replied Moulins, "I am not his kinsman, but his friend."—"I am informed," proceeded Bonaparte, "that he is exciting insurrection in the fauxbourgs. Tell him that on the very first movement I will have him shot." Moulins replied with energy to Bonaparte, who repeated his declaration that he would have Santerre shot. The altercation continued with Gohier. Bonaparte wound up with saying to him, "The republic is in danger—it must be saved—I will it. Sieyes and Ducos have given their resignation; Barras has just given his. You two, left by yourselves, are powerless; you can do nothing; I advise you not to resist." Gohier and Moulins replied that they would not desert their post. They returned to the Luxembourg, in which they were, from that moment, closely guarded, separated from one another, and deprived of all communication by the orders of Bonaparte transmitted to Moreau. Barras had just set out for Gros-Bois, his country-seat, escorted by a detachment of dragoons.

There was now no longer any executive power. Bonaparte had singly all the force in his own hands. All the ministers had assembled at the commission of the inspectors, where he was. All orders emanated thence, as from the only point where any organized authority existed. The day closed in great tranquillity. The patriots formed numerous conventicles, and proposed desperate resolutions, but without believing in the possibility

* "Then all at once concluding his harangue, in a calm tone, Bonaparte added, 'This state of things cannot possibly last. It would lead us in three years to despotism.'" - *Madame de Staël*. E.

of executing them, such was the dread which they felt of the ascendancy of Bonaparte over his troops.

In the evening, a council was held at the commission of the inspectors. The object of this council was to arrange with the principal members of the Ancients what was to be done on the morrow at St. Cloud. The plan settled with Sieyes was to propose the adjournment of the Councils, with a provisional consulate. This proposition was attended with some difficulties. Many of the members of the Ancients, who had contributed to pass the decree of translation, were now alarmed at the domination of the military party. They had not imagined that it was the intention to create a dictatorship in behalf of Bonaparte and his two associates. They merely wished that the Directory should be differently composed, and notwithstanding Bonaparte's age, they would have consented to appoint him director. They made a proposal to that effect. But Bonaparte replied in a decided tone that the constitution was no longer able to move on, that a more concentrated authority was absolutely required, and particularly an adjournment of all the political discussions which agitated the republic. The nomination of three consuls, and the suspension of the Councils till the 1st of Ventose, were, therefore, proposed. After a very long discussion, these measures were adopted. Bonaparte, Sieyes, and Ducos, were chosen for consuls. The *projet* was drawn up, and was to be submitted to the council on the following morning at St. Cloud. Sieyes, who was perfectly acquainted with the revolutionary movements, advised that forty of the leaders of the Five Hundred should be arrested in the night.* Bonaparte rejected this counsel, and had reason to repent it.

The night was tolerably quiet. Next morning, the 19th of Brumaire (November 10), the road to St. Cloud was covered with troops, carriages, and inquisitive persons. Three halls had been prepared in the palace: one for the Ancients, the second for the Five Hundred, and the third for the commission of the inspectors and Bonaparte. The preparations were to have been completed by noon, but they could not be finished before two o'clock. This delay had well nigh proved fatal to the authors of the new revolution. The deputies of the two Councils were walking in the gardens of St. Cloud, and conversing together with extreme warmth. Those of the Five Hundred, irritated at having been banished, as it were, by those of the Ancients, naturally inquired what they purposed doing that day. "The government is decomposed," said they; "granted—we admit that it has need to be, that it must be, recomposed. Do you insist, instead of having incapable men, men of no renown, on placing in it imposing men? would you put Bonaparte into it?—though he is not of the required age, we again consent to it." These home questions embarrassed the Ancients. They were obliged to admit that something more was intended, that a plan was formed for overthrowing the constitution. Some of them made insinuations on this subject, but they were unfavourably received. The Ancients, alarmed on the preceding evening by what had passed at the commission of the inspectors, were quite shaken on seeing the resistance that manifested itself in the Five Hundred. From that moment the disposition of the legislative body appeared doubtful, and the plan of the Revolution was in great

* "The recommendation was a wise one, but Napoleon thought himself too strong to need any such precaution. 'I swore in the morning,' said he, 'to protect the national representation; I will not this evening violate my oath.'"—*Gourgaud*. E.

danger. Bonaparte was on horseback at the head of his troops. Sieyes and Ducos had a post-chaise and six horses in waiting at the gate of St. Cloud. Many other persons, preparing, in case of check, to betake themselves to flight, had adopted the same precaution. Sieyes, nevertheless, displayed throughout this whole scene extraordinary coolness and presence of mind. It was feared lest Jourdan, Augereau, or Bernadotte, might come to address the troops. Orders were given to cut down the first person who should attempt to harangue them, no matter whether general or representative.

The sitting of the two Councils commenced at two o'clock. In the Ancients complaints were made by members who had not been summoned on the preceding day to attend the discussion on the decree of translation. These complaints were set aside. The Council then turned its attention to a message to the Five Hundred, to inform them that a majority of its members had met and were ready to deliberate. In the Five Hundred, the deliberation commenced in a different manner. Gaudin, who was commissioned by Sieyes and Bonaparte to open the discussion, having adverted to the dangers which threatened the republic, proposed two things: first, to thank the Ancients for having transferred the council to St. Cloud; and, secondly, to form a commission charged to make a report on the dangers of the republic and on the means of obviating those dangers. If this proposition had been adopted, there was a report already prepared, and the provisional consulship and the adjournment would then have been proposed. But no sooner had Gaudin finished speaking, than a tremendous shout burst forth in the assembly. From all quarters arose vehement shouts of "Down with the dictators!"—"No dictatorship!"—"The constitution for ever!"—"The constitution or death!" exclaimed Delbrel. "We are not afraid of bayonets; we are free here." These words were succeeded by fresh shouts. Some deputies eyeing Lucien, the president, furiously repeated, "No dictatorship! down with the dictators!" At these insulting cries, Lucien spoke. "I am too tenacious," said he, "of the dignity of president, to endure any longer the insolent menaces of certain speakers. I call them to order." Instead of quieting, this injunction only rendered them more furious. After a long uproar, Grand-Maison proposed to take the oath to the constitution of the year III. The motion was instantly adopted. A call of the assembly was also demanded. This too was adopted. Each deputy went in his turn to the tribune to take the oath, amidst the shouts and plaudits of all present. Lucien himself was obliged to quit the chair for the purpose of taking an oath tending to overthrow the plans of his brother.

Things were taking a dangerous turn. Instead of appointing a commission and listening to plans of reform, the Five Hundred took an oath to uphold what existed; and the wavering Ancients were ready to recede. The Revolution was likely to miscarry. The danger was imminent. Augereau, Jourdan, the influential patriots, were at St. Cloud, waiting for the favourable moment for bringing over the troops to their side. Bonaparte and Sieyes immediately agreed that it was high time to act, and to draw the wavering mass to their side. Bonaparte resolved to go to the two Councils at the head of his staff. He met Augereau, who said to him in a jeering tone, "There you are in a pretty plight!"—"Matters were in a much worse state at Arcole," replied Bonaparte, and away he went to the bar of the Ancients. He was not accustomed to public assemblies. To

speak for the first time in public is embarrassing, nay, even daunting, to the firmest minds, and under the most ordinary circumstances. Amidst such events, and to a man who had never appeared in any tribune, it could not fail to be much more difficult. Bonaparte, strongly agitated, addressed the Ancients in broken sentences, but in a loud voice. "Citizens representatives!" said he, "you are not in ordinary circumstances. You are on a volcano. Permit me to make some observations. You deemed the republic to be in danger—you transferred the legislative body to St. Cloud—you called me to carry your decrees into execution—I left my home to obey you: and already myself and my brave companions in arms are assailed by a thousand calumnies. People talk of a new Cromwell, of a new Cæsar. Citizens! had I aimed at such a part, it would have been easy for me to assume it on my return from Italy, in the moment of the most glorious triumph, and when the army and the parties invited me to seize it. I aspired not to it then, I aspire not to it now. It is the dangers of the country that have alone awakened my zeal and yours." Bonaparte then drew, still with a voice that betrayed his emotion, a picture of the dangerous situation of the republic, torn by all the parties, threatened with a new civil war in the West, and with an invasion in the South. "Let us," he added, "prevent all these calamities; let us save the two things for which we have made so many sacrifices—liberty and equality."—"Say something about the constitution too!" exclaimed Linglet, the deputy. This interruption disconcerted the general for a moment; but presently recovering himself, he replied in a tremulous voice; "Constitution! you have no constitution. You destroyed it yourselves by assaulting the national representation on the 18th of Fructidor; by annulling the popular elections on the 22d of Floreal; and by attacking the independence of the government on the 30th of Prairial. That constitution which you speak of all the parties are striving to destroy. They have all come to let me into the secret of their projects, and to make me offers to second them. I have refused. If I am required, I will name the parties and the men."—"Name them," cried the opponents, "name them; demand a secret committee." A long uproar succeeded this interruption. Bonaparte at length resumed, and recurring to the state in which France was placed, exhorted the Ancients to take such measures as were capable of saving her. "Surrounded," said he, "by my brethren in arms, I will second you. I call to witness those brave grenadiers whose bayonets I see, and whom I have so often led against the enemy—I call to witness their courage, we will assist you to save the country. And if any orator," added Bonaparte in a threatening tone, "if any orator, paid by foreigners, should talk of outlawing me, I would then appeal to my companions in arms. Recollect that I march accompanied by the god of fortune and by the god of war." *

* "All the speeches which have been subsequently passed off as having been delivered by Bonaparte on this occasion differ from each other; as well they may, for he delivered none, unless his confused answers to the president, which were alike devoid of dignity and sense, are to be called a speech. It is impossible to conceive anything more confused or worse delivered than the ambiguous and perplexed replies of Bonaparte. There was not the slightest connection in what he stammered out. He was no orator. Perceiving his embarrassment, I said in a low voice, pulling him gently by the coat-skirt, 'Withdraw, general, you know not what you are saying.' It is hard to tell what would have happened, if, on seeing him retire, the president had said, 'Grenadiers, let no one pass.' Probably, instead of sleeping next night at the Luxembourg, Bonaparte might have ended his career at the Place de la Révolution."—*Bourrienne* E.

These daring words were a warning for the Five Hundred. The Ancients received them very favourably, and appeared to be won by the presence of the general. They granted him the honours of the sitting.

Bonaparte, after regaining the Ancients, resolved to go to the Five Hundred, and endeavour to overawe them. He advanced, followed by some grenadiers. He entered, but left them behind him at the extremity of the hall. He had to traverse nearly half the length of it to reach the bar. No sooner had he arrived there, than furious shouts burst forth from all quarters. "What!" cried a multitude of voices, "soldiers here! arms! What is the meaning of this? Down with the dictator! down with the tyrant!" A great number of deputies rushed to the middle of the hall, surrounded the general, and addressed to him the strongest expressions. "What!" said they, "is it for this that you have conquered? All your laurels are blasted. Your glory is changed into infamy. Respect the temple of the laws. Be gone, be gone!" Bonaparte was confounded amidst the crowd that thronged around him. The grenadiers whom he had left at the door hastened up, pushed back the deputies, and clasped him in their arms. It is said that in this tumult some of the grenadiers received dagger wounds, which were intended for him. One of the grenadiers, named Thomé, had his clothes torn. It is very possible that, in the tumult, his clothes may have been torn without there being any daggers in the case. It is possible too that there might have been daggers in more than one hand. Republicans, conceiving that they beheld a new Cæsar, might arm themselves with the steel of Brutus, without being assassins. It is a great weakness to justify them for so doing.* Be this as it may, Bonaparte was thrust out of the hall. It is said that he was agitated, which is not more surprising than the supposition of daggers. He mounted his horse, rode away to his troops, told them that an attempt had been made to assassinate him, that his life was in danger, and was everywhere greeted with shouts of *Bonaparte for ever!*

The storm meanwhile raged with greater violence than ever in the Assembly, and its fury was directed against Lucien. The latter displayed extraordinary firmness and courage. "Your brother is a tyrant," said some of the members to him; "in one day he has lost all his glory." Lucien strove in vain to justify him. "You would not listen to him," he replied. "He came to explain his conduct, to make you acquainted with his mission, and to answer all the questions that you have been incessantly addressing to him since you met. His services claimed at least that he should be allowed time to defend himself."—"No, no; down with the tyrant!" shouted the enraged patriots. "Outlaw him!" added they, "outlaw him!" This was an appalling word. Robespierre was undone by it. Pronounced against Bonaparte, it might make the troops waver and detach them from him. Lucien courageously opposed the proposition of outlawry, and insisted that his brother ought first to be heard. He struggled for a long time amidst a tremendous uproar. At length, taking off his cap and his toga, "Wretches!" he exclaimed, "would you force me to outlaw my own brother! I resign the chair, and I will go to the bar to defend him who is accused."

* "Though I did not accompany Bonaparte to the Council of Five Hundred, I do not hesitate to declare that all that has been said about assaults and poniards is pure invention"—*Bourrienne*. E.

At this moment Bonaparte heard outside the scene that was passing in the assembly. He was alarmed for his brother, and sent ten grenadiers to bring him out of the hall. The grenadiers entered, found Lucien encompassed by a group, laid hold of him by the arm, saying that it was by his brother's orders, and hurried him away. The moment had arrived for taking a decisive step. If there was any wavering, all would be lost. Rhetorical means for working upon the Assembly having become impracticable, no alternative was left but force. It was requisite to hazard one of those daring acts, before which usurpers always hesitate. Cæsar hesitated before he passed the Rubicon, Cromwell before he turned out the parliament. Bonaparte determined to march his grenadiers against the Assembly. He mounted his horse, with Lucien, and rode along the front of the troops. Lucien harangued them. "The Council of the Five Hundred is dissolved," said he; "it is I that tell you so. Assassins have taken possession of the hall of meeting, and have done violence to the majority; I summon you to march and to clear it of them."* Lucien afterwards swore that himself and his brother would be the faithful defenders of liberty. Murat and Leclerc then took a battalion of grenadiers, and conducted it to the door of the Five Hundred. They advanced to the entrance of the hall. At the sight of the bayonets, the deputies set up tremendous shouts, as they had done at the appearance of Bonaparte. But these shouts were drowned by the rolling of the drums. "Grenadiers, forward!" cried the officers. The grenadiers entered the hall, and dispersed the deputies, who fled, some by the passages, others by the windows. In a moment the hall was cleared, and Bonaparte was left master of this deplorable field of battle.

These tidings were carried to the Ancients, and filled them with alarm and regret. They had not wished for such a procedure. Lucien appeared at their bar. He came to justify his conduct in regard to the Five Hundred. The Assembly was content with his reasons, for, what could it do in such a situation? It was requisite to bring matters to a conclusion, and to accomplish the proposed object. The Council of the Ancients could not singly decree the adjournment of the legislative body and the institution of the consulship. The Council of the Five Hundred was dissolved; but there were still left about fifty deputies, partisans of the change. They were collected and made to pass the decree, the object of the revolution which had just been effected. The decree was then carried to the Ancients, who adopted it about midnight. Bonaparte, Roger Ducos, and Sieyes, were nominated provisional consuls, and invested with the whole executive power. The Councils were adjourned to the 1st of the following Ventose. They were replaced by two commissions of twenty-five members each, selected from the Councils, and appointed to approve such legislative measures as the three consuls should have occasion to take. The consuls and the commissions were charged to frame a new constitution.

* Notwithstanding the cries of "Vive Bonaparte!" which followed this harangue, the troops still hesitated. It was evident that they were not fully prepared to turn their swords against the national representation. Lucien then drew his sword, exclaiming, 'I swear that I will stab my own brother to the heart, if he ever attempt anything against the liberty of Frenchmen.' This dramatic action was perfectly successful. Hesitation vanished, and, at a signal given by Napoleon, Murat, at the head of his grenadiers, rushed into the hall, and drove out the representatives. Every one yielded to the reasoning of bayonets, and thus terminated the employment of the armed force on that memorable day."—*Bourrienne*. E

Such was the revolution of the 18th of Brumaire,* on which such opposite opinions are entertained, which is regarded by some as an outrage which annihilated our struggling liberty, by others as a daring but necessary act, that put an end to anarchy. What may justly be said of it is, that the Revolution, after assuming all the characters, monarchical, republican, and democratic, at length took the military character, because, amidst that perpetual conflict with Europe, it was requisite that it should constitute itself in a strong and solid manner. The republicans deplore so many useless efforts, so much blood spilt to no purpose, in order to found liberty in France, and they are grieved to see it immolated by one of the heroes whom it had brought forth. But here the noblest of sentiments leads them into error. The Revolution, which was to give us liberty, and which has prepared everything for our enjoying it some day or other, was not itself, neither could it be, liberty. It was destined to be a great struggle against the old order of things. After conquering it in France, it was requisite that it should conquer it in Europe. But so violent a struggle admitted not of the forms or of the spirit of liberty. For a moment, and but a brief one, the country possessed liberty under the Constituent Assembly: but when the popular party became so menacing as to intimidate public opinion; when it stormed the Tuileries on the 10th of August; when, on the 2d of September, it sacrificed all those of whom it felt distrust; when, on the 21st of January, it forced every one to compromise himself with it by imbruing his hands in royal blood; when, in August, 1793, it obliged all the citizens to hasten to the frontiers, or to part with their property; when it self abdicated its power, and resigned it to that great committee of public welfare, composed of twelve individuals—was there, could there be, liberty? No; there was a violent effort of enthusiasm and heroism; there was the muscular tension of a wrestler engaged with a potent antagonist. After this moment of danger, after our victories, there was a moment of relaxation. The latter end of the Convention and the Directory exhibited moments of liberty. But the struggle with Europe could be only temporarily suspended. It soon recommenced, and, on the first reverse, all the parties rose against a too moderate government, and invoked a mighty arm. Bonaparte, returning from the East, was hailed as sovereign, and called to the supreme power. It is absurd to say that Zurich had saved France. Zurich was but an accident, a respite; it required a Marengo and a Hohenlinden to save her. It required something more than military successes. It required a powerful reorganization at home of all the departments of the government; and it was a political chief, rather than a military chief, whom France needed. The 18th and 19th of Brumaire were, therefore, necessary. All we can say is, that the 20th is to be condemned, and that the hero made a bad use of the service which he had just rendered. But we may be told that he came to perform a mysterious task, imposed, without his being aware of it, by Fate, of which he was the involuntary agent. It was not liberty that he came to continue, for that could not yet exist. He came to continue, under monarchical forms, the revolution in the world; he came to continue it, by seating himself, a plebeian, on a throne; by bringing the pontiff to Paris to anoint a plebeian brow with the sacred oil; by creating an aristocracy with plebeians; by obliging the old

* "Thus was consummated this last violation of law—this final blow against liberty; and from this day brute force commenced its dominion. On this disastrous day the Revolution expired!"—*Mignet*. E

aristocracies to associate themselves with his plebeian aristocracy; by making kings of plebeians; by taking to his bed the daughter of the Cæsars, and mingling plebeian blood with the blood of one of the oldest reigning families in Europe; by blending all nations; by introducing the French laws in Germany, in Italy, and in Spain; by dissolving so many spells; by mixing up together and confounding so many things. Such was the immense task which he came to perform; and meanwhile the new state of society was to consolidate itself under the protection of his sword; and Liberty was to follow some day. It has not yet come; it will come. I have described the first crisis which has prepared the elements for it in Europe; I have done it without animosity, pitying error, reverencing virtue, admiring greatness, striving to fathom the deep designs of Providence in these mighty events, and respecting, when I conceived that I had fathomed, them.

APPENDIX.

ORIGIN OF THE WAR IN LA VENDEE.

(From the Quarterly Review, Vol. 15.)

THE Bocage is an appellation of local fitness which has been disregarded in the political divisions of the country. Under the old monarchy it made part of Poitou, of Anjou, and of the Comté Nantais; under the revolutionary distribution, it lies in the four departments of the Lower Loire, the Maine and Loire, the two Sèvres, and La Vendée. The nature of the country, and the character and circumstances of the inhabitants, were alike peculiar; the whole surface consists of low hills and narrow valleys; scarcely a single eminence rises above the other sufficiently to give a commanding view, and there is no extent of level ground. These valleys are watered with innumerable brooklets flowing in different directions, some towards the Loire, some making their way to the sea, others winding till they reach the Plain, a slip of land on the south border of the Bocage, where they form small rivers.—Such is the general appearance of the country. Along the Sèvre towards Nantes it assumes a wilder character; farther east, towards the Loire, the valleys expand, and the declivities fall in wider sweeps. There are few forests, but the whole region has the woody appearance of a Flemish landscape. The inclosures are small, and always surrounded with quick hedges, in which trees stand thickly; these trees are pollarded every fifth year, a stem of twelve or fifteen feet being left standing. Only one great road, that from Nantes to Rochelle, traverses the country. Between this and the road from Tours to Bordeaux, by way of Poitiers, an interval of nearly one hundred miles, there are only cross-roads of the worst description. The byways are like those in Herefordshire, where the best account which a traveller hears is, that there is a good bottom when you come to it. They are narrow passes worn in a deep soil between high hedges, which sometimes meet over head; miry in the wet season, and rugged in summer; upon a descent, the way usually serves both for a road and the bed of a brook. One of these ways is like another; at the end of every field you come to a cross-road, and the inhabitants themselves are bewildered in this endless labyrinth if they go a few miles from their own home.

The Bocage includes about seven-ninths of the Vendean country. There are two other natural divisions; the Plain, which has already been slightly mentioned, and which took no direct part in the war; and the Marsh, or the sea coast, a tract intersected with innumerable ditches and canals, where the inhabitants bear all the external marks of sickness and misery: yet have they enjoyments of their own; and charms might be found in the region itself, were it not for its insalubrity. M. Berthre de Bourniseaux, a Vendean, compares his native country to a vast body covered with arteries—but without a heart; without roads, without navigable rivers, without any means of exportation—it had no trade to stimulate, no centre to enliven, no cities to civilize it. The largest towns contained not more than from two to three thousand inhabitants: the villages were small and at wide intervals, and the country was divided into small farms, rarely any one exceeding six hundred francs in rent. The chief wealth was in cattle, and the landholders usually divided the produce with the tenant. A property which consisted of five-and-twenty or thirty such farms was thought considerable. There was therefore no odious inequality in La Vendée, and the lord and vassals were connected by ties which retained all that was good of the feudal system, while all that was evil had passed away. The French

writers lament the unimproved state of the people, their ignorance, their prejudices, and their superstitions; but nowhere in France were the peasantry more innocent or more contented, nowhere have they shown themselves capable of equal exertions and equal heroism. There was little pride among the gentry, and no ostentation; they dwelt more upon their estates than was usual in other provinces, and thus, for the most part, escaped the leprous infections of Paris. Their luxury lay in hospitality, and the chase was their sole amusement; in this the peasantry had their share. When the wolf, the boar, or the stag was to be hunted, the *curé* gave notice in the church, and the country turned out at the time and place appointed, every man with his gun, with the same alacrity and obedience which they afterwards displayed in war. On Sundays the peasantry danced in the court of the Chateau, and the ladies of the family joined them. The lords seem to have been their own stewards; they went about their farms, talked with their tenants, saw things with their own eyes, shared in the losses as well as the gains, attended at the weddings and drank with the guests. It was not possible that revolutionary principles could mislead a people thus circumstanced.

There are historical grounds for supposing that the Vendéans are descended from the Huns, Vandals, and Picts, who subdued the western parts of France; their form and complexion support this opinion, giving strong indications that they are neither of Gallic nor Frank descent. Perhaps nothing distinguishes them more from Frenchmen in general than their remarkable taciturnity, unless it be the purity of manners for which their countrymen extol them. Drunkenness is the sin which most easily besets them; worse vices are said to have been almost unknown to them before the civil wars, and the Vendéans in general were said to be good fathers, good sons, and good husbands. Few quarrels occurred among them, and no lawsuits; they had a wholesome proverb, that no saint had ever been a lawyer, and their disputes therefore were always referred and easily accommodated by friendly arbitration. Among their sports, there are two which seem deserving of notice. Commune would challenge commune to a trial of strength, like that which concludes the game of steal-clothes in the West of England—a line is drawn, an equal number of picked men lay hold of a long rope, and the party which pulls the other out of its own ground is victorious. The other sport is of an intellectual character. He who kills a pig usually invites his neighbours to a feast, which is called *les rillettes*; after the supper, when their spirits are all raised by wine, some one of the company mounts the table and delivers a satirical sermon. *La manière de faire l'amour tient un peu dans ce pays de celle des chats*, says M. Bourniseaux. The men pinch the girls, untie their aprons, and steal kisses, for all which the girls box their ears in return. At marriages, the bridemaids present the bride with a distaff and spindle, to remind her of her domestic duties; and with a branch of thorn, ornamented with ribbons and fruit or sweetmeats, emblematical of the sorrows as well as pleasures of the state which she is about to enter: at the same time a marriage song is sung; its tenor is that the season of joy and thoughtlessness is past, that the morning of life is gone by, that the noon is full of cares, and that as the day advances we must prepare for trouble and grief;—a mournful but wholesome lesson, which is seldom heard without tears. If the bride has an elder sister still in her state of spinsterhood, she is made to spin coarse flax; and if an elder brother of the bridegroom be unmarried, he has the severe task assigned him of making a fagot of thorns. The sports continue till all the wine is consumed.

The smaller landholders and the townsmen were on good terms with the nobles, but had not the same attachment to them as was felt by the peasantry. Among them the beginning of the Revolution was regarded with pleasure; the towns indeed were generally attached to the new principles, but the bond of good-will was not broken, and the Vendéans acquit their countrymen, who took part with the republic, of any share in the atrocities which were committed. In the Plain, some personal animosity was displayed during the first movement of 1789, and some chateaux were destroyed; this part of the country was much more civilized, and it may be presumed that vice had kept pace with civilization. But in the Bocage the people wished to remain as they were, believing that no change could improve a condition in which they enjoyed peace, plenty, security, and contentment. When the national guards were formed, the lord was called upon in every parish to take the command; when mayors were to be appointed, it was the lord who was everywhere chosen; and when orders were published to remove the seats of the lords from the churches, they were not obeyed in La Vendée. The peasantry had neither been stung by insults nor aggrieved by oppression; they regarded the lords as their friends and benefactors, and respect and gratitude are natural to the heart of uncorrupted man. The law which imposed a constitutional oath upon the clergy injured them more deeply; their priests were almost all born among them, they spoke the dialect as their mother tongue, they were bred up in the same habits, and the people were attached to them by every possible tie of respect and love. Even General Turreau

confesses that their lives were exemplary and their manners truly patriarchal,—*il faut en convenir, la plupart de ceux-ci menaient une vie exemplaire, et avaient conservé les mœurs patriarcales*. When, therefore, their pastors were superseded by men who had taken an oath which the Vendéans held in abhorrence, the churches were deserted, the new clergy were in some places insulted, in others driven away:—in a parish consisting of four thousand inhabitants, one of these men could not obtain fire to light the church tapers. Partial insurrections took place and blood was shed. A peasant of Bas Poitou resisted the *gendarmes* with a pitchfork; he had received two-and-twenty sabre strokes, when they cried to him, *Rends-toi!*—*Rendez-moi mon-Dieu!* was his reply, and he died as the words were uttered.

After the 10th of August, a persecution of the refractory priests began; and the peasants, like the Cameronians in Scotland, gathered together, arms in hand, to hear mass in the field, and die in defending their spiritual father. More than forty parishes assembled tumultuously; the national guards of the Plain routed this ill-armed and worse conducted crowd, and slew about a hundred in the field. Life and free pardon were offered to others if they would only cry *Vive la nation!* there were very few who would accept of life upon these terms: the greater number fell on their knees, not in supplication to man, but in prayer to Heaven, and offered themselves bravely to the stroke of death;—from man they requested no other favours than that a little earth might be thrown over their remains, to preserve them from the wolves and dogs.

The revolutionary writers insist that the war in La Vendée was the result of plans long existing, and ably concerted. General Turreau says, *Il faut être bien ignorant ou de bien mauvaise foi, pour assigner une cause éventuelle et instantanée à la révolte du Bas Poitou*. General Turreau was the faithful servant of the Convention in its bloodiest days, and the faithful servant of Bonaparte after his return from Elba: he hated the old government, and he hated the Bourbons whatever government they might establish; but he never objected to the wildest excesses of revolutionary madness, nor to the heaviest yoke of imperial despotism. General Turreau, therefore, may be sincere in disbelieving that a sense of religion and loyalty could instantaneously rouse a brave and simple people to arms, because, never having felt either the one sentiment or the other, he is utterly ignorant of their nature and their strength. He supposes a conspiracy of the emigrants, the nobles, and the priests, fomented by foreign powers. M. Bour-niseaux, with more knowledge of the circumstances and the people, with more truth, with sounder philosophy, and with a better heart, ascribes the moving impulse to its real source. To expect, he says, that the nobles and clergy, insulted, injured, outraged, and plundered, as they were by the Revolution, should have embraced the Revolution, would be to know little of the human heart, *C'eût été demander à la philosophie un miracle, et l'on sait que la philosophie n'en fit jamais*. But he declares that, in the insurrection of La Vendée, the priests and nobles were, for the most part, forced to make common cause with the insurgents; that, with few exceptions, they did not come forward voluntarily to take the lead; that, having taken arms, they exerted themselves strenuously, but that, when terms of pacification were proposed, they were the first to submit, and the peasantry were the last. That the peasants should thus have acted, he says, may well astonish posterity; for they derived nothing but benefit from the Revolution, which delivered them from the payment of tithes, and from the feudal grievances. Thus, however, it was; in Jacobinical phrase, they were not ripe for the Revolution; which is, being interpreted, they loved their king and their God, their morals were uncorrupt, their piety was sincere and fervent, their sense of duty towards God and man unshaken. Hitherto what tumults had broken out had been partial, and provoked merely by local vexations, chiefly respecting the priests; but when the Convention called for a conscription of three hundred thousand men, a measure which would have forced their sons to fight for a cause which they abhorred, one feeling of indignation rose through the whole country, and the insurrection through all La Vendée broke forth simultaneously and without concert or plan. The same principle which made them take arms made them look to their own gentry for leaders; the opportunity was favourable; nor can it now be doubted, that if the Bourbon princes and the allied powers had known how to profit by the numerous opportunities offered them in these western provinces, the monarchy might long since have been restored.

The 10th of March, 1793, was the day appointed for drawing the conscription at St Florent, in Anjou, upon the banks of the Loire. The young men assembled with a determination not to submit to it; after exhorting them in vain, the republican commander brought out a piece of cannon to intimidate them, and fired upon them; they got possession of the gun, routed the *gendarmes*, burnt the papers, and, after passing the rest of the day in rejoicing, returned to grow sober, and contemplate upon the vengeance which would follow them. One of the most respectable peasants in this part of the country was a wool-dealer of the village of Pin en Mauges, by name Jaques Cathe-

lineau. About twenty young men promised to follow wherever he would lead; he was greatly beloved and respected in his neighbourhood, being a man of quiet manners, great piety, and strong natural talents. They rang the tocsin in the village of Poitevinière: their numbers soon amounted to about a hundred, and they determined to attack a party of about eighty republicans, who were posted at Jallars with a piece of cannon. On the way they gathered more force; they carried the post, took some horses and prisoners, and got possession of the gun, which they named *Le Missionnaire*. Encouraged by this success, which also increased their numbers, they attacked two hundred republicans the same day at Chemillé, with three pieces of artillery, and they met with the same success. At the same time, a young man, by name Foret, in the same part of the country, killed a gendarme who sought to arrest him, ran to the church, rang the tocsin, and raised a second body of insurgents. A third was raised in like manner by Stofflet, a man who had served sixteen years as a soldier, and was at that time gamekeeper to the Marquis de Maulevrier. On the 16th of March both these troops joined Cathelineau; they marched that very day upon Chollet, the most important town in that part of the country, garrisoned by five hundred soldiers. These also fell into their power, and they found there arms, ammunition, and money. Easter was at hand; and the insurgents, thinking they had done enough to make themselves feared, thought they might keep the holidays as usual; they dispersed every man to his own house; and a republican column from Angers traversed the country without meeting with the slightest resistance, and also without committing the slightest act of violence—a moderation which M. de la Roche Jaquelein ascribes to fear. When the holidays were over, the insurgents appeared again; success had given them confidence in their strength; and, looking forward with hope of some important results from the devoted spirit of loyalty which they felt in themselves, and which they well knew pervaded the country, they called for the gentry of the country to lead them on.

There was more discipline in a feudal army, or among a troop of guerillas, than among the Vendéans. The men could not be induced to form a patrol, or act as sentinels,—these were charges which they would not undertake for any reward, and when it was necessary, the officers were obliged to perform this duty themselves. To this defect in their system some of their most ruinous defeats must be ascribed. When the army was assembled, and different columns were to be formed to march against the different points of attack, the manner of forming them was singular, and not without its advantage. Notice was given, M. Roche Jaquelein is going by such a road; who will follow him? M. Cathelineau goes in yonder direction; who follows him? The men were thus allowed to follow their favourite leader, with no other restriction than that when a sufficient number had volunteered, no more were allowed to join. A system of tactics had been formed perfectly adapted to the nature of the troops and of the country. We have heard much of the improvements made by the French republicans in the art of war, and of the advantages which their armies derived when the field was once left open to merit, and men rose from the ranks to the highest military rank. These things imposed upon the English people too long. In La Vendée it is perfectly certain that generals were employed by the government who had no other claim to promotion than their brutality, and their services amongst mobs or in the clubs of the metropolis; among the royalists they were first selected from old feelings of hereditary respect, but intellect immediately rose to its level, and even before any feelings of selfishness, or ambition, or vanity, mingled with and defaced the principle which first roused them to arms. Stofflet and Cathelineau were attended to in the council with as much deference, and obeyed in the field with as much readiness as Lescure and Roche Jaquelein. The first principle of the Vendéans was always to be assailants, to fight only when they pleased and where they pleased; and, inasmuch as they observed this principle, they always fought to advantage. When they reached the point of attack, the companies were formed in the same manner as the column, every man following the captain whom he preferred. Their usual order of battle, according to General Turreau, was in a crescent, with the wings *en flèche*, composed of the best marksmen, men who never fired a shot without taking a steady aim, and who never, at ordinary distances, failed in their mark: their skill in the use of fire-arms was such, that he says no military people, however trained, however skilful, could compare with the hunters and sportsmen of Loroux and the Bocage as musketeers. But order of battle was what they seldom thought of; and their tactics are more clearly explained by the marchioness who understood them better from the conversation of her husband and her friends, than General Turreau did from his defeats or his victories. Their whole tactics, he says, consisted in creeping behind the hedges and surrounding the enemy, which the nature of the country easily enabled them to do: then they poured in, on all sides, a murderous fire; not in platoons, but every man as fast as he could load, and make sure of his victim, loading with four or five balls, and firing point blank against

men in close ranks. The moment that the Blues appeared confused, or offered opportunity, they set up their dreadful yell, and sprang upon them like bloodhounds in pursuit. Men of the greatest strength and agility had it in charge to seize the artillery, to prevent it, as they said, from doing mischief. "You, sir, you are a strong fellow; leap upon the cannon." Sometimes with no better weapon than a stake pointed with iron, the peasants would do this, and drive the enemy from their guns. If the attack was made in a more open country, they accelerated the decisive movement, and rushed at once upon the cannon, falling upon the ground when they saw the flash, rising instantly and running towards them. But they preferred the cover in which, from their manner of firing, they were sure of killing five for one. Their officers never thought of saying, to the right or the left; they pointed out some visible object, a house or a tree.

Before they began the battle they said their prayer, and almost every man crossed himself before he fired his piece. Meantime, as soon as the firing was heard, the women and children, and all who remained in the villages, ran to the church to pray for the victory; and they who happened to be working a-field fell on their knees there under the canopy of heaven, and called upon the God of Hosts to protect those who were fighting for his altars, and for his holy name. Throughout all La Vendée, says the marchioness, there was but one thought and one supplication at one time. Every one awaited in prayer the event of a battle upon which the fate of all seemed to depend. Turreau speaks with horror of the effect of such a system, and calls upon those officers who had served upon the frontiers, before they were sent into these departments, to say if the Austrians, or the disciplined troops of old Frederick, were as terrible in action, or possessed as much address, stratagem, and audacity, as the peasants of the Bocage; to say if it were possible that any war could be more cruel and more fatiguing for soldiers of all sorts; and if they would not rather make a year's campaign upon the frontiers than serve a single month in La Vendée. "You are crushed," says he, "before you have time to reconnoitre, under a mass of fire, with which the effect of our ranks is not to be compared. If you withstand their violent attack, they rarely dispute the victory, but you derive little fruit from it: it is scarcely ever that cavalry can be employed in pursuit; they disperse, and escape from you over fields and hedges, through woods and thickets, knowing every path, gap, gorge, and defile, every obstacle which may impede their flight, and every means of avoiding them." Home they went, out of breath, but not out of heart, ready and eager for the next summons, and crying, *Vive le Roi! quand même*. . . . But, inasmuch as their flight was easy, retreat for the republicans became murderous. Lost among the labyrinthine roads of the Bocage, they fell in small parties into the hands of the villagers, who made sure, in the retreat, of all stragglers. The pursuit was terrible; the conquerors knew the ground; they understood where and how to intercept the fugitives; they could load as they ran, and keep up as quick a fire in the chase as in the battle. The benefit which the republicans derived, from five or six victories, were not equal to the evils which they endured in one defeat. "Dead bodies," says Turreau, "were all the spoils of the field: neither arms nor ammunition were ever taken; if the Vendean was pursued, he had his musket, and when in danger of being taken, he broke it; but the raw levies, whom the Convention at first sent against them, threw away their arms and incumbrances as soon as they took panic; and, if only two or three hundred men were left upon the field, the royalists gathered up twelve or fifteen hundred muskets."

If there be one thing more honourable to the Vendéans than another in this memorable contest, it is that the republicans never could establish a system of espionage among them; whenever they attempted to employ one of the natives as a spy, the man either trifled with them or betrayed them. And this Turreau gives as one reason for laying waste the country with fire and sword, and exterminating the people:—but of this hereafter. Their zeal was carried to the utmost height; even this general, the agent of Robespierre and Bonaparte, compares it to that with which the crusaders were animated, and says that the defenders of the throne and the Altar seemed to have taken the *Pieux* of the days of chivalry for their models. They went to battle, he says, as to a festival;—women and old men, and priests and children exciting and partaking the rage of the soldiers;—he had himself seen boys of twelve years old slain in the ranks; and he may be believed, for M. de Puisaye affirms that Boisguay, who commanded a division of three thousand men among the Chouans, was but fifteen. M. Berthre de Bournisieux denies the stories which are related of their superstition and gross credulity; yet there are passages in the marchioness's Memoirs which clearly show their proneness to superstition; and surely the cause in which they were engaged, the perpetual danger in which they lived, and the horrors which were continually before their eyes, were likely to inflame their imaginations. It is said that some of the priests promised them a miracle, and declared that all who were killed by the enemy in the cause of the holy church, should rise again from the dead on the third day. It is

added that many women kept the bodies of their husbands and their sons unburied, in expectation of this resurrection; and a yet wilder tale is told by Prudhomme, which some German poet, whose imagination revolts at no conceivable horror, might think a fit subject to be clothed in verse. A girl, who had heard and believed this opinion, suddenly remembered it as she was watching by the death-bed of her lover. It occurred to her how happy it would be for both, if he could be made a partaker of this resurrection: he was too weak to leave his bed—oh that the Blues might find him there, and give him his crown of martyrdom! Some republican troops entered the village; she fired at them from the window, and escaped by a back door into the woods. They broke open the doors and murdered the dying man. After some hours she returned; her first design had been accomplished; and she closed the door carefully. The second day she placed provisions by the bedside; the third day came and called him; and clung still to the hope of seeing him revive, till the fourth morning, when she could no longer resist the painful evidence of her senses.

This was a case of individual madness, the effect of love, grief, credulity, and insane hope. From such cases no general inferences can be drawn; but that the Vendéans were generally under the influence of strong religious enthusiasm is certain. Man, who is by nature religious, always becomes superstitious in proportion as he is ignorant or ill-instructed; and times of public calamity are always times of fanaticism. But however exalted the imaginations of this brave people may have been, and however extravagant their expectations of the visible interference of Heaven, their earthly desires, if the monarchy should by their efforts be restored, indicate equal moderation and nobleness of mind. First they would have asked that the whole of the Bocage, which now made part of three provinces, should be formed into a separate province, under the name of La Vendée, a name which they now regarded with becoming pride; they would have entreated the King that he would be pleased once to honour it with his presence; that a corps of Vendéans might form part of his body-guards; and that in memory of the war the white flag might always be hoisted upon the towers of all their churches. They desired no diminution of imposts, no exemption from military services, no peculiar privileges, but they would have solicited that some former plans for opening roads and rendering their streams navigable might be effected. Such was the recompense which the Vendéans would have asked if they had succeeded in overthrowing the Jacobine tyranny, and placing the innocent dauphin upon the throne of his murdered father. Shame be to the Bourbons if it be not accorded them now!

ILLUSTRATIONS.

The subjoined character of Robespierre gives us a better idea of his personal peculiarities, than any with which the revolutionary historians have furnished us.

DIED, 28th July, 1794, at Paris, aged 35, under the guillotine (with nearly seventy of his party, members of the Convention), Maximilian Robespierre. This emulator of Cromwell was short in stature, being only five feet two or three inches in height. His step was firm, and his quick pace in walking announced great activity. By a kind of contraction of the nerves, he used often to fold and compress his hands in each other; and spasmodic contractions were perceived in his shoulders and neck, the latter of which he moved convulsively from side to side. In his dress he was neat and even elegant, never failing to have his hair in the best order. His features had nothing remarkable about them, unless that their general aspect was somewhat forbidding; his complexion was livid and bilious; his eyes dull and sunk in their sockets. The constant blinking of the eyelids seemed to arise from convulsive agitation; and he was never without a remedy in his pocket. He could soften his voice, which was naturally harsh and croaking, and could give grace to his provincial accent. It was remarked of him that he could never look a man full in the face. He was master of the talent of declamation; and as a public speaker was not amiss at composition. In his harangues, he was extremely fond of the figure called *antithesis*; but failed, whenever he attempted irony. His diction was at times harsh, at others harmoniously modulated, frequently brilliant, but often trite, and was constantly blended with common-place digressions on virtue, crimes, and conspiracies. Even when prepared, he was but an indifferent orator. His logic was often replete with sophisms and subtleties; but he was in general sterile of ideas, with but a very limited scope of thought, as is almost always the case with those who are too much taken up with themselves. Pride formed the basis of his character; and he had a great thirst for literary, but a still greater for political, fame. He spoke with contempt of Mr. Pitt; and yet, above Mr. Pitt, he could see nobody unless himself. The reproaches of the English journalists were a high treat to his vanity:—whenever he denounced them his accent and expression betrayed how much his self-love was flattered. It was delightful to him to hear the French armies named the “armies of Robespierre;” and he was charmed with being included in the list of tyrants. Daring and cowardly at the same time, he threw a veil over his manœuvres, and was often imprudent in pointing out his victims. If one of the representatives made a motion which displeased him, he suddenly turned round towards him, with a menacing aspect, for some minutes. Weak and revengeful, sober and sensual, chaste by temperament, and a libertine by the effect of the imagination, he was fond of attracting the notice of the women, and had them imprisoned, for the sole pleasure of restoring them their liberty. He made them shed tears, in order to wipe them from their cheeks. In practising his delusions it was his particular aim to act on tender and weak minds. He spared the priests, because they could forward his plans; and the superstitious and devotees, because he could convert them into instruments to favour his power. His style and expression were in a manner mystical; and, next to pride, subtlety was the most marked feature of his character. He was surrounded by those only whose conduct had been highly criminal, because he could, with one word, deliver them over to the punishment of the law. He at once protected and terrified a part of the Convention. He converted crimes into errors, and errors into crimes. He dreaded even the shades of the martyrs of liberty, whose influence he weakened by substituting his own. He was so extremely suspicious and so distrustful, that he could have found it in his heart to guillotine the dead themselves. To enter into a strict analysis of his character, Robespierre, born without genius, could not create circumstances, but profited by them with address. To the profound hypocrisy of Cromwell he joined the cruelty of Sylla, without possessing any of the great military and political qualities of either of these

ambitious adventurers. His pride and his ambition far above his means exposed him to ridicule. To observe the emphasis, with which he boasted of having proclaimed the existence of the Supreme Being, one might have said, that, according to his opinion, God would not have existed without him. When, on the night of the 27th of July, he found himself abandoned by his friends, he discharged a pistol in his mouth, and, at the same time, a gendarme wounded him by the discharge of another. Robespierre fell bathed in blood; and a *sans-culotte*, approaching him, pronounced these words in his ear: "There is a Supreme Being!" Previously to his execution, the bandage being taken off his head, his jaw fell down, in consequence of the wound which he had given himself." *

It is generally supposed that he attempted to shoot himself by discharging a pistol into his mouth, which, however, only fractured the lower left jaw, and left it hanging down by the flesh and ligaments; but a field officer in the French army, of the name of Meda, subsequently claimed the honour of having fired this shot; and he supported his assertion by some plausible facts. Meda—who afterwards rose to be a colonel, and was killed in that rank at the battle of Moskwa—was at this period of the age of eighteen or nineteen, and a private gendarme: as such he accompanied Leonard Bourdon in his attack on the Robespierrians in the Maison de Ville, and showed so much firmness and courage, that when Bourdon returned to the Convention, to give an account of his success, he brought Meda with him, placed him by his side in the tribune, stated that he had with his own hand *frappe* (literally *struck*, but it probably means *wounded* or *killed*) two of the conspirators, and obtained for him the honours of the sitting, honourable mention in the *procès verbal*, and a promise of military promotion. The next day there appears an order of the Convention to deliver to Meda a pistol which had been placed on the bar the day before. All this the *procès verbal* of the sittings and the report in the *Moniteur* record. But, on the other hand, it is not stated that *one* of the two struck by Meda was Robespierre. On the contrary, Bourdon says, that Meda *disarmed* him of a knife, but does not say that he either *struck* or *shot* him—a circumstance so transcendently important, that Bourdon could have hardly omitted to state it, had it been so. Nor is it said that the pistol delivered to Meda was his own, nor that it was the pistol by which Robespierre was wounded; nor is any reason given why he should have shot Robespierre, whom, if his own account be correct, he might have taken alive. Meda, there can be no doubt, accompanied Bourdon (Bourdon says that he *never quitted him*), and distinguished himself generally; but neither in the *procès verbal*, nor in the *Moniteur*, is there any evidence of his having shot Robespierre; and his own statement is somewhat at variance with Bourdon's, and not very intelligible as to the position in which the alleged shot was fired. This would of itself excite some doubts, but these doubts are much strengthened by the following facts: 1. Barrère, in the official report, (made, not like Bourdon's, verbally, in the hurry and agitation of the moment, but on the third day, and after the collection and examination of all the facts,) states distinctly that Robespierre clumsily wounded himself: 2. The surgeon who dressed the wound made a technical and official report, that it must have been inflicted by the patient himself; and, 3. It is stated, that, as the poor wretch lay mangled on a table at the Hotel de Ville, he supported his broken jaw, and endeavoured to absorb the blood with a *woollen pistol-bag*, which he had in his left hand. This trifling circumstance, which could hardly have been invented, strongly corroborates the reports of Barrère and the surgeon, and the general opinion. We suppose the truth to have been, that Robespierre drew his pistol from the woollen bag, which he held in his left hand, and on the approach of the gendarmes shot himself with the right, and fell—that Meda picked up the pistol and carried it to the Convention, which next day restored it to him as a trophy to which he had the best right. This conjecture seems to reconcile all the facts and all the statements, except only the *tardy* assertion of Meda himself.—*Quarterly Review*.

* Annual Register, 1794.

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